

The Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical Society, Volume 14, 1919

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BY PERCY H. EPLER

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FORTY-SIXTH MEETING

THE FORTY-SIXTH MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was a special public meeting held in Sanders Theatre on the evening of February 22, 1919, to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of James Russell Lowell.

The president of the Society, William Roscoe Thayer, LL.D., presided and, after a few introductory remarks, presented the speakers.

The order of exercises was as follows:

READING OF A PORTION OF THE HARVARD COMMEMORATION ODE --- PROFESSOR CHARLES T. COPELAND ADDRESS --- PRESIDENT EMERITUS CHARLES W. ELIOT POEM: THE RETURNING --- PERCY MACKATE ADDRESS --- PROFESSOR BLISS PERRY

ADDRESS

BY CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT

President Emeritus of Harvard University

THE part assigned to me in these commemorative exercises is the consideration of Lowell's career as a college professor, his influence on University teaching, and his conception of a University's function in the life of a nation.

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He was appointed Smith Professor of the French and Spanish languages and literatures and Professor of Belles-Lettres in 1855, his only predecessors in that chair being George Ticknor, the historian of Spanish literature, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, each of whom held that professorship for eighteen years. Lowell was titular professor on the Abiel Smith Endowment for thirty-one years, but was absent in Europe for something more than ten years out of that period. He had no natural inclination towards the work of a teacher; but he welcomed his appointment to the professorship, because it gave him a small but sure income as a supplement to the somewhat unreliable proceeds of his literary labors. It was a course of lectures on English literature at the Lowell Institute in the winter of 1855 which occasioned his election to the Smith professorship. He then for the first time appeared formally as a critic and historian of literature. Up to that date Lowell would have been most correctly described as a man of letters and a rising poet.

His most important function as Smith Professor was from the beginning the delivery of one lecture a week on modern literature. He had no fancy for this occupation. When he was in

Europe in 1855–56, making preparatory studies in Germany and Italy, he wrote to a friend about getting "quietly settled again at Elmwood with the Old Man of the Sea of my first course of lectures off my shoulders." In September, 1856, when he had returned to Cambridge he says, "I have not begun to lecture yet, but am to deliver my old Lowell Institute course first, and then some on German literature and Dante." When he was thinking to go from Germany into Italy in January, 1856, he refers to his College appointment thus: "It takes me a great while to learn that I have a tether round my leg — I who have been used to gallop over the prairies at will — and I find myself brought up now and then with a sharp jerk that is anything but pleasant to the tibia. But I suppose I shall learn to stand quietly up to my manger at last." About the same time he wrote to another friend, "Yesterday I began my lectures and came off better than I expected; for I am always a great coward beforehand. I hate lecturing; for I have discovered (entre nous) that it is almost impossible to learn all about anything, unless indeed it be some piece of ill luck, and then one has the help of one's friends you know." In May, 1857, he

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writes to his friend Stillman, "While my lectures are on my mind I am not myself, and I seem to see all the poetry drying out of me."

The delivery of these lectures on Modern Literature once a week remained Lowell's chief teaching function for twenty years; but at intervals he also gave instruction in elementary Spanish and Italian, when no instructor had been obtained in these languages for the current year or term, or when one or more of the teachers of these subjects fell ill. For example in 1859-60, the study of all modern languages being optional, Lowell taught the elements of Spanish and Italian to volunteers three times a week for each language. This service must have been to him a real affliction and a serious interruption of his active work as editor and essayist. Again, in 1860–61, there being no instructor in Italian, Professor Lowell gave the instruction in that language in the senior year to an elective class three times a week. In 1869, Assistant Professor Cutler being ill, Lowell says: "I am shepherding his flocks for him meanwhile — now leading them among the sham-classic pastures of Corneille, where a colonnade supplies the dearth of herbage; now along the sunny broad-viewed uplands of Goethe's prose. It is eleven o'clock and I am just back from my class. At four I go down again for two hours of German, and at half-past seven I begin on two hours of Dante."

The last clause is an allusion, to Lowell's evening meetings with a few advanced students of Italian in his study at Elmwood, meetings which were maintained throughout most of Lowell's active service as a professor. There he gave a few appreciative students a critical survey of Dante's greatest works, revealing to them the innumerable beauties of the poet's thought and style, and also his teaching of liberty, toleration, and nobler prospects for mankind. In these intimate meetings Lowell was at his best as a teacher, because he was much of the time teaching the beauty in the thoughts, phrases, and words of a transcendent genius. He illustrated these lessons with ideas, words, and phrases drawn from other literatures, especially from English literature. His own memory for choice words and felicitous phrases was marvellous; for he remembered not only the words and phrases themselves, but the places where he had seen them. In the autumn of 1872 I was asking him about the word "rote," then in use among sailors and

fishermen on the coast of Maine to indicate the sound of waves beating on a rocky shore, not on a pebbly or sandy beach. Lowell rose from his chair, climbed to a top shelf in his library, took down a small book of the seventeenth century, turned its leaves for a moment, and handed me the page on which the word "rote" occurred in precisely the sense in which a man born on the island where I had my summer camp used the word, when we were trying to cross Frenchman's Bay in a thick fog. Suddenly he shouted to me from the bow, "We're just right. I hear the rote on Stave Island Thrumbcap." Lowell resumed his easychair and his pipe, and remarked, "It is many years since I have had that book in my hand or have heard that excellent word."

These classes in his library, in sharp contrast with his public lectures, were always agreeable to Lowell, and delightful to the few students who there gathered about an admired and beloved master.

Professor Lowell remained the official head of the Department of Modern Languages from his first appointment in 1855 till he began his diplomatic service in 1877; but those duties were light and occupied very little of his time. In the early years of his service as professor he attended with approximate regularity the meetings of the College Faculty, particularly during the administrations of President Walker and President Felton. Thus the records of the College Faculty show that he attended ninety-two meetings out of one hundred and sixty-one between July, 1859, and December, 1862. This attendance must have been for him a serious sacrifice; for at that time the meetings of the Faculty were held in the evening.

During the greater part of Lowell's service as a professor he was much occupied with editorial functions and in, writing for reviews and magazines. He was the first editor of the Atlantic Monthly, and was associated with Professor Norton in the editorship of the North American Review, and to both these periodicals he contributed a large number of articles, both political and literary. The two occupations were not inconsistent; and probably each helped in some measure the other.

His first appointment as a diplomat — President Hayes appointed him Minister Resident at the Court of Spain in 1877 — was peculiarly appropriate, because of his thorough knowledge

of the Spanish language and literature, — a knowledge which his work as a professor had made ampler and more exact.

After 1869—70 the Department of Modern Languages was strongly reenforced, and its position in the University greatly improved; and Professor Lowell was no longer called upon for elementary or routine work.

Lowell's influence as a university teacher illustrated some of his own fundamental convictions. He believed that language should always be taught primarily as the vehicle of

beautiful literature, whereas most language teachers of that day were using admirable literature as means of teaching grammar and philology. He thought it much more important for a boy, or a man, to learn to appreciate and love the beauty and grace of literature as a vehicle of sound philosophy and living truth than to become familiar with the genealogy of words or the logic of grammar, to enjoy the rhythm and flow of good poetry than to study the technique of its metres. The spiritual contents or substance of fine literature seemed to him much more important than its conventions or usages as to forms or derivations. He thought it hard and unnecessary that any competent student should be obliged to choose between devoting himself to philology and accurate linguistic scholarship on the one hand or to the real products of poetic and dramatic genius on the other. Was there not time for both? He held the opinion — decidedly heretical in a Harvard professor of his time — "that there is neither ancient nor modern on the narrow shelves of what is truly literature."

Lowell's conception of the function of a University was always lofty, though subject to some fluctuations of opinion as to discipline and scope. He declared that "the fame and usefulness of all institutions of learning depend on the greatness of those who teach in them, and great teachers are almost rarer than great poets." Further, it was his opinion that Harvard College up to the middle of the nineteenth century had had no great teachers. It had had many devoted teachers but no great ones, capable of inspiring as well as informing and guiding youth. He often lamented that Harvard's grounds and buildings had no beauty or charm, and commiserated the Cambridge graduates who came over with the early immigrations for "the pitiful contrast which

they must have felt between the carven sanctuaries of learning they had left behind and the wattled fold they were rearing here on the edge of the wilderness." Another indispensable equipment of a University was manifestly books; and in this respect he thought that the College, and the New England ministers and teachers bred at the College, fared pretty well during the first two hundred years. He himself, growing up in the first half of the nineteenth century at and near Harvard College, had, he thought, no great teacher, — but many good books.

If the intellectual and aesthetic resources of the College during the first two hundred years were but scanty in his view, he did not fail to perceive that the College supplied the greater part of New England with teachers and ministers who were wise leaders in communities of which Lowell himself could say "in civic virtue, intelligence, and general efficacy I seek a parallel in vain." "This," he declares concerning the Harvard human product in his address at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary (1886) of the foundation of Harvard College, "was the stuff out of which fortunate ancestors are made, and twenty-five years ago their sons showed in no diminished measure the qualities of the breed." Those sons have now in their turn been the progenitors of a valid race, as the services of Harvard's sons in the recent Great War loudly proclaim. In the first four lines of the second stanza of Lowell's immortal Ode recited at the Harvard Commemoration in July, 1865, he exalts the teachings of Harvard College through six generations, and the fruitage of those teachings:

Today our Reverend Mother welcomes back

Her wisest scholars, those who understood

The deeper teaching of her mystic tome,

And offered their fresh lives to make it good:

When President James Walker, about 1856, asked Lowell what his notion of a university was, he answered, "A university is a place where nothing useful is taught; but a university is possible only where a man may get his livelihood by digging Sanskrit roots." In his admirable oration at Harvard's two hundred and fiftieth anniversary he explains what he meant by that somewhat cryptic statement. "What I meant was that the highest office of the somewhat complex thing so named (a university) was to distribute the true bread of life, the pane degli angeli as Dante

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called it, and to breed an appetite for it; but that it should also have the means and appliances for teaching everything."

Although Lowell was a delighted observer of trees, flowers, birds, and landscape, and thoroughly understood the play of the human imagination in poetry, drama, and the fine arts, his education and experience left him at sixty years without even an elementary training in any exact science, and without knowledge of the great part played by the imagination in scientific research, or perception of the oneness or identity of modern methods of advancing knowledge in all fields of inquiry. These personal limitations considered, how splendid is this conception of the function of a university:

"Let the Humanities be maintained undiminished in their ancient right. Leave in their traditional preeminence those arts that were rightly called liberal; those studies that kindle the imagination, and through it irradiate the reason; those studies that manumitted the modern mind; those in which the brains of finest temper have found alike their stimulus and their repose, taught by them that the power of intellect is heightened in proportion as it is made gracious by measure and symmetry. Give us science, too, but give first of all, and last of all, the science that ennobles life and makes it generous."

Although Lowell says of himself that he was "by temperament and education of a conservative turn," he was all his life a stout believer in democracy of the town-meeting sort; but he sometimes had qualms about its tendency to materialism, and its slowness in the centurial process of developing civilization. How high his standards for democracy were appears in the following passage from his Harvard anniversary address:

"Democracy must show its capacity for producing not a higher average man, but the highest possible types of manhood in all its manifold varieties, or it is a failure. No matter what it does for the body, if it do not in some sort satisfy that inextinguishable passion of the soul for something that lifts life away from prose, from the common and the vulgar, it is a failure. Unless it know how to make itself gracious and winning, it is a failure. Has it done this? Is it doing this? Or trying to do it?"

These words suggest the reasons why democracies must have universities.

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THE RETURNING
LINES IN COMMEMORATION OF
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

BY
PERCY MACKAYE

I

"WEAK-WINGED is song," he said:

Weak to adventure that " clear-ethered height"

Where memory stars the shining dead

Who stilled their hearts to right

Our human wrong;

Yet his own words were strong

To rise on wings beyond his time and place

And hallow those dead heroes with the grace

Of after-living song,

Enlarging this hall

Of Harvard men to be a shrine for all

Who reverence the valor of our race.

So also one

At Gettysburg recalled what the great dead had done:

"The world," said he, "will little note

What we say here."

And still the simple words he said so clear

*Abide with those deeds, to be
For both a mingled immortality.*

II

*But whether in song or action
The dumb life leaves no seed;
Within all outward deed
The word of God is fate;
And only the soul articulate
Survives, to breed
New vital sons of God*

12

*Where still, above the turned-down sod,
The lyric scholar lives beyond his letters,
The patriot above his faction,
The freeman through all fetters.*

III

*So he survives — Lowell, our patriot,
Freeman and lyric scholar: not
Because his name, of honored line,
Is graven golden on another age
Among recorded lives
On hoarded scripts, in husht archives
Of academe and nation;
Not in dull homage to a shrine
Of bookworm cult or worldly heritage
We give today his birth commemoration:*

*But because his spirit wrought Its image on surviving thought,
An image, cast from its clay mould,
To rise in clean, unrusting gold:
The mind, whose many-darting prism
Resolves in reason's lucid white;
The heart, wherein no hidden schism
Warps sense of beauty from the sense of right,
But where — in one clear-burning, human light—
Are welded poetry and patriotism.
So Lowell, outlasting the years,
Stands forth — no sanctum statue, but a man
Whom all his human peers
Honor as artist and American.*

IV

*For many a glowing ember
Stirred from the quiet
Hearth-light of his fancy, to riot
And gleam in the dusk, we remember
The stroke of the pen that stirred them;
And the songs of his Beaver Brook
In April awaking —
The Elmwood robins that heard them
Sang them again in the book*

*Of songs he was making,
And again in the after-spring*

*Of our remembering.
With quips and facile sallies
Of fable and of wit,
He strolled with Horace through the Harvard alleys,
Or stared with Dante in the Ninefold Pit,
Emerging from the imaginary realm
Of antique bard and shade
To play the Yankee Pindar, unafraid
To hurl his strophes in the roaring blast
Of war, or pensive, when the storm had passed,
To elegize the centenary elm.
Meanwhile
The early summer lightnings of his style
Matured the singeing fire
Of their electric ire,
Where all the native laughter of his soul
Leaping,
to roll And crackle with indigenous mirth and scorn,
Burst — when Hosea Biglow he was born.*

V

*The fleeting lines forbid
To follow, year by ripening year,
The stately footsteps of that sure career,
Where on the singer fell the statesman's cloak,
And where the scholar-artist stood amid
His peers of Europe, and bespoke
Our country's character.*

In London and Madrid

The tokens of his mission still aver

His rich felicity, and still

In Cambridge, between Shady Hill

And Elmwood, the remembering air

Is fragrant of our Friend of Learning there

VI

But more than all endeared to memory

Of varied life and long,

His most enduring substance is a song —

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Itself an ode and elegy

Commemorating the inspired dead

Who — even as he —

Survive their dark interment; and for us,

Inseparable from all he wrought or said,

Still rise illustrious

The words he spoke of those who, gone before,

Came living homeward from heroic war.

VII

And now again they come;

Again, in proud mortality,

Homeward once more

They march with unvainglorious

Victory And muted drum

Boiling the pageant of a vaster stage —

*The heroes of our age:
Our country's soul perennial!
And now once more, O now —
In that "clear-ethered" hall
Of Memory and of Exhortation seated,
How those great words with which he greeted
Our fathers still resound, and how
It stirs us to surmise
The exultation in his eyes,
And from his lips the lyric reverence,
As he might now greet these —
These men who bore America overseas:
Armies, that were the righteous eloquence
Of peace; soul-swords, oracular of truth;
Battalions that were ballads of wild youth;
Dun khaki boys, who sowed the mud fields pied
With blue and white and red of flowering pride
Rooted in justice: Those, returning now —
The live, and living dead — are they who left
The dreams of their civilian years,
Their work at loom and desk and plough,
Self-choosers, through their chosen peers,
To yoke themselves to help set Freedom free —
Conscripts of Conscience, Duty's grenadiers:
Young New World Jasons, banded oversea*

*With allied hearts sore wearied out,
Whose van at Chateau-Thierry cleft,
The Prussian Dragon through his iron snout,
Wresting the Golden Fleece of Liberty,
To clothe the world's bereft.*

VIII

*What patriot pride-,
Not counterfeited by the noisy clan
Who toss at coins to make the Eagle scream,
But that unravished dream
And love of country which is faith in Man-
Lowell might feel, a prophet justified,
To hail these men, and the victorious
Vow they redeemed for us:-
Renouncing neutral will,
To know one faith – and live it,
To share on life – and give it:
That choice they made and kept, 't is ours to fulfill!*

IX

*Yet how fulfill the test?-
"He is a slave, who dares not be
In the right with two or three,"
'T was Lowell said; and they who know the zest
Of battling single-handed, for the best
The multitudes disdain,
Facing their whips to earn them their own gain,
Will sanction that brave wisdom. – Yes;*

*But O, the large delight,
The majesty of gladness, and excess
Of splendor, when the multitudes are right!*

X

*Then, then – with all one's spirit bended tense
To lean against the tide for liberty-
Sudden the awful tide itself, immense,
Lunar with mystic life-birth, turns to sea:
Then – as a swimmer, caught from undertow,
Who yields, all free,*

16

*His body to the goalward billow, so
The one will yields its atom, in the shoal
Of multitudinous life-will, toward the goal
Of tidal Freedom. – There,
In strange mid-sea, Between the dartling northern lights of death
And the living rim of sunrise, half aware –
Up from eternity –
He feels the spirit breath
Of the lost, the ever-sought, the risen Atlantis,
Island of Aspiration,
Whose beauty's fragrance, like a froned plant, is
Vocal with manifold, blended murmurings:
Isle of the Lost – where souls of tribe and nation
Commingling lose themselves, and losing, so
Find one another*

*By the secret springs
Of common yearning, and in one heart-glow
Embrace — brother with brother.*

XI

*By some such deep-sea sense
And vision — dimly seen — of beauty's permanence:
In fellowship, born of death's nearness,
In friendship of a mutual will,
We all have felt the common dearness
Of her we call Our Country deeply instil
Our concept of mankind. The least of these
Who comes with Glory home across the seas
Has felt the deep communion. O, let all
Hold fast that communal
Faith, and let not the niggling partisan
Obscure the patriot's larger love of man,
Or seek the cure of war in sectional cant.
The statesman-singer we commemorate
Was militant
For song that served the stars beyond the state. —
The stars still beckon from the blue beyond:
The bleeding stripes beneath are borne
On arms of valor, that has torn
The tyrant from his seat, and struck his bond*

17

Of terror from the world. And now the world, that waits

Our ministration, hails in dawning wonder

The orbit of a galaxy of states,

For what the stars have joined earth shall not put asunder.

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ADDRESS

BY BLISS PERRY

Professor of English Literature in Harvard University

Two Harvard men, teachers of English in the University of North Carolina, have recently published a new kind of text-book for undergraduates. Abandoning the conventional survey of literary types and the examination of literary history in the narrow sense of those words, they present a program of ideas, the dominant ideas of successive epochs in the life of England and America. They direct the attention of the young student, not so much to canons of art as to noteworthy expressions of communal thought and feeling, to the problems of self-government, of noble discipline, of ordered liberty. The title of this book is "The Great Tradition." The fundamental idealism of the Anglo-Saxon race is illustrated by passages from Bacon and Raleigh, Spenser and Shakespeare. But William Bradford, as well as Cromwell and Milton, is chosen to represent the seventeenth-century struggle for faith and freedom. In the eighteenth century, Washington and Jefferson and Thomas Paine appear side by side with Burke and Burns and Wordsworth. Shelley and Byron, Tennyson and Carlyle are here, of course, but with them are John Stuart Mill and John Bright and John Morley. There are noble passages from Webster and Emerson, from Lowell and Walt Whitman and Lincoln, and finally, from the eloquent lips of living men, — from Lloyd George and Arthur Balfour and Viscount Grey and President Wilson, — there are pleas for international honor and international justice and for a commonwealth of free nations.

It is a magnificent story, this record of Anglo-Saxon idealism during four hundred years. The six or seven hundred pages of the book which I have mentioned are indeed rich in purely literary material; in the illustration of the temper of historic periods; in

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the exhibition of changes in language and in literary forms. The lover of sheer beauty in words, the analyzer of literary types, the student of biography, find here ample material for their special investigations. But the stress is laid, not so much upon the quality of individual genius, as upon the political and moral instincts of the English-speaking races, their long fight for liberty and democracy, their endeavor to establish the terms upon which men may live together in society. And precisely here, I take it, is the significance of the pages which Professors Greenlaw and Hanford assign to James Russell Lowell. The man whom we

commemorate tonight played his part in the evolution which has transformed the Elizabethan Englishman into the twentieth-century American. Lowell was an inheritor and an enricher of the Great Tradition.

This does not mean that he did not know whether he was American or English. He wrote in 1866 of certain Englishmen: "They seem to forget that more than half the people of the North have roots, as I have, that run down more than two hundred years deep into this new-world soil — that we have not a thought nor a hope that is not American." In 1876, when his political independence made him the target of criticism, he replied indignantly: "These fellows have no notion what love of country means. It is in my very blood and bones. If I am not an American, who ever was?"

It remains true, nevertheless, that Lowell's life and his best writing are keyed to that instinct of personal discipline and civic responsibility which characterized the seventeenth-century emigrants from England. These successors of Roger Ascham and Thomas Elyot and Philip Sidney were Puritanic, moralistic, practical ; and with their "faith in God, faith in man and faith in work" they built an empire. Lowell's own mind, like Franklin's, like Lincoln's, had a shrewd sense of what concerns the common interests of all. The inscription beneath his bust on the exterior of Massachusetts Hall runs as follows: "Patriot, scholar, orator, poet, public servant." Those words begin and end upon that civic note which is heard in all of Lowell's greater utterances. It has been the dominant note of much of the American writing that has endured. And it is by virtue of this note, touched so passionately, so nobly, throughout a long life, that Lowell belongs to the elect company of public souls.

No doubt we have had in this country distinguished practi-

tioners of literature who have stood mainly or wholly outside the line of the Great Tradition. They drew their inspiration elsewhere. Poe, for example, is not of the company; Hawthorne, in his lonelier moods, is scarcely of the company. In purely literary fame, these names may be held to outrank the name of James Russell Lowell; as Emerson outranks him, of course, in range of vision, Longfellow in craftsmanship, and Walt Whitman in sheer power of emotion and of phrase. But it happens that Lowell stands with both Emerson and Whitman in the very centre of that group of poets and prose-men who have been inspired by the American idea. They were all, as we say proudly nowadays, "in the service," and the particular rank they may have chanced to win is a relatively insignificant question, except to critics and historians.

The centenary of the birth of a writer who reached threescore and ten is usually ill-timed for a proper perspective of his work. A generation has elapsed since his death. Fashions have changed; writers, like bits of old furniture, have had time to "go out" and not time enough to come in again. George Eliot and Ruskin, for instance, whose centenaries fall in this year, suffer the dark reproach of having been "Victorians." The centenaries of Hawthorne and Longfellow and Whittier were celebrated at a period of comparative indifference to their significance. But if the present moment is still too near to Lowell's lifetime to afford a desirable literary perspective, a moral touchstone of his worth is close at hand. In this hour of heightened national consciousness, when we are all absorbed with the part which the English-speaking races are playing in the service of the world, we may

surely ask whether Lowell's mind kept faith with his blood and with his citizenship, or whether, like many a creator of exotic, hybrid beauty, he remained an alien in the spiritual commonwealth, a homeless, master-less man.

No one needs to speak in Cambridge of Lowell's devotion to the community in which he was born and in which he had the good fortune to die. In some of his most delightful pages he has recorded his affection for it. Yonder in the alcoves of Harvard Hall, then the college Library, he discovered many an author unrepresented among his father's books at Elmwood. In University Hall he attended chapel — occasionally. In the open space between

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Hollis and Holden he read his Commemoration Ode. He wrote to President Hill in 1863: "Something ought to be done about the trees in the Yard." He loved the place. It was here in Sanders Theatre that he pronounced his memorable address at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the College, — an address rich in historic background, and not without solicitude for the future of his favorite humanistic studies, — a solicitude, some will think, only too well justified. "Cambridge at all times is full of ghosts," said Emerson. But no ghost from the past, flitting along the Old Road from Elmwood to the Yard, and haunting the bleak lecture-rooms where it had recited as a careless boy and taught wearily as a man, could wear a more quizzical and friendly aspect than Lowell's. He commonly spoke of his life as a professor with whimsical disparagement, as Henry Adams wrote of his own teaching with a somewhat cynical disparagement. But the fact is that both of these self-deprecating New Englanders were stimulating and valuable teachers. From his happily idle boyhood to the close of his fruitful career, Lowell's loyalty to Cambridge and Harvard was unalterable. Other tastes changed after wider experience with the world. He even preferred, at last, the English blackbird to the American bobolink, but the Harvard Quinquennial Catalogue never lost its savor, and in the full tide of his social success in London he still thought that the society he had enjoyed at the Saturday Club was the best society in the world. To deracinate Lowell was impossible, and it was for this very reason that he became so serviceable an international personage. You knew where he stood. It was not for nothing that his roots ran down two hundred years deep. He was the incarnation of his native soil.

Lowell has recently been described, together with Whittier, Emerson, and others, as an "English provincial poet, — in the sense that America was still a literary province of the mother country." To this amazing statement one can only rejoin that if "The Biglow Papers," the "Harvard Commemoration Ode," "Under the Old Elm," the "Fourth of July Ode," and the Agassiz elegy are English provincial poetry, most of us need a new map and a new vocabulary. Of both series of "Biglow Papers" we may surely exclaim, as did Quintilian concerning early Roman satire, "This is wholly ours." It is true that Lowell, like every

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young poet of his generation, had steeped himself in Spenser and the other Elizabethans. They were his literary ancestors by as indisputable an inheritance as a Masfield or a Kipling could claim. He had been brought up to revere Pope. Then he surrendered to Wordsworth and Keats and Shelley, and his earlier verses, like the early work of Tennyson,

are full of echoes of other men's music. It is also true that in spite of his cleverness in versifying, or perhaps because of it, he usually showed little inventiveness in shaping new poetic patterns. His tastes were conservative. He lacked that restless technical curiosity which spurred Poe and Whitman to experiment with new forms. But Lowell revealed early extraordinary gifts of improvisation, retaining the old tunes of English verse as the basis for his own strains of unpremeditated art. He wrote "A Fable for Critics" faster than he could have written it in prose. "Sir Launfal" was composed in two days, the "Commemoration Ode" in one.

It was this facile, copious, enthusiastic poet, not yet thirty, who grew hot over the Mexican War and poured forth his indignation in an unforgettable political satire such as no English provincial poet could possibly have written. What a weapon he had, and how it flashed in his hand, gleaming with wit and humor and irony, edged with scorn, and weighted with two hundred years of Puritan tradition concerning right and wrong! For that, after all, was the secret of its success. Great satire must have a standard; and Lowell revealed his in the very first number and in one line:

'T aint your eppylets an' feathers

Make the thing a grain more right

Some readers today dislike the Yankee dialect of these verses. Some think Lowell struck too hard; but they forget Grant's characterization of the Mexican War as "one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation." There are critics who think the First Series of "Biglow Papers" too sectional; an exhibition of New England's ancient tendency towards nullification of the national will. No doubt Lowell underestimated the real strength of the advocates of national expansion at any cost. Parson Wilbur thought, you remember, that

All this big talk of our destinies

Is half on it ign'ance an' t' other half rum.

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Neither ignorance nor rum was responsible for the invasion of Belgium; but at least one can say that the political philosophy which justifies forcible annexation of territory is taught today in fewer universities than were teaching it up to 1914. Poets are apt to have the last word, even in politics.

The war with Mexico was only an episode in the expansion of the slave power; the fundamental test of American institutions came in the War for the Union. Here again Lowell touched the heart of the great issue. The Second Series of "Biglow Papers" is more uneven than the First. There is less humor and more of whimsicality. But the dialogue between "the Monument and the Bridge," "Jonathan to John," and above all, the tenth number, "Mr. Hosea Biglow to the Editor of the Atlantic Monthly," show the full sweep of Lowell's power. Here are pride of country, passion of personal sorrow, tenderness, idyllic beauty, magic of word and phrase.

Never again, save in passages of the memorial odes written after the war, was Lowell more completely the poet. For it is well known that his was a divided nature, so variously endowed that complete integration was difficult, and that the circumstances of his career prevented that steady concentration of powers which poetry demands. She is proverbially the most jealous of mistresses, and Lowell could not render a constant allegiance. At thirty his friends thought of him, rightly enough, as primarily a poet; but in the next fifteen years he had become a professor, had devoted long periods to study in Europe, had published prose essays, had turned editor, first of the Atlantic, then of the North American Review, and was writing political articles that guided public opinion in the North. To use a phrase then beginning to come into general use, he was now a "man of letters." But during the Civil War, I believe he thought of himself as simply a citizen of the Union. His general reputation, won in many fields, gave weight to what he wrote as a publicist. His editorials were one more evidence of the central pull of the Great Tradition: it steadied his judgment, clarified his vision, kept his rudder true.

Lowell's political papers during this period, although now little read, have been praised by Mr. James Ford Rhodes as an exact estimate of public sentiment, as voicing in energetic diction the mass of the common people of the North. Lincoln wrote to thank

him for one of them, adding, "I fear I am not quite worthy of all which is therein kindly said of me personally." Luckily Lincoln never saw an earlier letter in which Lowell thought that "an ounce of Fremont is worth a pound of long Abraham." The fact is that Lowell, like most men of the "Brahmin caste," came slowly to a recognition of Lincoln's true quality. Motley, watching events from Vienna, had a better perspective than Boston then afforded. Even Mr. Norton, Lowell's dear friend and associate upon the North American Review, thought in 1862 that the President was timid, vacillating, and secretive, and, what now seems a queerer judgment still, that he wrote very poor English. But if the editors of the North American showed a typical Anglo-Saxon reluctance in yielding to the spell of a new political leadership, Lowell made full amends for it in that superb Lincoln strophe now inserted in the "Commemoration Ode," afterthought though it was, and not read at the celebration.

In this poem and in the various "Centennial Odes" composed ten years later, Lowell found an instrument exactly suited to his temperament and his technique. Loose in structure, copious in diction, swarming with imagery, these Odes gave ample scope for Lowell's swift gush of patriotic fervor, for the afflatus of the improviser, steadied by reverence for America's historic past. To a generation beginning to lose its taste for commemorative oratory, the Odes gave — and still give — the thrill of patriotic eloquence which Everett and Webster had communicated in the memorial epoch of 1826. The forms change, the function never dies.

The dozen years following the Civil War were also the period of Lowell's greatest productiveness in prose. Tethered as he was to the duties of his professorship, and growling humorously over them, he managed nevertheless to put together volume after volume of essays that added greatly to his reputation, both here and in England. For it should be remembered that the honorary degrees of D.C.L. from Oxford and LL.D. from Cambridge were bestowed upon Lowell in 1873 and 1874; long before anyone had thought

of him as Minister to England, and only a little more than ten years after he had printed his indignant lines about

The old J. B.

A-crowdin' you and me.

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J. B. seemed to like them! A part of Lowell's full harvest of prose sprang from that habit of enormous reading which he had indulged since boyhood. He liked to think of himself as "one of the last of the great readers"; and though he was not that, of course, there was nevertheless something of the seventeenth-century tradition in his gluttony of books. The very sight and touch and smell of them were one of his pieties. He had written from Elm-wood in 1861; "I am back again in the place I love best. I am sitting in my old garret, at my old desk, smoking my old pipe and loving my old friends." That is the way book-lovers still picture Lowell — the Lowell of the "Letters" — and though it is only a half-length portrait of him, it is not a false one. He drew upon his ripe stock of reading for his College lectures, and from the lectures, in turn, came many of the essays. Wide as the reading was in various languages, it was mainly in the field of "belles-lettres." Lowell had little or no interest in science or philosophy. Upon one side of his complex nature he was simply a book-man like Charles Lamb, and like Lamb he was tempted to think that books about subjects that did not interest him were not really books at all.

Recent critics have seemed somewhat disturbed over Lowell's scholarship. He once said of Longfellow: "Mr. Longfellow is not a scholar in the German sense of the word, — that is to say, he is no pedant, but he certainly is a scholar in another and perhaps a higher sense. I mean in range of acquirement and the flavor that comes with it." Those words might have been written of himself. It is sixty-five years since Lowell was appointed to his professorship at Harvard, and during this long period erudition has not been idle here. It is quite possible that the university possesses today a better Dante scholar than Lowell, a better scholar in Old French, a better Chaucer scholar, a better Shakespeare scholar. But it is certain that if our Division of Modern Languages were called upon to produce a volume of essays matching in human interest one of Lowell's volumes drawn from these various fields, we should be obliged, first, to organize a syndicate, and second, to accept defeat with as good grace as possible.

Contemporary critics have also betrayed a certain concern for some aspects of Lowell's criticism. Is it always penetrating, they ask? Did he think his critical problems through? Did he have

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a body of doctrine, a general thesis to maintain? Did he always keep to the business in hand? Candor compels the admission that he often had no thesis to maintain: he invented them as he went along. Sometimes he was a mere guesser, not a clairvoyant. We have had

only one Coleridge. Lowell's essay on Wordsworth is not as illuminating as Walter Pater's. The essay on Gray is not as well ordered as Arnold's. The essay on Thoreau is quite as unsatisfactory as Stevenson's. It is true that the famous longer essays on Dante, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Dryden, Milton, are full of irrelevant matter, of facile delightful talk which leads nowhere in particular. It is true, finally, that a deeper interest in philosophy and science might have made Lowell's criticism more fruitful; that he blazed no new paths in critical method; that he overlooked many of the significant literary movements of his own time in his own country.

But when one has said all this, even as brilliantly as Mr. Brownell has phrased it, one has failed to answer the pertinent question: "Why, in spite of these defects, were Lowell's essays read with such pleasure by so many intelligent persons on both sides of the Atlantic, and why are they read still?" The answer is to be found in the whole tradition of the English bookish essay, from the first appearance of Florio's translation of Montaigne down to the present hour. That tradition has always welcomed copious, well-informed, enthusiastic, disorderly, and affectionate talk about books. It demands gusto rather than strict method, discursiveness rather than concision, abundance of matter rather than mere neatness of design. "Here is God's plenty!" cried Dryden in his old age, as he opened once more his beloved Chaucer; and in Lowell's essays there is surely "God's plenty" for a book-lover. Everyone praises "My Garden Acquaintance," "A Good Word for Winter," "On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners" as perfect types of the English familiar essay. But all of Lowell's essays are discursive and familiar. They are to be measured, not by the standards of modern French criticism,—which is admittedly more deft, more delicate, more logical than ours, — but by the unchartered freedom which the English-speaking races have desired in their conversations about old authors for three hundred years. After all,

There are nine-and-sixty ways of constructing tribal lays

And every single one of them is right.

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Lowell, like the rest of us, is to be tested by what he had, not by what he lacked. His reputation as a talker about books and men was greatly enhanced by the addresses delivered during his service as Minister to England. Henry James once described Lowell's career in London as a tribute to the dominion of style. It was even more a triumph of character, but the style of these addresses is undeniable. Upon countless public occasions the American Minister was called upon to say the fitting word; and he deserved the quaint praise which Thomas Benton bestowed upon Chief Justice Marshall, as "a gentleman of finished breeding, of winning and prepossessing talk, and just as much mind as the occasion required him to show." I cannot think that Lowell spoke any better when unveiling a bust in Westminster Abbey than he did at the Academy dinners in Ashfield, Massachusetts, where he had Mr. Curtis and Mr. Norton to set the pace; he was always adequate, always witty and wise; and some of the addresses in England, notably the one on "Democracy" given in Birmingham in 1884, may fairly be called epoch-making in their good fortune of explaining America to Europe. Lowell had his annoyances like all ambassadors; there were dull dinners as well as pleasant ones; there were professional Irishmen to be placated, solemn despatches to be sent to Washington. Yet, like Mr. Phelps and Mr. Bayard and Mr. Choate and the lamented Walter Page in later years, this gentleman, untrained in professional diplomacy, accomplished an enduring work. Without a trace of the

conventional "hands across the sea" banality, without either subservience or jingoism, he helped teach the two nations mutual respect and confidence, and thirty years later, when England and America essayed a common task in safeguarding civilization, that old anchor held

.This cumulative quality of Lowell's achievement is impressive as one reviews his career. His most thoughtful, though not his most eloquent verse, his richest vein of letter-writing, his most influential addresses to the public, came toward the close of his life. Precocious as was his gift for expression, and versatile and brilliant as had been his productiveness in the 1848 era, he was true to his Anglo-Saxon stock in being more effective at seventy than he had been at thirty. He was one of the men who die learning, and who therefore are scarcely thought of as dying at all. I

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am not sure that we may not say of him to-day, as Thoreau said of John Brown, "He is more alive than ever he was." Certainly the type of Americanism which Lowell represented has grown steadily more interesting to the European world, and has revealed itself increasingly as a factor to be reckoned with in the world of the future. Always responsive to his environment, always ready to advance, he faced the new political issues at the close of the century with the same courage and sagacity that had marked his conduct in the eighteen-forties. You remember his answer to Guizot's question: "How long do you think the American Republic will endure?" "So long," replied Lowell, "as the ideas of its founders continue to be dominant"; and he added that by "ideas" he meant "the traditions of their race in government and morals." Yet the conservatism revealed in this reply was blended with audacity, — the inherited audacity of the pioneer. No line of Lowell's has been more often quoted in this hall than the line about the futility of attempting to open the "Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key." Those words were written in 1844. And here, in a sentence written forty-two years afterward, is a description of organized human society which voices the precise hope of forward-looking minds in Europe and America at this very hour: "The basis of all society is the putting of the force of all at the disposal of all, by means of some arrangement assented to by all, for the protection of all, and this under certain prescribed forms." Like Jefferson, like Lincoln, like Theodore Roosevelt at his noblest, Lowell dared to use the word "all."

Such men are not forgotten. As long as June days come and the bobolink's song " runs down, a brook of laughter, through the air "; as long as a few scholars are content to sit in the old garret with the old books, and close the books, at times, to think of old friends; as long as the memory of brave boys makes the "eyes cloud up for rain "; as long as Americans still cry in their hearts " O beautiful, my country!" the name of James Russell Lowell will be remembered as the inheritor and enricher of a great tradition.

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This meeting took the place of the regular winter meeting. The attendance was very large, occupying nearly every seat in the auditorium and on the stage, which was extended for the occasion. Many distinguished guests were present, including a considerable representation from the Lowell family. Admission was by ticket except to the second balcony, which was

open to the public. The committee of arrangements consisted of William Roscoe Thayer (Chairman), Hollis R. Bailey, Worthington C. Ford, and George Hodges. Samuel F. Batchelder was chief usher.

During the afternoon, by the courtesy of Charles Henry Davis, the Lowell homestead, "Elmwood," was open to members of the Society; three hundred tickets of admission were also distributed to the public at the Cambridge Public Library, and were almost immediately exhausted. The house was in charge of Mrs. S. M. Gozzaldi, and Stoughton Bell was chief usher.

An exhibition of books, manuscripts, pictures, etc., relating to Lowell was arranged at the Widener Library by William C. Lane, and remained open to the public for a week.

The Society offered three prizes for the best essays on "Lowell as a Patriotic Citizen," by pupils of sixteen or over in the schools of Cambridge. The essays submitted were read by a jury consisting of William R. Thayer, Fred N. Robinson, and Prescott Evarts, who awarded the prizes as follows: First prize (\$15), Mary M. Twomey; Second prize (\$10), Ruth M. Miles; Honorable mention, Gladys R. Flint — all of the Cambridge High and Latin School.

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FORTY-SEVENTH MEETING

THE FORTY-SEVENTH MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held on the evening of April 22, 1919, in the Paine Memorial Room of the Episcopal Theological School on Brattle Street.

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

There being no business to come before the Society, the following papers were then read, illustrated (with some difficulty) by the stereopticon, after which the meeting adjourned.

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THE STREETS OF CAMBRIDGE

SOME ACCOUNT OF THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY

BY LEWIS MOREY HASTINGS, City Engineer

THE Rev. Horace Bushnell, a well-known divine and theologian of this country, wrote these rather remarkable words: "The road is that physical sign or symbol by which you will best

understand any age or people. If they have no roads, they are savages, for the road is a type of civilized society. If you wish to know whether society is stagnant, learning scholastic, religion a dead formality, you may learn something by going into universities and libraries, but quite as much by looking at the roads; for if there is any motion to society, the road, which is the symbol of motion, will indicate the fact. When there is activity, or enlargement, or a liberalizing spirit of any kind, then there is intercourse and travel, and these require roads!"

If these words are true, then the extent and condition of the roads of a country may be regarded as an index of its progress, a kind of exponent of the power to which its civilization has been raised.

Thus the rough mountain paths, the desert camel caravan tracks, and the primitive unfinished ways which the ancient eastern peoples used for centuries, clearly typify the simple pastoral life and uncultured civilization which existed in those early times.

Later the mighty military spirit and civilization of the great Roman Empire, at its zenith during the first centuries of the Christian era, was well expressed by its system of military roads and viaducts reaching all parts of the Empire, then embracing nearly the entire civilized world, many ruins of which remain to this day objects of wonder and interest to all travellers.

And again, the more refined and cultured civilization of the French Republic is well typified by its system of carefully planned and highly finished national roads and highways.

But perhaps no better illustration can be given than that of our own country. When the Pilgrims landed on these shores, nearly three hundred years ago, they found only a crude and savage civilization and the most primitive means of communication — simply the natural

streams and such trails as the Indians' own feet had made. These means, however, had served the needs of the simple people for an unknown number of centuries. No progress had been made because the needs of the civilization did not require it. With the coming of the white man, however, a new civilization was introduced, which quickly led to the construction of highways and the establishment of ferries and fords at stream crossings.

Slowly, and by the expenditure of vast amounts of labor and money, these highways were extended and improved, the ferries and fords were replaced by bridges and viaducts, and the tremendous natural obstacles of immense distances, wide streams, and heavy grades found in many parts of the country were overcome, and works in highway construction of great magnitude commensurate with the wealth and civilization of the country have been carried out. By these means, the freest intercourse between all parts of the country in commerce, trade, and social life is now possible and easy, and the standards of living and the culture of the people have been correspondingly raised.

It is proposed, in the pages which follow, to show something of the way in which the great natural disadvantages of situation and topography, which existed in the original site chosen for the future town of Cambridge, were overcome, and a system of highways and bridges

constructed adequate and convenient for local use, and now an important part of the highway system of the great metropolitan district.

EARLY HISTORY (1631-1775)

Prior to the decision of the little company led by Governor John Winthrop and Deputy-Governor Thomas Dudley, on December 28, 1630, to start on the banks of the Charles River a settlement soon to be known as "New Towne" and later as "Cambridge," other settlements had been formed in the near vicinity. Salem was founded in 1628; in June, 1629, Charlestown had been founded; while Boston, Dorchester, and Watertown had been founded and settlements begun early in 1630. These dates are important because the first highway to which the inhabitants of Newtowne had access was the "path from Watertown to Charlestown," so often referred to in the early town records. This way or path led from the center of Watertown to Charlestown, closely following the present lines of Mt. Auburn Street in Watertown and Cambridge Street (first called "Mill Street" and

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afterward called "Cambridge Street" and "Road to the College" in Watertown) to Elmwood Avenue; thence following Elmwood Avenue, Brattle Street, Mason Street, and Kirkland Street in Cambridge, Washington Street in Somerville, and Main Street in Charlestown, to the Charlestown and Boston ferry established in 1631. This path from Watertown to Charlestown is undoubtedly the oldest way in Cambridge, and over it for at least four years — until the ferry at the foot of Dunster Street across Charles River was established — all the travel from Cambridge to Boston had to pass.¹

The first mention of this way appears in the town records for December 2, 1633, as follows: "It is ordered that noe person whatsoever shall fell Anny Tree neer the Towne [] wthin the path wch goeth ffrom Wattertown to Charles towne uppon the fforfiture of ffive shillings for every tre soe ffeled."

The next way mentioned in the town records is under date of March 2, 1633/4, as follows: "Granted John Benjamin all the ground between John Masters his ground and Antho Couldbyes, provided that the windmill hill shall be reserved for the Town use, and a Cart-way of two Rods wide unto the same." Fifty years later, or on January 26, 1684, this cartway was laid out by the town as follows: "It was then voted whether the highway running through Rich. Eccles field down to the windmill hill should be made an open highway, and it was voted in the affirmative." The highway here referred to was what is now known as Ash Street and Bath Street from Brattle Street to the old Town Landing (at Windmill Hill), and seems to be the first highway formally laid out as such by vote of the town.

Other streets were laid out at an early day, as is testified by William Wood in his New England's Prospect in 1633. He says, "Newtowne is one of the neatest and best compacted towns in New England, having many fair structures with many handsome contrived streets."

Another historian, writing in 1652, says of Cambridge, "The Town

1. This ferry – the first attempt of the Cambridge folk to link themselves with the outside world – was originally extremely primitive. Dunster Street simply ended in the river mud, and so did the road on the opposite bank. At low tide this caused such unbearable discomfort that very soon a little wharf or "bridge" was built on the Cambridge side, and "a broad ladder" on the other, "for convenience of landing." The fare was "a penny over and a half-penny on lecture days." The first official keeper of the ferry was Joseph Cooke – probably selected because his land ran down to the marsh at, or close by, the ferry wharf. He was a very prominent citizen, a large landowner, selectman, town clerk, magistrate, and representative, and succeeded his brother George as captain of the train-band. He returned to England in 1658. (See Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 513.) – ED.

is compact closely together within itself till of late years some few straggling houses have been built. ... It hath well ordered streets and comely, completed with the faire building of Harvard College."

The following seem to have been the streets composing the early village, with the old and modern names:

Braintree Street, now called Harvard Street and Harvard Square.

Spring Street, now a part of Mt. Auburn Street.

Long Street, now called Winthrop Street.

Marsh Lane, now called South Street and part of Eliot Street.

Creek Lane, now called Brattle Square and part of Eliot Street.

Wood Street, now called Boylston Street.

Water Street, now called Dunster Street.

Crooked Street, now called Holyoke Street.

There were numerous other "lanes" and "ways" noted in the original records, many of which cannot now be identified on account of the meagre description given. Parts of Garden Street, Huron Avenue, and Vassal Lane formed the old "Highway to Fresh Pond." Garden Street, northerly of Huron Avenue, was called the "Highway to the Great Swamp."

The land lying south of the "Path from Watertown to Charlestown," and east of the "neat and compacted little village," with its eight short streets, was for a long time used almost entirely for cultivation and grass. Early in its history, in the year 1632, the town voted to impale or fence in this land, and a line of palings 9,487 feet long, extending from the village easterly to near the present location of the Boston & Albany (Grand Junction Branch) Railroad, was constructed and the cost borne by forty-two owners. About one thousand acres of land were enclosed by this paling, the location of the paling being substantially the same as the present line between Cambridge and Somerville. This impaled land was divided into lots of various sizes and apportioned to sundry householders of the village. Into this impaled land sundry ways were laid out.

One, leading from the village by what is now Arrow Street and Massachusetts Avenue to about where Pleasant Street now is located, was called the "Highway into the Neck." From this point, one way led southeasterly about on the line of the present Massachusetts Avenue to the edge of the marsh and was called the "Way to Pelham's Island,"¹ and another way led southwesterly following about the

1. See under head of Main Street, page 53, for description of Pelham's Island

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present line of Putnam Avenue and was called the "Highway into the Little Neck." Another way went about on the line of Pleasant Street to Cottage Street, and thence led by a way skirting the uplands to near where Fort Washington now is, and was called the "Roade to the Oyster Banks." From the "Highway to the Neck," a way led to the northeast nearly on the present location of Dana Street and was called the "Highway to the Common Pales."

There were other small ways whose names suggested the pastoral character of occupations of many of the early inhabitants. "Back Lane," "Cow Yard Lane," and "Field Lane" were some of these located close to the little cluster of houses forming the early settlement.

As already stated, upon the founding of Newtowne in 1630, the "Path from Watertown to Charlestown" was already in use and provided a ready route for communication with the towns of Charlestown, Salem, and Boston. It was about 4 3/4 miles by this way to the Town House in Boston at the present site of the Old State House at Washington and State Streets.

MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE

What is now called Massachusetts Avenue from Harvard Square to the Arlington line, and leading to Arlington, Lexington and the towns beyond, was long called the "Highway to Menotomy." It is not known when these settlements were first begun, but it must have been at a very early day. That the town then exercised control over the territory is shown by an order of the town dated January 14, 1638, that "no timber shall be felled beyond Menotomy river [Alewife Brook] without a warrant from the major part of the Townsmen."

What are now called Newton (then called "Cambridge Village") and Brighton (then called "Little Cambridge") were added to Newtowne in 1634, and in 1642 all the land lying upon Shawshine River and between that and Concord River and between that and Merrimac River, not formerly granted, was granted to Cambridge. This grant was confirmed March 7, 1643, and included Billerica, parts of Carlisle, Tewksbury, and Chelmsford, and all of Bedford, Lexington, and Arlington. Thus the bounds of Cambridge at that time (and until 1655, when Billerica was incorporated as a separate town) extended towards the north for a distance of about twenty miles, and included the considerable settlements of "Menotomy" (Arlington), "The Farms" (Lexington), Bedford and Billerica.

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There is no doubt that the road or way connecting these villages with the center at Cambridge Court House (now Harvard Square) was laid out and in use at a very early date in substantially the same location as Massachusetts Avenue is to-day.

The practical inconvenience of so extensive a township, with the long distances it necessitated to travel to town meetings, church, etc., soon became apparent, and protests began to be made against it. The town records of a meeting held November 29, 1654, contain this rather quaint entry: "In ans. to a L're sent to the Towne ffrom or Neybours of Shaw Shine, Alias Bilracie, wherein they desire that whole tract of land may be disingaged from this place & be one Intire body of it selfe: the Towne consented to choose five persons — a Committee to treat & conclude with them contring yr request therein, at wch time was chosen Mr. Henry Dunster, Edw. Champney, Jno. Bridge, Edw. Goffe & Edw. Winship."

This request of the Shawshine people was granted, and an amicable agreement reached, and Billerica was incorporated as a town the following year, 1655. Lexington was incorporated in 1713 and Arlington was incorporated as "West Cambridge" in 1807. Newton was incorporated in 1688, and Brighton was incorporated in 1807.

From 1642 until 1655, then, Cambridge was at her zenith as far as territory was concerned. The setting off of the several towns left Cambridge less than her present area, and the seventeen miles of highway which connected this northern territory with the Cambridge Center in 1655 had in 1807 been reduced to about two and one-fourth miles in length to reach the limit of Cambridge territory at the Arlington line.

It may not be out of place here to recall the fact that it was over this road that Paul Revere made his famous "midnight ride," followed later by the British soldiers on their disastrous march to Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775. Lieutenant-Colonel Smith with 800 regulars landed at Lechmere Point the night before and in the early morning passed up this way from Beech Street in Cambridge to Lexington Green. Later in the day a detachment of reinforcements, consisting of about 1200 marines, under Lord Percy, entered Cambridge by the "Great Bridge " over Charles River, where the Anderson Bridge now is, and passed up the whole length of the way to Lexington, where they met the first detachment of Smith's in active retreat. Together they finished the return, with such speed as they could, leaving

the Menotomy Road at Beech Street on their way to Charlestown and safety.

In 1805 the Middlesex Turnpike was chartered, as is related in another place (p. 50), and the portion of the way from the Arlington line to Porter Square formed a part of that turnpike from 1805 to 1842, when it was made a county road; upon the incorporation of Cambridge as a city in 1846, the street passed to the control of the city as North Avenue; and in 1894 the entire way from Harvard Bridge, Cambridge, to Lexington was named Massachusetts Avenue.¹

BOYLSTON STREET AND THE "WAY FROM CAMBRIDGE TO ROXBERY"

It was early seen that it was desirable also to have direct means of communication with towns on the southerly side of Charles River — Dedham, Roxbury, Dorchester, and also Boston from the south side. The establishment of the ferry across the river at what is now Dunster Street not only united the two parts of Cambridge as it was then constituted — separated by the river — but gave the opportunity for more extended communication to the above-mentioned towns, through what was early known as "Muddy River Village," now Brookline, and by way of "The Neck" to the town of Boston, a distance of eight miles by this route from Harvard Square to the Boston Town House.

This meant the laying out of a way from the ferry to the Watertown-Roxbury road, and the first reference to it is, as follows, in the town records for 1638: "It is ordered in Respect of making a sufficient path from the south side of Charles River from Cambridge to Roxberie that the line shall lie right to the upland therefor that common lands that fall within [] line of Mr. Harlackinden's side shall belong to him, and his forever and in respect of which so much of his own land as falleth in the outside of the line, he resigneth up unto the Town's use; also in regard Mr. Harlackinden hath upon his own particular charge made a ditch he shall be freed from all [] about making a causey or any other charge to make that path sufficient, and his bounds to remain according to the rail and ditch now is on every side of his land."

Over this route the travel soon began to make its way, for on Octo-

1. At the same date the names of the streets at the Boston end of the bridge — West Chester park and its continuations to the Edward Everett Square in Dorchester — were also changed to Massachusetts Avenue; so that this way is now said to be the longest single street in the Commonwealth. — ED

ber 25, 1640, the town of Boston ordered that a Bridge be made at Muddy River, and Mr. Colburn, Elliot, and Oliver are appointed to see it done."

May 25, 1642, a committee from Boston was "appointed to join with Dedham, Cambridge, and Watertown to lay out highways from town to town through Boston lands at Muddy River."

Similar committees were appointed by Cambridge from time to time, and frequent reference to the matter is made in the town records, but no agreement seems to have been reached as to a formal laying out of the highway, although such a way was then in actual use.

On January 19, 1662, it is recorded in the Cambridge records that "Mr. John Stedman, Edd. Oakes, Thos. Fox, and Edward Shepard are appointed to attend the laying out of the highway from our bounds leading towards Roxbery, as the law directeth." This was the year of the construction of the "Great Bridge" over Charles River, at what is now Boylston Street. The committees of the towns still not agreeing with the Boston committee, referees were appointed, and on December 16, 1662, the referees reported that "We, William Park, John Peirpont, and Thomas Weld, chosen to determine the highway leading from Cambridge through Boston bounds, the committees between the two towns not agreeing, doe conclude that the way shall goe without the common fields by Goodman Devotion¹ and Goodman

Stevens houses, and soe to Cambridge bounds as the ould way now runneth, whereunto the committee of Boston concurred, having left the same unto us."

The location as here given in Little Cambridge (now called Brighton) and Muddy River Village (now Brookline) has been well determined and followed the present location of Harvard Street, North Harvard Street, Cambridge Street, and Harvard Street in Brighton, and Harvard Street and Washington Street in Brookline. In Boston, the route followed the present location of Roxbury Street and Washington Street to the old Town House.

As the new bridge built in 1663 across Charles River was located some six hundred feet westerly of the old ferry, a portion of the old road and the "causie," as it was called, across the marsh, had to be

1. The house here referred to as the "Goodman Devotion House" is still standing and is known as the "Edward Devotion House," home of the founder of Brookline schools, on Harvard Street near Coolidge Corner, Brookline. It is open to the public on Saturday afternoons.

abandoned and located anew.¹ This relocation seems to have given rise to considerable controversy between the owners of the lands and the town, as frequent reference is made in the records of the town to the location of lands taken, payments for the same, etc. This matter seems finally to have been disposed of by a vote passed December 13, 1663, that "Mr. Edward Jackson, Edward Oakes, and Thomas Danforth are appointed by the Townsmen to lay out all necessary highways on the south side the water, and agree with the proprietors of the land for the same by exchange for common land or otherwise according to their discretion."

The location of this historic way has been further defined by seven milestones set in 1729 by P. Dudley, marking the route, three of which are still standing, together with a "parting stone," also set by P. Dudley in 1744 on Roxbury Street near Eliot Square, marking the junction of the ways to Boston, Dedham and Cambridge. These stones are indicated and numbered upon the accompanying map.

The old milestone now standing in the northeasterly corner of the burying ground near Harvard Square, marked "Boston 8 miles 1734 A.I." on its face and "Cambridge New Bridge 2 1/4 miles 1794" on its back, once stood on the easterly side of the old Court House in Harvard Square and marked the beginning of this highway to Boston.²

While the major part of this highway was outside of even the original limits of Cambridge, its history is of special interest because, for more than one hundred and fifty years, it was the route over which most of the travel from Cambridge to Boston, Roxbury, Dedham, and other towns passed.

1. On a very beautiful and accurate chart of Boston Bay (including the Charles River); published in 1776 by the British Admiralty in their Atlantic Neptune, both the old and the new roads are shown. They run parallel for about half a mile and then gradually converge. It will be noted that Dunster Street (then appropriately called Water Street) which ran down to the ferry was for a generation the only artery traffic to Boston. In dredging

for the foundation of the Cambridge pier of the Anderson Bridge in 1913 the remains of an ancient corduroy road were uncovered, remarkably well preserved in the river mud. The logs extended twenty feet below the present river bed and undoubtedly formed part of the "causie" of 1663. (See Harvard Graduates Magazine, xxi, 456) This "Great Bridge" was well named. It was larger than any so far erected in the colony – a triumph of Cambridge initiative. Moreover, it was a distinctly handsome affair. As soon as completed, it was ordered "to be laid [i.e. painted] in oil and lead," suggesting a considerably higher degree of finish than might be looked for in those early days. – ED.

2. The initials "A.I." stand for Abraham Ireland, who placed this stone just as "P.D." on the others of the series stand for Paul Dudley, who had placed them five years earlier. Ireland himself lies in the old burying ground near his milestone. He died in 1753, aged 80. Apparently he was not a native of Cambridge, for his gravestone records, "God brought him from a distant land." –ED.

GORE STREET AND THE GRAVES HOUSE

What is claimed to be the first house erected in Cambridge was built for the use of Thomas Graves, who came from England in July, 1629, to Salem, under an agreement with the Massachusetts Bay Company. Under this agreement, Mr. Graves was to receive fifty pounds a year and have a house and one hundred acres of land assigned to him and "to have a part thereof planted at the Company's charge." The one hundred acres of land with the house was located on what was soon called "Graves' Neck," afterwards Lechmere's Point, and now called East Cambridge, and Graves and family of wife and five children lived there a number of years.

In 1635 the house and land became the property of Atherton Haugh, who purchased more land, till in 1642 he owned about three hundred acres. In 1699 the widow of his grandson, Samuel Haugh, sold it to John Langdon, and in 1706 he sold it to Spencer Phipps, afterward Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts. A daughter of Spencer Phipps married Richard Lechmere, who on the death of his father-in-law in 1757 bought out the other heirs and so became owner of what was long known as "Lechmere Point."

The land upon which this house was built was entirely surrounded by marsh, covered at high tide with water, and was reached from the Watertown-Charlestown road by a bridge over Willis' Creek (Miller's River) and a causeway across the marsh, with a road leading to the house, which was on the northerly side of Spring Street between Third and Fourth Streets. This road and causeway played an important part in the movement of the British troops on April 18, 1775, when the eight hundred British soldiers from the Boston side were landed near the old Graves house, then standing, and marched over the road and causeway to the Milk Row Road, thence to the "road to Menotomy," and so on to Lexington and Concord. Later in the year 1775 and the early part of 1776, this old road was of great assistance in the work of fortifying the Point as a part of the Siege of Boston. The fort built here was considered the most important of any around Boston, and as such was carefully planned and armed with the larger cannon — even the causeway was protected by a small redoubt flanking it.

This road is shown upon a map of Boston and vicinity illustrating

Exactly when this portion of Brattle Street was opened for travel is not known, but in 1636 a causeway and foot bridge were ordered constructed across the creek and canal about at the westerly end of Spring Street (now a part of Mt. Auburn Street), so as to give access to the town spring or shallow well, which was a short distance south of the present line of Brattle Street — at or very near the present location of Brattle Hall, next the old Brattle house.

Later the road was extended until it joined the old Watertown road at Mason Street, where for many years a gate was located. The entire street soon became built up with large and imposing houses, and, as many of the owners manifested strong British sympathies during the Revolutionary period, it came to be known as "Tory Row." Since these Tories were members of the unpopular Church of England it was also dubbed "Church Row."

The portion of the street from "the North Easterly corner of Dr. Lowell's garden" (Elmwood Avenue) to "Wyeth's Sign Post," being its junction with Mt. Auburn Street, was laid out by the county as a county road in September, 1812. The whole street as laid out was narrow and in places crooked, and in addition the Cambridge Rail-

1. This map is based on the unreliable map of Pelham of 1776 and must be accepted with caution. the Gore Street Bridge here referred to does not seem to have been built until 1815. The bridge used by the British was probably some half a mile farther up the river where it had narrowed into a mere brook. The "Milk Row Road" is now Somerville Avenue. —ED.

road Company had built a horse car track its entire length, running to Watertown.¹

In 1869 a strong movement was begun to widen and straighten the street and a plan was prepared for the proposed improvement. Great opposition to this widening was developed, Prof. Longfellow, Prof. Lowell, and other influential men strongly opposing it; but in spite of this, the order for the widening was adopted December 14, 1870, making the street sixty feet wide from Harvard Square to Elmwood Avenue. One regrettable result of this widening was the removal of an old chestnut tree which then stood at the westerly side of Brattle Street just north of Story Street. This was the "Spreading Chestnut Tree" referred to in Longfellow's poem, "The Village Blacksmith," familiar to every schoolboy.

Under a spreading chestnut tree

The Village Smithy stands.

The smith, a mighty man is he,

With large and sinewy hands.

The part of Brattle Street from Elmwood Avenue to Mt. Auburn Street, laid out by the county in 1812 forty-nine and one-half feet wide, was widened to sixty feet in 1889.

VASSAL LANE

This is another street which bears a name common in Cambridge history before the Revolutionary War. It was a way or lane in common use at a very early day and seems then to have been generally called "Highway to Great Swamp." A part of this way or lane is shown on an old and very interesting plan, one of the earliest relating to Cambridge found on record, drawn by Abraham Fuller and dated April 14, 1760, recorded Book 167, Page 468, East Cambridge Registry of Deeds. This shows the lane from its present junction with Sparks Street to near Fresh Pond, also a portion of Brattle Street and Sparks Street, all very correct to scale. The lane was laid out by the city and widened to forty feet in 1888.

1. In 1825 the street was described as "a mere lane, with neither pavement nor sidewalk, and for a great part of the year a continuous quagmire, with no means of communication with the great world except by a two-horse stage-coach twice a day." (see A.P. Peabody, Harvard Graduates Whom I Have Known, 64.) The description probably applies to most Cambridge streets of that period. – ED

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INMAN STREET

The land upon which the present City Hall now stands, together with a large tract in the rear, once formed a part of what was long known as the Ralph Inman estate. Ralph Inman came from England, and in 1746 bought a large tract of land comprising about 180 acres extending from the present Massachusetts Avenue to Broadway. Upon this estate he built a large, roomy house which stood about opposite the end of Austin Street until it was moved away in 1873.

Interesting stories are told of the lavish entertainments given in this house by Mr. and Mrs. Inman prior to the troublous times of the Revolutionary War. Mr. Inman was an ardent Loyalist during the war period and was obliged to leave his home and family for several years, during which Mrs. Inman was left in charge of his affairs, which she managed with great skill and tact. The "Committee of Correspondence" of the town took possession of the place for public use, but it was finally returned to Mr. Inman. Gen. Israel Putnam made the house his headquarters during the Siege of Boston, when it was called "Barrack No. 1" and accommodated 3,460 soldiers.

The following incident of the time was related by Mr. B. F. Jacobs, for many years a resident of Cambridge, as having been told to him by a person who vouched for its accuracy. Upon the easterly corner of the Inman estate, fronting on what is now Massachusetts Avenue, there stood for many years a large, old-fashioned, wooden stable. This stable during the first of the Revolutionary War was used for a military hospital. General Washington, visiting this hospital one day, came to a very young soldier who had been shot in the jaw. He was suffering much pain and his head was heavily bandaged. General Washington kindly enquired how he was getting on. The soldier in a doleful tone said, "Very badly," he "didn't believe he would ever get out again." "Nonsense, my lad," the General cheerfully replied, "you are going to live to kiss the girls yet."

Mr. Inman died in 1788 and in 1792 Mr. Leonard Jarvis bought the property, but sold it to Jonathan L. Austin in 1801, who about 1805 laid out Austin Street from the Inman estate to

Main Street. Just when Inman Street was first laid out is not clear, but upon an old map of Boston and vicinity, including Cambridge, made by Major Pelham, an English officer in 1775, a way or lane is shown about on the present location of Inman Street. A plan drawn by Peter Tufts, Jr., dated

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1810, shows a way from Main Street to the Middlesex Turnpike (Hampshire Street) called "Inman's Lane," but another plan dated 1822 shows "Inman's Lane" only as far as Broadway. In 1835 the street was extended through to Hampshire Street and called for its entire length, Inman Street.

MAGAZINE STREET AND CAPTAIN'S ISLAND

The stories of Magazine Street and Captain's Island are somewhat closely connected, and begin with the granting by the town at some time between 1632 and 1637 of the small hillock of upland situated in the salt marsh at about the center of the bend in Charles River, immediately above the place where the river widens out, to one Captain Daniel Patrick, a soldier "out of Holland," as the account says, although his name would not indicate it.

He must have been among the first of the settlers to arrive here, for on September 7, 1630, he, with a Mr. Underbill, were appointed as "Military Commanders" by the General Court of the Colony, their pay to be partly in money and partly in supplies granted yearly, "their year to begin from the time they begin to keep house." His name appears with seven others in the list of inhabitants at Newtowne in 1632 in the town records, and also as having allotted to him as his share on January 7, 1632, five rods of the common pales; and on August 5, 1633, he was "granted a Akr for cowyardes." He lived while in Cambridge at the southeasterly corner of Boylston and Winthrop Streets. He was employed to exercise and drill the militia of the Colony, he having been a "common soldier of the Prince's Guard in Holland." At the latter part of his stay in Cambridge, it is said "he grew very proud and vicious."

He served three months in the Pequot (Indian) War, where he had command of forty men. He seems to have moved in 1637 to Watertown, where he was admitted to the church and served as a selectman in 1638; and later he moved to Stamford, Connecticut, where in a quarrel with a Dutchman in 1643 he was shot with a pistol and killed. Although he owned the land but for a comparatively short time, the name "Captain's Island" has been applied to the little patch of gravelly, barren land ever since.

It finally passed into the hands of Francis Dana, whose heirs on October 27, 1817, sold the lot containing three acres and twenty rods

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to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, upon which to erect "a public magazine of powder." This magazine was completed in September, 1818, and cost about \$6500. Peter Tufts, Jr., who owned a large estate near by, and was a well-known surveyor of that time,

and had formerly kept the powder house in Charlestown (now Somerville), was made keeper of the magazine.

Up to this time Captain's Island and the lands and marshes adjoining had been reached by the old "Way to Captain's Island," skirting the edge of the marsh from near where Pleasant Street now is. On August 24, 1818, the Commonwealth purchased from Edmund Dana and others the rights of way in a street from the "great road" to Captain's Island, with the agreement to keep the road open and in good repair. This road was soon called Magazine Street and remained in the care of the state until March 17, 1846, when the Commonwealth agreed to pay the town of Cambridge \$300 to repair the road and assume its future care and maintenance " from Main Street to the hill a short distance beyond the residence of the late Peter Tufts, Jr., about thirty-eight hundred feet in length, and fifty feet in width."

LINNAEAN STREET

As is well known, the Cambridge Common originally extended from Harvard Square to the present northeasterly line of Linnsean Street. The Common was used for parades, meetings, and other public purposes, but principally for the herding of cows and other cattle during the summer. In 1724, it was decided to divide the greater part of the Common into lots and assign them to individuals. At this time two highways were laid out — the northerly one from the "Road to Menotomy" to the "Highway to the Great Swamp" (Garden Street) for many years was called "Love Lane," a romantic name, which in 1850 was changed to Linnsean Street, after the great botanist Linnaeus, as the Botanic Garden stands on the corner of this street and Garden Street.¹

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1. It will be noticed from the above that the famous old Cooper-Austin house on this street, when built in 1657 and for many years thereafter, simply faced the open Common, without being served by any public road whatever. Such a condition seems to have been not unusual in the early days. the highways were mostly "trunk lines," not residential streets and many houses were built without much reference to them, a sightly and comfortable location being considered more important. —ED.

WATERHOUSE STREET

The other road laid out in 1724 formed the southerly boundary of the land taken from the Common, and thus became the northerly boundary of the present Common. It was later called Waterhouse Street, in honor of the famous Dr. Waterhouse, who introduced vaccination into this country, and who lived in the old house on this street.

Upon the large tract lying between Linnsean and Waterhouse Streets and thus cut off from the old Common, no roads seem to have been laid out until 1845, when Shepard Street and, in 1857, Chauncy Street, were laid out.

CAMBRIDGE COMMON

The reduction of the size of the Common in 1724 brought the area down from about eighty-two acres to about nine acres, which still remained in the control of the "Proprietors of Common Lands." On November 20, 1769, the proprietors voted to grant to the town all the lands belonging to them, and March 3, 1828, the selectmen reported that they had purchased all the remaining rights in the land and had "a good and sufficient deed of the same." Meanwhile, the Common remained open and unfenced, traversed and cut up by lines

of travel coming from several different directions. This tract proved a convenient spot on which students in the Scientific School of Harvard College could practice surveying and plan-making, and fortunately several of the maps drawn by students are preserved in the Harvard College Library.

On June 5, 1830, by an act of the General Court, five commissioners were appointed to enclose the Common with a fence and embellish it as a park. This was done, and the Common was finished in practically its present condition, the expense being met by private contributions.

CARE OF EARLY STREETS

It is instructive to learn that very early in its history the town began to take care of such roads and ways as it then had. On November 3, 1634, it was "ordered that every inhabitant in the Towne shall keepe the street Cleane from wood and all other things against his owne Ground, and whosoever shall have anny thinge lye in the street above one day after the next meetinge day shall forfeit V s. for every such

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default." Also, "John White is Chosen surveyor to see the highways and streete kept cleane and in repair for the yeare followeing."

It may be remembered that "Mr. Joseph Cook," who then lived on Holyoke Street, was in 1635 authorized by the town to keep the ferry across the river. In 1636 we find him looking after the streets of the town, for it was "agreed with Mr. Cook to take up all the stubbs that are within the bounds of the Town, that is within the Town gates, and he is to have nine pence apiece for taking up the same and filling up the holes all above three inches." In the following year, however, an agreement was made with Mr. Symon Crosby "to take up all the stubbs within the Town streets in any way of passage for horse carts or man, at four pence the stubb," a cut of five pence apiece. In 1639, Joseph Cook and Edward Goffe were given "power to cause all that have carriages that way to come together and mend the highway in the neck of land."

The town appears to have suffered even in that early day from the idea which seems all too prevalent now in these later days that public property can with impunity be appropriated to private uses. September 20, 1678, it is recorded that "the selectmen of Cambridge having many Complaints Come to them of the breaking the ground in the high wayes ... do order that whosoever shall dig any Clay or sand in any highway within the bounds of the Town of Cambridge shall pay five shillings for every load digged in the highway."

Among the many questions regarding the care of various kinds of live stock which were allowed to run at large on the commons and highways of the town, the proper control of swine seems to have been the most troublesome. In addition to the yearly election of "hog reeves," or wardens to look after them, numerous regulations and restrictions were passed and many fines for their infraction were imposed. In 1647 it was ordered, "that all hogs in this town shall be sufficiently yoaked and Ringed or else shutt up." The reference here is to the practice common at that time of placing rings in the snouts of swine to prevent rooting,

and attaching a frame or yoke about the neck to hamper their passing through fences when allowed to run loose. In this connection it is interesting to read another order dated February 23, 1662/3, as follows: "ordered that all swine be yoaked wth a crotch yoake or wth 2 cross peeces & yt ye same be in length & bredth proporconably to the bignes of ye Swine."

Another rather curious order passed on the same date is as follows:

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"Ordered that if any man be convicted that his dog is used to pull of the tails of any beasts, and do not effectually restrain Him, He shall pay for every offense of that kind twenty shillings in case that further complaynt be made."

LATER HISTORY (1775-1900)

From what has already been said, it will be seen that for more than one hundred and fifty years after the first settlement of the town, its growth and development had been very slow. In the year 1790, the entire population of Cambridge, then including Arlington and Brighton, was by the census given as 2,115, so that within the city limits as now defined the population must have been less than one thousand persons. The length of roadways then laid out and in use could not have exceeded twelve miles. Of manufactures, there was practically none. The principal interests of the people were about the college and the farms. The lack of convenient connections with Boston and the poor condition of the roads leading to other towns restricted intercourse, and must have tended to make the general social life narrow, self-centered and provincial.

It was only after more than half a century of effort on the part of certain citizens of the town to improve the primitive conditions then existing, and overcome the great natural barrier of the broad waters of the Charles River, that a bridge and causeway were constructed in 1793 from the "westerly part of Boston to Pelham's Island in the Town of Cambridge." The completion of the West Boston Bridge was followed by the construction of another bridge in 1809 from near Barton's Point in Boston to Lechmere Point in Cambridge, called the Canal or Craigie Bridge.

It is undoubtedly true that the construction of these two bridges was the most important of all the factors that contributed to the rapid increase in population and material prosperity which soon followed. Their construction soon led to the laying out and construction of a number of thoroughfares and main roads leading to and through Cambridge, and the cutting up of various large estates, by means of smaller streets, into house lots for sale and occupation. At about this time also another movement came into popular favor which became helpful to Cambridge interests in the same direction. Reference is here made to the policy of laying out and constructing trunk-line

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highways, connecting towns more or less widely separated, by a company incorporated by the Legislature for this special purpose. These were called "turnpike roads" and were built

by the incorporated companies, using private capital, acting under charters granted by the Legislatures, giving to them certain powers and imposing certain duties and restrictions. All over the country, at this time, these corporations were chartered to take over and build turnpike roads, especially where the municipal authority had not the means or the courage to construct them.

In most of the states, special laws were passed giving the corporations certain rights and defining their powers as to taking land, paying damages, limiting the amounts of tolls to be charged, number of toll gates, etc.¹ Acting under these special laws, it is said that in the New England states alone, some one hundred eighty-two turnpike corporations were chartered. The most of them proved to be financial failures and were abandoned, and many of the roads surrendered to the county commissioners of the county in which the roads were located. Indirectly, however, they were of great benefit to the country in stimulating an interest in better transportation facilities, especially between the more important towns.

CONCORD AVENUE AND BROADWAY

Cambridge was the terminal point of several of these turnpike roads constructed during this period. The first was called the "Cambridge and Concord Turnpike Corporation," and was chartered May 5, 1803, to construct a turnpike or toll road from a point near the dwelling house of Jonas Wyeth in Cambridge to Concord, Mass., passing by the summer-house of Dr. Andrew Craigie, who, as customary, later had a suit with the corporation for damages.²

March 5, 1805, a charter was given the same corporation to extend the turnpike from the Cambridge Common easterly to the causeway of West Boston Bridge "in as straight a line as the circumstances will permit," but not to go nearer than a distance of ninety feet from the new building of Harvard College then being built, now called Stough-

1. A typical schedule of toll charges is given on page 52 relating to Main Street and West Boston Bridge.</note>

2. This summer-house was built by John Vassal, Craigie's predecessor in the property, on the site of the present Harvard Observatory, and standing alone on the crown of the highest hill in town was a prominent landmark. The Wyeth house was about on the corner of Garden Street and Phillips Place.— ED.

ton Hall. The easterly terminus of this turnpike was to be at the "causeway of West Boston Bridge near the house of Royal Makepeace." This portion of the street was first called Concord Street and finally called Broadway.

The westerly portion of the road was completed December 1, 1806, and in February, 1807, it was declared open for business. The part from the Common easterly was not completed until several years later; for in March, 1811, the corporation petitioned to be relieved of its construction, but the petition was dismissed in January, 1812. Two toll gates, which were not to be "closely located," were allowed to be built in this road.

September, 1826, the company turned over all its papers to the county commissioners and asked to have the road laid out as a public way, which was done in May, 1829, making it a county road.

HAMPSHIRE STREET

Another ambitious scheme, called "The Middlesex Turnpike," was chartered January 15, 1805. The road began at the Tyngsborough Meeting House, passing through Chelmsford, Billerica, Bedford, Lexington, Arlington, and by the old Menotomy road to Porter Square, Cambridge, thence in nearly a straight line to the Cambridge and Concord Turnpike Road at what is now known as Mechanics Square. This road is now known as Hampshire Street in Cambridge. One of the toll houses on this turnpike stood at the intersection of Beacon and Washington Streets, Somerville.

On petition of the corporation, it was dissolved by the Legislature, March 13, 1841, and the turnpike became a county road in September, 1842.

WESTERN AVENUE AND BRIDGE

Another corporation was chartered June 12, 1824, to construct a turnpike through the towns of Cambridge, Brighton and Watertown. This enterprise had several unique features. It was virtually promoted by the proprietors of the West Boston Bridge to offset the loss they feared would result in decreased patronage on the West Boston Bridge, then a toll bridge, by reason of a newly authorized turnpike road connecting Watertown with the "Mill Dam Road," in Boston. The plan of this Cambridge to Watertown turnpike shows the route

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"from the pump in Watertown, to Cambridge, on the way to the pump in Dock Square"—two rather unusual termini to be given a turnpike road, especially at that time!

Again, there were to be no tolls charged, so, of course, there were no toll houses or gates. The entire cost of the road, including two bridges over the Charles River, was to be borne by the company.

The West Boston Bridge Corporation, in 1846, sold their entire interest in these and other properties to the Hancock Free Bridge Corporation, and named the turnpike "Western Avenue." In 1855, it was laid out by the city of Cambridge as a public highway.

RIVER STREET AND BRIDGE

On March 2, 1808, Jonathan L. Austin, a Cambridge man who lived on Inman Street, opposite the head of Austin Street,¹ with other real estate owners, were incorporated and authorized to construct a bridge and connecting highway, now called River Street, leading from Brighton to Main Street, at its junction with Western Avenue — as Mr. Paige states in his History of Cambridge "for the advantage of the proprietors of the West Boston Bridge and the owners of real estate in Cambridgeport." This bridge (then called the "Brighton and Cambridgeport Bridge") and street (first called "Brighton Street") were completed and

opened for travel December 11, 1810, and they were maintained by the corporation until 1832, when, after much discussion, the town assumed their care and maintenance.

BROOKLINE STREET AND BRIDGE

Another toll-collecting enterprise was called the "Cambridge and Brookline Bridge Corporation," composed largely of Cambridge men, and was chartered April 25, 1850, to connect Cambridge and Brookline by a bridge, with causeways leading to existing streets in both places. Tolls were to be collected but were not to exceed a specified schedule. This led to the laying out and extension of Brookline Street to the street already laid out from Massachusetts Avenue to Auburn Street and called "Canal Street" in 1852, and the development of large tracts of land in the vicinity. The bridge and its approaches were made free and taken over as highways by the municipalities April 6, 1870. The old toll house stood on the westerly side of Brookline Street, a little south of Granite Street.

1. See p. 43, ante.

WEST BOSTON (NOW CAMBRIDGE) BRIDGE

The construction of this bridge and the approaching causeways at each end were authorized by an act of the Legislature, dated March 9, 1792, and the bridge was open for travel November 23, 1793. The main bridge was 3,483 feet long, -with a causeway on the Boston side extending nearly to South Russell Street and with another causeway on the Cambridge side extending from the westerly end of the bridge to the easterly side of "Pelham's Island," near Moore Street, a distance of about 3,600 feet. At the opening of the bridge and causeway in 1793, a toll house was located on the north side of the causeway, at its extreme westerly end, near Moore Street. Upon the laying out of Harvard Street and other streets leading into the causeway, about 1805, the toll house was moved, and in 1835 it stood about 900 feet easterly of the junction of Broadway. Later it was moved again and placed on the southerly side of the bridge, nearly opposite where First Street now comes into Main Street. In 1810 there was another toll house shown on the northerly side of the causeway, at Grove Street, Boston.

As illustrating the "spirit of the age" as it existed one hundred and twenty-five years ago, the schedule of tolls to be collected at these toll houses may be found of interest:

"Each foot passenger (or one person passing), two-thirds of a penny; one person and horse, two pence two-thirds of a penny; single horse, cart or sled, or sley, four pence; wheelbarrows, hand-carts, and other vehicles capable of carrying like weight, one penny, one-third of a penny; single horse and chaise, chair or sulky, eight pence; coaches, chariots, phaetons and curricles, one shilling each; all other wheel carriages or sleds drawn by more than one beast, six pence; neat cattle and horses passing the said bridge, exclusive of those rode or in carriages or teams, one penny, one-third of a penny; swine and sheep, four pence for each dozen, and at the same rate for a greater or less number; and in all cases the same toll shall be paid for all carriages and vehicles passing the said bridge, whether the same be loaded or not loaded; and to each team one man and no more shall be allowed as a driver to pass free from payment of toll, and in all cases **DOUBLE TOLL SHALL BE PAID ON THE**

LORD'S DAY; and at all times when the toll gatherer shall not attend to his duty the gate or gates shall be left open."

Considering the limited resources of the time it must be conceded that this whole enterprise was a very large and creditable one and that the enthusiasm of the Columbian Centinel, a newspaper of the time, was excusable when it declared that "The elegance of the workmanship, and the magnitude of the undertaking are perhaps unequalled in the history of enterprises."¹

MAIN STREET

Main Street, as originally so called, extended from the abutment of the West Boston Bridge to Harvard Square. In 1894 the name of Massachusetts Avenue was given to the portion between Lafayette Square and Harvard Square. The remaining portion, which is now called Main Street, was first laid out as an approach to the West Boston Bridge in 1793.

This causeway was built entirely upon marsh land and was originally laid out 130 feet wide, but the roadway itself was constructed only 40 feet wide and was made of the material taken from the two wide ditches or canals dug one on each side of the roadway, which was enclosed by retaining walls or bulkheads on each side, with capstone and railing on top. Later the roadway was filled out to 70 feet in width, and about 30 feet beyond on each side of the way as filled was released back to the abutting owners, making the final width as at present constructed 70 feet.

From the end of the causeway near Moore Street, the road was constructed across Pelham's Island "in the most direct and practicable line to the nearest part of the Cambridge Road," which was the old road formerly called the "Way to Pelham's Island."

On the Boston side the causeway was built from the end of the bridge near Grove Street to near what is now South Russell Street, Boston. This made the total length of bridge and causeways about 8,800 feet, or 1 2/3 miles.

The "Pelham's Island" here referred to was a tract of upland containing about 20 acres, slightly elevated above the marsh land, and extending from near the present location of Moore Street to near Columbia Street. It was largely surrounded by marsh land, and on the west was bounded by a brook or narrow creek which crossed the

1. For a more complete description of the Cambridge bridges see paper, "An Historical Account of Some Bridges over the Charles River," in Cambridge Historical Society, Proceedings, vii, 51 et seq.

present location of Massachusetts Avenue near Lafayette Square, making it an island at high tide. It was so called because it was owned at one time by Herbert Pelham, who came

from England to this country in 1638 or 1639 and settled in Cambridge at the northwesterly corner of South and Dunster Streets.

The following is an interesting anecdote which is related concerning Mr. Pelham. It seems that on November 17, 1638, about the time of the arrival of Mr. Pelham with his three motherless children in this country, a Mr. Roger Harlakenden, another prominent and highly respected man in the colony, had suddenly died of smallpox, leaving a widow and two children and also the house at the corner of Dunster and South Streets. By his will he provided that £100 should be paid from his estate to the church. Mr. Pelham soon married the widow Harlakenden and with the combined families occupied the Dunster Street house, and in the spring of 1640 he paid the bequest by giving to the church a milch cow!

He was quite prominent in public affairs for about ten years, returning to England in 1649, and dying in 1673. He left one son named Edward in this country. [14]

In 1756 Ralph Inman, for whom Inman Street was named, became the owner of the "island." In 1792 the land was conveyed to Leonard Jarvis, a large landowner at that time, and it was from him that the proprietors of the West Boston Bridge obtained the land needed for making the connecting road from the causeway to the "Way to Pelham's Island" above referred to.

The construction of the bridge and causeway immediately led to the presentation of a petition by James Winthrop, Esquire, to the Court of Sessions, to "improve the road which leads from Pelham's Island in the Town of Cambridge to the public meeting house in the first parish of said Town." A committee was appointed by the court which reported September 18, 1793, recommending that the way be laid out, with some alterations in the lines, by certain bounds and measurements.

As the description of the boundaries of the street included in the

1. Pelham was as near an aristocrat as Cambridge ever saw. His mother was the eldest daughter of Lord Delaware and his father a near relative of the Duke of Newcastle. His first wife, who died before he left Lincolnshire for America, was granddaughter of Sir William Waldegrave, and his second the daughter of Colonel Godfrey Bosville. His sister Penelope married Governor Bellingham. After his return to England he became a member of Parliament. (See Paige, History of Cambridge, 625.) See further, p. 96, post.— ED

report of the committee is rather unique, a part of it is quoted here: "The northerly bound of said way begins at the northwesterly corner of the Causeway thrown up by the proprietors of the new bridge (so called) and runs from thence by a straight line to a pear tree nearly opposite the mansion house of Leonard Jarvis, Esquire, and from thence by a straight line to the centre of a barberry bush standing in the present old proprietors way near the wall at the northerly side thereof, and from thence by a straight line to the southeasterly corner post of the fence inclosing the yard in front of the mansion house of Francis Dana, Esquire, and from thence by the fence as it now stands to a small stake and stones nearly opposite to a blacksmith's shop on land of Wm. Winthrop, Esquire, and from thence by sundry stakes across said old proprietors way and part of the land of said Winthrop to an apple tree in said Winthrop's land near said old proprietors way, thence

again crossing said old proprietors way by sundry stakes to a well in land of Edmund Dana, from thence by sundry stakes to a large stake in the fence near (and a little eastward) the parsonage house (so called) and from thence by a straight line to common land before the meeting house, to strike said common land fifty-three feet distant from the front of a dwelling house belonging to Andrew Boardman, Esquire, which finishes the northerly bound of said new Way."

Probably no better evidence can be given of the unsophisticated character of the men of Cambridge at that time than is indicated by the foregoing description of the bounds of one of its principal highways.

While some changes have been made in the lines of Main Street at certain points by widenings at various times, the street remains at present substantially as then laid out, and forms one of the principal approaches to the city from the east.

It was over this street that for many years one of the stage lines passed leading west from Boston. The following clipping from the Massachusetts Register of 1819 gives "A list of the stages that start from taverns in Boston." "New line of half-hourly coaches between Cambridgeport and Boston leave as follows, viz.: Half past seven A.M. and continue to leave each office every half-hour through the day until 8 P.M. Passengers taken and left at any place in Cambridge, Cambridgeport, and Boston. Office in Boston at 51 Brattle Street. Fare to Cambridge 25 cents, Cambridgeport 12 1/2 cents."

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It was upon this street also that one of the first horse car lines to operate in this country was located in 1856, first running from Central Square, Cambridge, to West Cedar Street, Boston.

CANAL (OR CRAIGIE) BRIDGE

The movement which ultimately led to the construction of the Canal Bridge and the two important avenues of Cambridge Street and Bridge Street was begun in 1738 when a number of Cambridge citizens applied to the General Court for liberty to establish a ferry between Cambridge and Boston. Another petition was presented the same year for the right to construct a bridge from "Colonel Phipps Farm" (now East Cambridge) to Boston. In 1785 another petition to the same effect was presented, but nothing came of either until after the construction of the West Boston Bridge in 1792-93, as before related.

The success of the Charlestown and West Boston Bridges and the acquirement by Mr. Andrew Craigie of the control of the large tract of land on and westerly of Lechmere Point led to a revival of the scheme to construct a bridge from Lechmere Point to Boston, and on October 27, 1807, Mr. Craigie and twelve associates were incorporated with authority to build the Canal Bridge. It was called "Canal Bridge" because one-third of the shares were to be held by the individual proprietors of the Middlesex Canal Corporation, but it soon came to be familiarly called "Craigie's Bridge." The bridge was completed and opened for travel in August, 1809.

The original length of the bridge was about 2,800 feet, but prior to 1834 a large portion of the bridge at the Cambridge end, about 1,150 feet in length, was removed and filled solid to form a part of Bridge Street. Leverett Street on the Boston side was also extended about 400 feet to the present harbor line. The toll house stood on the northerly side of the bridge about 400 feet easterly of Prison Point Street. Together with several other bridges it was purchased by the Hancock Free Bridge Corporation in 1846, and in 1858 it was made a free bridge. In 1910 the entire bridge was removed and replaced by the solid embankment of the Charles River Dam as a part of the Metropolitan Park System.

CAMBRIDGE STREET

Upon the completion of the Canal Bridge in 1809, Mr. Andrew Craigie and four others were incorporated March 3, 1810, as the

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"Lechmere Point Corporation." They then held great tracts of land in the easterly section of the town, extending from the easterly end of the Point to a line west of what is now Inman Square, and they made plans for an extensive land development and sale. In this, Andrew Craigie was the prime mover.

It was first necessary to secure a connection between the new bridge and Harvard Square with its connecting thoroughfares. Two men, William Winthrop and Francis Foxcroft, owned the lands on the line of the proposed new street from its junction with the Concord turnpike (now Broadway) to near its crossing of the Middlesex turnpike (now Hampshire Street). These two men joined with Mr. Craigie and his associates in laying out and grading the way afterwards called Cambridge Street from its junction with Broadway running easterly to its junction with Bridge Street in a straight line, a distance of 10,800 feet. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Craigie and the two others did not control all the land on this line, for a length of about 750 feet near Elm Street was held by owners adverse to the Lechmere Point Corporation. The town failing to lay out the street, a petition dated June 6, 1809, was presented to the General Court or Legislature to lay out the street. To this the town remonstrated and the Legislature declined to locate the road. The road finally was laid out by the town July 10, 1809. Further litigation then ensued as to the right of Mr. Craigie and Mr. Winthrop to claim or recover damages for land taken in the layout of the street of their own promotion. This was finally settled on January 5, 1813, by the Court of Sessions finding that the two men "had sustained no damages."

The laying out of this street of ample width and on a straight line connecting these two civic centers was a great public improvement. Much of the land in the central part was low and flat, and at that time covered with wood and blueberry bushes. It was in this vicinity that the bear killed September 19, 1754, as mentioned in Paige's History of Cambridge, was reported to have been first seen.

BRIDGE STREET

Bridge Street was originally laid out, in connection with the Cambridge Street project, to connect with the territory lying to the north and northwest of Lechmere Point.

It began at its junction with Cambridge Street, now called Lechmere Square, where the westerly abutment of the Canal Bridge was

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first located in 1809. From this point to Gore Street, Bridge Street was laid out in 1810 by the Court of Common Pleas. From Gore Street to Third Street it was laid out by the town in 1829, and from Third Street to the center of Miller's River it was laid out by the county in 1839. At some time prior to 1834, Bridge Street was extended easterly about 1,150 feet over the filling to the new position of the abutment of the Canal Bridge, and in 1856 this portion of the street was laid out by the city as a public way.

EAST CAMBRIDGE STREETS

Immediately following the successful efforts of the Lechmere Point Corporation, with Mr. Craigie at its head, to secure the laying out of Cambridge Street by the town, the project of cutting the property owned by them into streets and lots was undertaken. In 1811 a complete plan of the streets and lots for the district was prepared by Peter Tufts, Jr., a well-known surveyor of that time, and recorded in the East Cambridge Registry of Deeds, and the sale of lots began and has since been carried out in substantial accordance with the original plan.

This plan, however, only covered lands extending to about where Charles Street now is. The rest of the large area extending to Broad Canal was subsequently purchased by another corporation called the "East Cambridge Land Company," who in 1869 laid out this tract along the same general lines as that followed by the Lechmere Point Corporation.

MT. AUBURN STREET

Another important act which aroused great interest in the town, which was then divided by opposing interests into two practically hostile camps, was the laying out of a new way from the junction of what is now Mt. Auburn Street and Elmwood Avenue to Brattle Square, forming a part of what is now Mt. Auburn Street.

The parties having interests in the new West Boston Bridge and connecting streets wished to "establish the road as now laid out from the garden of the Hon. Elbridge Gerry (Elmwood Avenue, corner Mt. Auburn Street) to the garden of the late Thomas Brattle, Esquire" (at Brattle Square). On the other hand, Mr. Craigie and his friends wished the new road to run from what is now the junction of Mt. Auburn Street and Elmwood Avenue in a straight line to the junction

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of Brattle Street and Mason Street, and offered to give the land and build the road as far as his land went. This, of course, would tend to send the Boston-wise travel over Cambridge Street and Craigie's bridge and so help develop the Craigie interests in that direction.

On December 26, 1805, the town voted to present a petition to the Court of Sessions in favor of the first plan, but at a meeting held February 17, 1806, this action was reversed, and November 17, 1806, the town voted in favor of the second plan, and May 27, 1807, the selectmen laid out the road as desired by Mr. Craigie. The town, however, seems to have again changed its mind, for on May 2, 1808, it voted to lay out the street by the first plan, appropriated \$3,000 to construct the street, and directed the selectmen to build the street at once. Mr. Craigie and others immediately protested against this, and seem to have taken physical means to prevent the carrying out of the order; for on June 7, 1808, the town directed the selectmen to complete the work and prosecute "Andrew Craigie and others for trespass committed, or which may hereafter be committed by him or others upon the road."

On September 6, 1808, the town voted to extend the street from Holyoke Street to Main Street, thus completing the road from the Watertown line to its junction with Massachusetts Avenue at Putnam Square, as the part from Brattle Square to Holyoke Street was the original "Spring Street" of 1635.¹

HARVARD STREET

Harvard Street is another important thoroughfare. Its easterly portion, originally called "Canal Street," formed a part of the scheme of development promoted in the early part of the nineteenth century

1. At the March meeting of 1809 the selectmen reported "that the road from Messrs. Orne's & Company store to the Mall, or the town road, near the Town Spring (so called) has also been finished with the exception that the railing on one side of that part which crosses the marsh is not completed." Orne's store stood near the foot of Elmwood Avenue. (See Cambridge Historical Society Proceedings, xiii, 85.) The Mall was on the southerly side of Brattle Square. It was one of the numerous improvements made on his estate by Thomas Brattle, when he returned from England after the Revolution, full of horticultural enthusiasm. He enlarged the gardens behind his house till they extended to the river, and "planted a long walk of trees for the especial benefit of the students, where they might take their exercise sheltered from the sun." [!] (See T. C. Amory, Old Cambridge and New, 21.) The landward slope of Simon's Hill (where the Cambridge Hospital now stands) was in the line of the new road, and was used to "cut and fill," thereby losing much of its substance. There is a tradition that so much filling had to be dumped into the marsh at the point where the road borders the river that the weight pushed up a temporary island of mud in the middle of the stream, after the manner of the celebrated "Culebra Cut" of recent times.— ED.

to make of Cambridge a port of entry for commerce; and this part of the street, in addition to some controlled by other owners as far west as Norfolk Street, was laid out at that time. The portion between Quincy Square and a point just east of Hancock Street was laid out by the town in August, 1808, and the abutting land was put into house lots for sale by the heirs of Francis Dana between 1830 and 1840.

MUSEUM STREET

An unusual case of a steam railroad location being abandoned and afterward utilized as a highway is found in Museum Street. In 1848, a small branch line running from the Fitchburg Railroad in Somerville to a terminal on Holmes Place was incorporated as the "Harvard Branch Railroad." It was intended to furnish accommodations for persons connected with Harvard College and those located in the vicinity. The first train was run December 31,

1849. The road proved a financial failure and was sold at auction on July 6, 1855, to William L. Whitney, a Cambridge citizen, for \$10,500, and the old station and land on Holmes Place was sold to Harvard College. Some of the remaining land in the old right of way was also taken in by the college. Another section of the old right of way about one thousand feet long, after remaining vacant for some years, gradually became used as a street and was accepted by the city as Museum Street in 1902 and 1915.

PUTNAM AVENUE

What is now called Putnam Avenue is a unification of several detached streets. From Mt. Auburn Street to Western Avenue, the present location is said to largely coincide with the old "Way to the Little Neck." During the Revolutionary War, a large redoubt was built easterly of and adjacent to this way, which remained visible until a comparatively recent time. In 1840, a street was laid out by the town on the line of this way and called "Fort Street," afterwards called Putnam Street.

The portion between Western Avenue and River Street was laid out in 1865 as "Kent Street," and in 1873 the street was extended by the city from River Street to Pleasant Street as "Walnut Street." In 1850, 1847 and 1838, respectively, the following parts had been laid out by the various owners, Pleasant Street to Magazine Street,

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Magazine Street to Pearl Street and Pearl Street to Waverly Street; and in 1873 the entire street was renamed Putnam Avenue by the city.

WENDELL AND MELLEN STREETS

The tract of land extending from Everett Street to beyond Wendell Street and from Massachusetts Avenue to beyond Oxford Street was originally owned by members of the Brattle family, and the daughter of Gen. William Brattle, Katherine Brattle, lived for many years in a house which stood near Wendell Street, fronting on Massachusetts Avenue. She had married in 1752 Mr. John Mico Wendell and was known during the latter part of her life as "Madam Wendell." Upon the death of her brother, Thomas Brattle, in 1801, the property went to Madam Wendell's two granddaughters, Martha F. Wendell, who married the Rev. John Mellen, and Katherine Wendell, who married the Rev. Caleb Gannett. Madam Wendell died in 1821 at the advanced age of ninety years.

When this tract was developed in 1847, and streets and lots were laid out upon it, the family names of Wendell and Mellen were given to the two streets.

OXFORD STREET

Oxford Street, from Kirkland Street to Everett Street, had been laid out about 1840, and by the development of the Wendell property in 1847, it was extended about 800 feet. In 1851 another extension was made and in 1858 Oxford Street was laid out to the Somerville line through the Frost estate, thus completing the entire street as it now exists.

The laying out and construction of these main thoroughfares and streets above described led directly to the cutting up of many of the larger estates by the laying out of streets, and the subdivision of the land into house lots for occupation and sale. The story of all these smaller street developments would be long and not especially interesting. It may be

sufficient to say that in fourteen of the larger land developments from the year 1811 to 1873, about eighteen miles of new streets were laid out, with a large number of house lots upon them for occupation.

NAMES AND DATES OF STREETS

Historic interest is often associated with a street not solely by reason of events which may have transpired upon it, but sometimes because of the name it bears. This seems to be especially true of Cambridge, where many of the streets bear the names of persons or places famed in American history. The following are some of the streets, the origin of whose names is fairly well known.

Eleven streets have been named for past presidents of Harvard University:

Chauncy Street for Charles Chauncy

Dunster Street for Henry Dunster

Everett Street for Edward Everett

Felton Street for Cornelius C. Felton

Holyoke Street for Edward Holyoke

Kirkland Street for John T. Kirkland

Langdon Street for Samuel Langdon

Quincy Street for Josiah Quincy

Sparks Street for Jared Sparks

Walker Street for James Walker

Willard Street for Joseph Willard

Six streets were named for members or relatives of the Judge Francis Dana family:

Allston Street Kinnaird Street

Dana Street Remington Street

Ellery Street Trowbridge Street

The following were named for the nine prominent counties of the state:

Berkshire Street Middlesex Street

Bristol Street Norfolk Street

Essex Street *Plymouth Street*
Hampshire Street *Suffolk Street*
Worcester Street

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The following six street names were made familiar by the War of 1812:

Decatur Street *Lawrence Street*
Erie Street *Niagara Street*
Lake Street *Perry Street*

Between Massachusetts Avenue and the Somerville line near the town of Arlington was established during the Civil War a large military camp called "Camp Cameron." There are now five streets there whose names are reminiscent of the Civil War and its Cambridge camp:

Cameron Street *Fair Oaks Street*
Camp Street *Seven Pines Street*
Yorktown Street

The following streets bear the names of well-known colleges:

Amherst Street *Tech Street*
Harvard Street *Vassar Street*
Princeton Avenue *Wellesley Street*

Some of the governors of the state are remembered in names of the following streets:

Ames Street *Fowler Street*
Danforth Street *Gore Street* ¹
Endicott Street *Greenhalge Street*
Hutchinson Street

The following streets have names whose derivation is fairly well known, and also the approximate dates of their being laid out as streets by the original owners:

ABERDEEN AVENUE, for Aberdeen, Scotland, by Alex. McDonald, landowner.....	Laid out 1886
AGASSIZ STREET, for Prof. Louis Agassiz, naturalist.....	1886
ALLSTON STREET, for Washington Allston, painter.....	1838 and 1847
APPIAN WAY, named prior to 1837.....	1800
APPLETON STREET, for John Appleton.....	1861
ARLINGTON STREET, formerly called "Chapel Street".....	1862
ASH STREET, ancient way to town landing.....	1684

In the neighborhood of Gore Street the impression seems to prevail that it was named with reference to the slaughter houses located there! — ED.

	Laid out
AUSTIN STREET, for Jonathan L. Austin, landowner.....	about 1801
AVON HILL STREET, formerly called "Jarvis Court".....	1858
BALDWIN STREET, for Judge J. F. Baldwin, formerly called "Tremont Street".....	1853
BANKS STREET, by heirs of William Winthrop.....	about 1844
BIGELOW STREET, for Benjamin Bigelow, early landowner, formerly called "Beacon Street".....	1868
BINNEY STREET, for Amos Binney, real estate owner and treasurer of the Proprietors of Canal Bridge.	
BEECH STREET, until 1848 called "Medford Street".....	prior to 1775
BENT STREET, for Newell Bent, landowner.....	1869
BERKELEY STREET, for Bishop George Berkeley.....	1852
BOARDMAN STREET, for Andrew Boardman, early landowner.....	1805
BOND STREET, for Prof. George Bond, astronomer.....	1842
BOYLSTON STREET. From Harvard Square to Eliot Street	

*first called "Wood Street." From Eliot Street to the
bridge called the "Causie" 1663 et seq. For many years
it formed a part of the "Way from Cambridge to Roxbery."*

In 1838 the street was called " Brighton Street."

December 1,1882, the name was changed to Boylston Street.

*BRATTLE STREET, for Brattle family, residents on
street from 1696 to 1801. Date of laying out of
street from Brattle Square to Mason Street unknown.*

Mason Street to Elmwood Avenue part of ancient

Way to Charlestown. Elmwood Avenue to

Mt. Auburn Street laid out by county in.....Sept., 1812

*BREWSTER STREET, for John Brewster, financier and
landowner 1887*

*BRIDGE STREET, by Lechmere Point Corporation
as an approach to Canal Bridge.....1809*

*BROADWAY, originally a part of the Cambridge and Concord
turnpike, first called "Concord Street".....1805*

*BROOKLINE STREET, Massachusetts Avenue to Auburn Street
called "Canal Street." Auburn Street to bridge laid
out in 1851 and called Brookline Street in 1852.....about 1824*

*CAMBRIDGE STREET, from Canal Bridge at Charles River,
now Bridge Street, to near Elm Street, laid out by
Lechmere Point Corporation as Cambridge Street prior
to 1809. From Elm Street westerly to Broadway, called
"Foxcroft Street," for John Foxcroft, landowner; and
sometimes called "Craigie Street" for Andrew Craigie.....1835 to 1848*

*Name established as Cambridge Street its entire
length by city of Cambridge..... Sept. 26, 1848*

*CHAUNCY STREET, for Charles Chauncy, second president
of Harvard University.....1857*

*CHURCH STREET, for First Parish Church, formerly called
"Hancock Street," for Torrey Hancock. Completed about 1835*

CLARK STREET, for Charles Clark, landowner.....1840

COOLIDGE AVENUE, for Josiah Coolidge, landowner.....about 1850

*CONCORD AVENUE, laid out as a turnpike road in
1803, called Concord turnpike. In 1829 taken by
the county. In 1846 it became a city street.*

CRAIGIE STREET, for Andrew Craigie, landowner.....about 1851

*DANA STREET, ancient "Highway to the Common Pales."
Afterwards named for Dana family, landowners.....1835*

*DAVIS STREET, for Mason Davis, landowner, called "Mason
Street" until 1840.....about 1805*

*DUNSTER STREET, for Henry Dunster, first president of
Harvard University.....1632*

ELLERY STREET, for Elizabeth Ellery, wife of Edmund Dana.....1838

*FARWELL PLACE, for Levi Farwell, formerly called "School
Court," name changed in 1872 to Farwell Place.....1830 to 1837*

*FAYERWEATHER STREET, for Thomas Fayerweather, landowner.
A private way on plan of 1760. Accepted in.....1851*

*FOLLEN STREET, for Rev. Charles Follen, originally called
"Follen Place."*

*GARDEN STREET, an ancient way. Until 1848 easterly end
called "Washington Street." Name changed to Garden
Street for the Botanic Gardens started in 1805.*

GORE STREET, for Christopher Gore, governor of Massachusetts
1809 and 1810.....1811

HAMPSHIRE STREET, a part of the Middlesex Turnpike,
chartered in 1805. A county road from 1842 to 1846.
When Cambridge was made a city it became a city street,.....1846

HARVARD STREET, for Harvard College. From Main Street
to near Windsor Street, called "Canal Street,"
laid out about 1804. From the parsonage at Harvard
Square to near Windsor Street, as Harvard Street, by the town.....1808

HAYWARD STREET, for James Hayward, early surveyor.....1902

BILLIARD STREET, for William Hilliard, publisher.
Formerly called "Woodbine Lane."1852

HOLMES PLACE, for Rev. Abiel Holmes, whose house stood
there.

HOLYOKE STREET, for Rev. Edward Holyoke, president of
Harvard University, first called "Crooked Street"1632

HUBBARD PARK ROAD, for Gardiner G. Hubbard, landowner.....1907

INMAN STREET, for Ralph Inman, early landowner.
Massachusetts Avenue to Broadway called "Inman's Lane"
in 1810, later called "Grove Street." Extended to
Hampshire Street in 1835, and called Inman Street
its entire length.

JARVIS STREET, for Nathaniel Jarvis, landowner.....1861

KINNAIRD STREET, for Lord Kinnaird, England, married one
of the Dana family.....1852

Harvard University, called "Washington Street" until 1830, sometimes called "Professors' Row." A travelled way to Charlestown prior to 1631.

LANGDON STREET, for Samuel Langdon, president of Harvard College, 1774-1780.

LEE STREET, for Nathaniel C. Lee, landowner.....1809

LINNEAN STREET, for botanist Linnseus, formerly called "Love Lane." Laid out 1724. Name changed in.....1850

MAGAZINE STREET, for state powder magazine at Captain's Island.....1818

MAIN STREET, originally laid out and constructed as a causeway forming an approach to West Boston Bridge in 1793. Laid out as a part of Main Street by the city in.....1855

MASON STREET, a part of the "Way from Watertown to Charlestown" in 1631.

MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, Harvard Bridge to Lafayette Square. Laid out by the city in 1889, called for a time "Front Street Extension," includes part of a street then called Front Street.

Lafayette Square to Quincy Square. First called "Way to Pelham's Island"; later called "Road from Colleges to West Boston Bridge"; still later called a part of "Main Street." Quincy Square to Harvard Square. First called "Braintree Street," later a part of Harvard Street.

Harvard Square to Arlington line. First called "Road to Menotomy," later called "North Avenue."

From 1805 to 1842 the portion from Porter Square to Arlington line was a part of the Middlesex turnpike.

Entire street named Massachusetts Avenue.....March 30, 1894

MELLEN STREET, for Rev. John Mellen, whose wife was a Wendell, by whom the Wendell Street and Mellen Street tract was laid out in.....1847

MERCER CIRCLE, for Gertrude Mercer, wife of Gardiner G. Hubbard.....1884

MT. AUBURN STREET, Elmwood Avenue to the Watertown line, a part of the "Way from Watertown to Charlestown" in 1631

Elmwood Avenue to Brattle Square laid out by the town and called "Lower road to Mt. Auburn" in..... 1808

Brattle Square to Holyoke Street, one of the first streets laid out by the town and called "Spring Street".....about 1632

Holyoke Street to Putnam Square laid out by the town.Sept. 6, 1808

MUNROE STREET, for Edmund Munroe, landowner, one of the incorporators of the East Cambridge Land Co.....1869

MUSEUM STREET, for Agassiz Museum, formerly a part of the Harvard Branch Railroad location.....about 1855

OTIS STREET, for Harrison Gray Otis, shareholder Laid Out in Lechmere Point Corporation.....1811

OXFORD STREET, from Kirkland Street to near Jarvis Street prior to 1847

From Jarvis Street to city line, by various estates.....1847 to 1861

PALMER STREET, for Stephen Palmer, landowner.....1847

PEARL STREET, Massachusetts Avenue to Auburn Street
laid out in 1822 and called "Inn Street." Shown on
plan of 1824 without name entire length.

PHILLIPS PLACE, for Willard Phillips (?).....1851

PLYMPTON STREET, for Dr. Sylvanus Plympton.....1803

POTTER STREET, for Henry Potter, one of the
incorporators of the East Cambridge Land Co.....1869

PRESCOTT STREET, for Col. Prescott, formerly
called "Charles Street." Northerly end originally
known as "Pig Lane.".....1834

PROSPECT STREET, laid out in 1804 as a county
road leading to Prospect Hill, Somerville, called
Prospect Street in.....1822

PUTNAM AVENUE, Mt. Auburn Street to Western Avenue,
called "Fort Street" in 1842. Western Avenue to
River Street called "Kent Street" in 1865.
River Street to Pleasant Street, laid out by city as
Walnut Street.....1873

Pleasant Street to Magazine Street, laid out as Walnut Street.....1850

Magazine Street to Pearl Street, laid out as Walnut Street.....1847

Pearl Street to Waverly Street, laid out as Walnut Street.....1830

Entire street named Putnam Avenue for Major-General
Israel Putnam.....1873

QUINCY STREET, for Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard College,
1829-1845. Laid out from Kirkland Street to a little beyond
Broadway about 1811. Later completed through land of Edmund Dana
and called "Dana Street." Called " College Street" on a
map of 1841. Name changed to Quincy Street about the time

of its acceptance in.....1853

REMINGTON STREET, for Judge Jonathan Remington.....1844

RIEDESEL AVENUE, for Madam Riedesel, wife of General Riedesel, Hessian prisoner of war during Revolution.....1890

RINDGE AVENUE, for Frederick H. Rindge, formerly called "Kidder's Lane" and later called "Spruce Street".....about 1847

RIVER STREET, laid and constructed by private corporation and opened for travel..... Dec. 11, 1810

Taken over by town in 1832, first called "Brighton Street," name changed to River Street.....Sept. 26, 1848

ROGERS STREET, for William Sanford Rogers, merchant of Boston, shareholder in Lechmere Point Corporation and East Cambridge Land Co.....1869

SHEPARD STREET, for Rev. Thomas Shepard, first called "Avon Street.".....1845

SIDNEY STREET, for Sidney Willard.....1838

SODEN STREET, for Thomas Soden, landowner.....1833

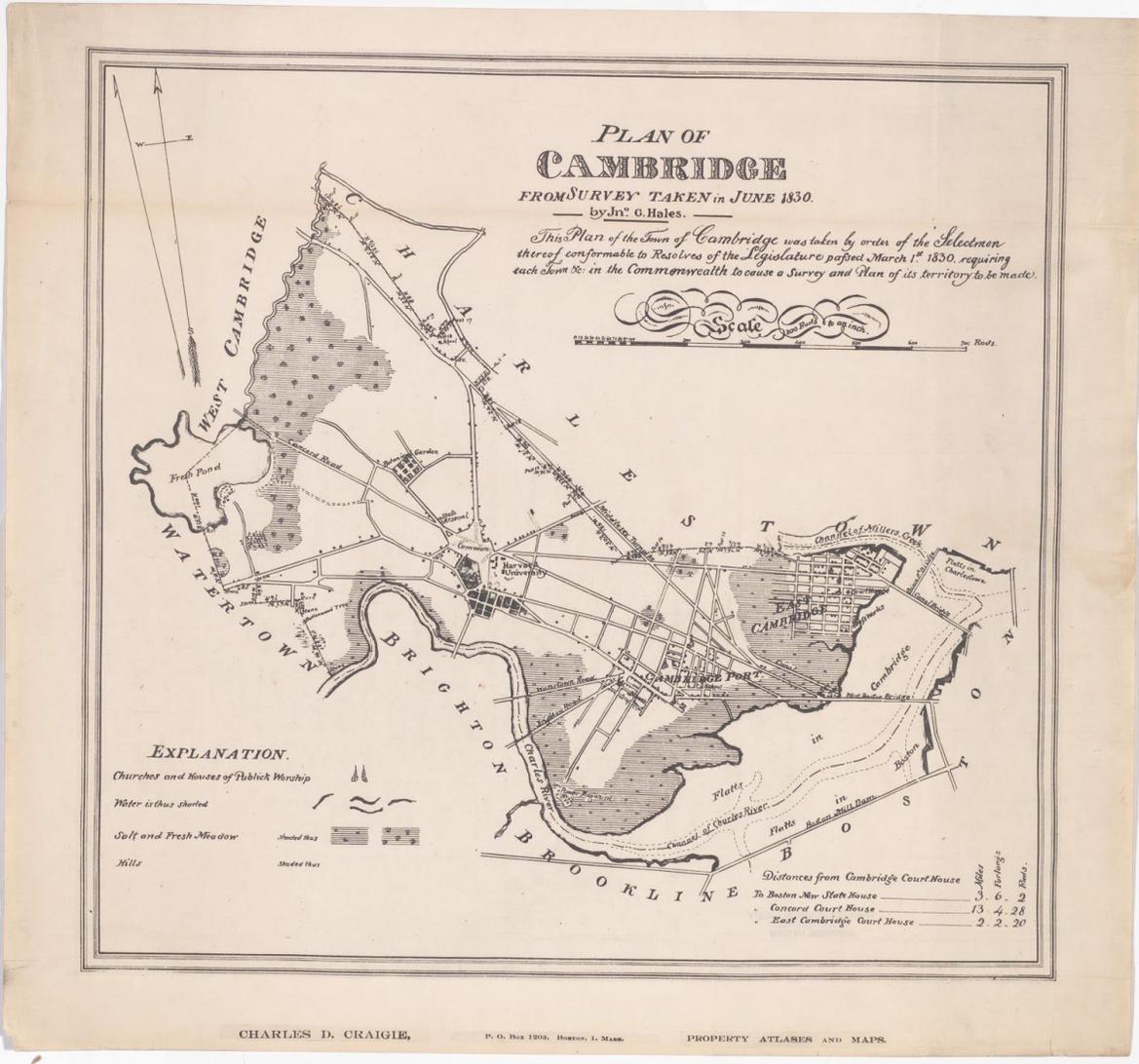
SPARKS STREET, for Jared Sparks, president of Harvard College, 1849-1853. An ancient way, the Watertown boundary until 1754.

STORY STREET, for Judge Joseph Story.....1865

THIRD STREET, Bridge Street to south of Charles Street, laid out in 1811, south of Charles Street laid out by county and called "Court Street" in.....1832

THORNDIKE STREET, for Israel Thorndike, shareholder in Lechmere Point Corporation.....1811

<i>TRAILL STREET, for maiden name of grandmother of James Russell Lowell.....</i>	<i>1892</i>
<i>TROWBRIDGE STREET, for Judge Edmund Trowbridge.....</i>	<i>1838</i>
<i>TUFTS STREET, laid out over land formerly of Peter Tufts, Jr., keeper of the powder magazine, 1818-25.</i>	
<i>VASSAL LANE, for Vassal family, long residents in the vicinity, an ancient "Highway to Fresh Pond." Widened in.....</i>	<i>1888</i>
<i>WADSWORTH STREET, for Alexander Wadsworth, early surveyor.....</i>	<i>1902</i>
<i>WARE STREET, for Rev. Henry Ware.....</i>	<i>1834</i>
<i>WASHINGTON STREET, Norfolk Street to Moore Street.....</i>	<i>about 1824</i>
<i>Moore Street to Main Street.....</i>	<i>about 1840</i>
<i>WATERHOUSE STREET, for Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, about 1800. Laid out in.....</i>	<i>1724</i>
<i>WEBSTER AVENUE, first called "Medford Street," named Webster Avenue in.....</i>	<i>1856</i>
<i>WENDELL STREET, for Mrs. Katherine (Brattle) Wendell, daughter of Gen. William Brattle, called "Madam Wendell".....</i>	<i>1847</i>
<i>WESTERN AVENUE, laid out and constructed by corporation in 1824-25. First called "Watertown Road." Taken by city and called Western Avenue on.....</i>	<i>Dec. 22, 1855</i>
<i>WILLARD STREET, for Joseph Willard, president of Harvard University, originally called "Liberty Street".....</i>	<i>1843</i>
<i>WINDSOR STREET, laid out by Andrew Boardman in.....</i>	<i>1801</i>
<i>WINTHROP STREET, for Professor John Winthrop, formerly called "Long Street".....</i>	<i>about 1632</i>



EARLY MAPS AND MAP-MAKERS

MAP OF 1795.— In 1794, the Legislature passed a resolve that the several towns and districts in the state should have an accurate survey and map made of the town or district and file a copy of the plan with the Secretary of State. These maps were to show the boundaries of the towns or districts, the county roads, rivers, bridges, and other data. In

response to the resolve the town of Cambridge engaged Mr. Samuel Thompson of Woburn to make the required survey and map, which is dated April, 1795. It is small and crude.

MAP OF 1830.— The Legislature by a resolve dated March 1, 1830 required another survey to be made and a plan on a larger scale drawn showing all the roads, both public and private, with other data. Mr. John G. Hales prepared this plan for the town, dated June, 1830, which is here reproduced and is valuable because it is the first accurate plan ever made which shows all the streets and houses existing at that date. The total length of streets here shown is about thirty-eight miles.

MAP OF 1838.— The town now had two plans showing its boundaries, highways, etc. There soon began to be trouble from the tendency shown by many property owners to encroach upon the public ways and appropriate — by the erection of buildings, fences, etc.— portions of the sidewalks to their own use. To remedy this tendency, the town in 1836 authorized the selectmen to employ a suitable person to make another " survey and prepare a plan with the streets properly defined as now laid out." The selectmen engaged Mr. James Hayward to do this work, and he made the survey and prepared the plan and a very excellent report, which is dated January 15, 1838, both of which are on file at the City Engineer's office in City Hall. The following brief quotation from his report will show that he took advanced ground for the construction of wide and attractive streets:

"It is to be regretted that we have so many narrow streets, when we have so much unoccupied territory. . . Wide streets in a town are attended with several very great advantages to the citizens. They afford a freer circulation and a purer state of the air in the warm season. They operate as a protection against the spread of fires. They give opportunity for planting their borders with trees, which, being in themselves an ornament, and an additional security against

the spread of conflagration, afford in summer a comfortable shade to the house which they adorn, and the passengers who walk the streets, and tend to the greater health of the community by their effects on the atmosphere."

His forecast for the future growth in population, however, does not seem quite optimistic enough. He says, "In a place like Cambridge, which is not only cut up into avenues to the city, but which is besides, composed of several villages so closely united as to form one almost continuous Towne of about five miles in extent and which is constantly thronged, not only with strangers passing through the principal streets from the country to the city, and from the city to the country, but with a busy population of nearly eight thousand persons, it is highly important to guard from inconvenient encroachment and impediment of every kind, that portion of the public highway which is appropriated to the use of the many who walk.

"If building and immigration shall continue to increase in Cambridge as they have done for several years past, we are likely in a short time to number a population of ten thousand souls."

It seems fitting that some mention should be made in this place of those men who, as engineers and surveyors, were instrumental in planning and laying out what has developed

into quite a complete system of metropolitan streets, and who thus have performed an important public service in promoting a better civic and social life in this community. It is to be regretted that the information concerning the life and work of these men is so meagre, but the following are such facts as it has been possible to obtain regarding some of them.

DAVID FISKE seems to have been the first man who was designated as a "surveyor" in the early town records. Mr. Fiske came from Watertown in 1646 and bought a lot of land then facing on the Common, now Linnaean Street, near Garden Street. His trade was that of wheelwright, and he seems to have combined that with public work and surveying. His early experience in Cambridge proved to have been a little unfortunate, for on September 4, 1646, the year of his arrival, it was ordered " David Fiske, for two hogs taken contrary to ye Town orderes is fined 8 p- "!

He frequently acted for the town in the capacity of surveyor and as a kind of referee for many years. In 1683, it is recorded that in a matter of a division of land near Concord, shown on a plot drawn by Ensign David Fiske, it was " ordered that Ensign Fiske is chosen sur-

veyor and it is left to him, Samuel Champne, and Samuel Stone, Sr., and John Watson, or any two of them, whereof the surveyor is to be one: First, to state and settle all county roads that ly through the land of the width the law directs, and then to lay out highways from the farms already settled in the common unto this Town, of two rods wide between the divisions where need requires a highway." Mr. Fiske moved to the "Farms" (now Lexington) about 1660 and died there in February, 1710/11, aged eighty-seven years.¹

SAMUEL DANFORTH. The oldest plan of land in Cambridge found recorded at the Registry of Deeds, East Cambridge, was drawn by Samuel Danforth, Surveyor, dated March 27, 1739, and showed certain lands owned by Daniel Champney.²

ABRAHAM FULLER. Another interesting old plan recorded in East Cambridge, dated April 14, 1760, shows a large tract of land on Brattle Street between Sparks Street and Fayerweather Street, belonging at that time to Lee, Marrett, and Thatcher, drawn by Abraham Fuller.³

SAMUEL THOMPSON was born October 30, 1731, and died August 17, 1820. He lived in Woburn, where he was a well-known surveyor. He was an ardent patriot in the Revolution and fought in the American Army. In compliance with the resolve of the Legislature of June 26, 1794, already referred to, the town of Cambridge engaged Mr. Thompson to make the required surveys and a map of the town, which was dated April, 1795, and is still in existence. This map is of interest, as it is the first official plan of the town known to be drawn from actual surveys.

OSGOOD CARLETON, "teacher of Mathematics," as he styles himself, began the practice of surveying in the latter part of the eighteenth

¹. See further, p. 94, post.

2. Danforth was one of the most prominent and useful men of his time in Cambridge — graduate of Harvard College in 1715, schoolmaster from about 1720, selectman, representative, member of the Council for thirty-six years in succession, justice of the peace, register and subsequently judge of probate for Middlesex till the Revolutionary War, and simultaneously judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He lived for fifty years on the easterly side of Dunster Street. At the outbreak of the war, like other Crown officers, he naturally espoused the royal cause, but was so "moderate" that his property was not disturbed. He himself, however, retired to Boston where he died two years later in 1777, aged about 81. He is buried in the old town burying ground in Harvard Square. (See *History of Cambridge*, 532).— ED.

3.. Abraham Fuller was born in 1720, son of Joseph and Lydia (Jackson) Fuller and great-grandson of John Fuller, one of the original settlers on the "south side of the river" (now Newton). He was an extremely versatile genius, being a colonel, a judge, a surveyor and a representative for 18 years between 1764 and 1790. His wife was Sarah Dyer. Among other jobs he resurveyed the boundary between Cambridge and Charlestown (now Somerville) in 1771. See p. 42, ante.— ED.

century, and a considerable number of early maps and plans of his relating to Cambridge are in existence, notably a plan of the causeway to the West Boston Bridge made in 1792, showing the lines and areas of land taken for the causeway.

PETER TUFTS, JR., born in December, 1774, was a well-known early surveyor who made a great many plans of estates and streets in Cambridge and adjoining towns. He was born and lived in that part of Charlestown now called Somerville, where he was the keeper of a powder magazine. He moved to Cambridge and became the keeper of the powder magazine at Captain's Island about 1818. He lived for several years on Magazine Street near the street now called "Tufts Street," which was laid out on land formerly held by him. His map of the Cambridgeport Parish, 1824, shows his estate with buildings, yards, duck ponds, etc., in detail. Many of his plans were embellished with a large, brilliantly colored compass point. Paige records the fact that Peter Tufts, Sr., was a contributor of 14 pounds 2 shillings to the enlargement of the Meeting House in Harvard Square about 1756, and that Peter Tufts, Jr., and thirty-three others were incorporated in 1822 as the "First Universalist Church in Cambridge." He died in 1825.

ALEXANDER WADSWORTH was born in Maine in 1806, came to Boston in 1825, and soon opened an office of his own, boarding at the "Bunch of Grapes" Tavern, the meeting place, it may be remembered of the Proprietors of the West Boston Bridge for many years.

Mr. Wadsworth prepared the plans by which Mt. Auburn Cemetery was laid out, also Salem Cemetery, and Pemberton Square in Boston. Of the many plans drawn by Mr. Wadsworth on record, a large proportion of them are of Cambridge properties, many of them being of the large estates, such as the Dana estate, Craigie estate, Fayerweather estate, and others. Mr. Wadsworth was active during his long life until extreme old age at his chosen work. He was a prominent member for years of the old "West Church" in Boston. He died in 1898 at the age of ninety-two years.

STEPHEN P. FULLER made many plans of the Lechmere Point Corporation and adjacent properties in the period from 1822 to 1865.

WILLIAM A. MASON was born in 1815 and began to practice surveying in Cambridge in 1840, and the firm of W. A. Mason & Son still continues to carry on the work. Mr. Mason made many surveys for

street development and real estate sale in Cambridge and its immediate vicinity. He died in 1882.

The following are names of men who have done important work along the same lines, but of whom but little is now known.

JAMES HAYWARD, plans date from about 1833 to 1837, and include a plan and report on the streets of the city, dated January 15, 1838, relating principally to encroachments of fences, etc., on sidewalks. [20]

WALDO HIGGINSON AND SAMUEL HOLT, plans date from about 1842 to 1845.

WALTER M. WILSON, plans date from about 1845 to 1875.

JOHN Low, plans date from about 1845.

WHITWELL AND HENCK, plans date about 1851.

JOHN M. BATCHELDER, plans date from about 1863 to 1904.

SHEDD AND EDSON, plans date from about 1859 to 1879.

ANDREW CRAIGIE, though not himself a surveyor, did more to change the map of Cambridge than any other man, and occupied a conspicuous place in the town's history from 1790 till his death in 1819. While he made numerous enemies and was not always overscrupulous as to the ethics of many of his transactions, yet his activity and shrewdness in carrying out his numerous schemes, many of which eventually proved of great public benefit, make the story of his life of more than common interest. Little is known of his early life, but September 5, 1777, he was appointed apothecary-general of the Northern Department of the Revolutionary army, from which his title of "Doctor" was derived. He was said to have made large sums from the purchase of supplies under his commission, also as a banker and speculator in this vicinity and in Philadelphia. January 1, 1792, he purchased the old John Vassall house on Brattle Street, which, during the Revolutionary War, had been used as Washington's headquarters, and at once made additions and elaborate repairs to the estate, which he enlarged, by purchases in the vicinity, to about one hundred fifty acres.

Of the many improvements which he made on the estate, the two which impressed the townsmen most seem to have been the ice house by which he could have ice in summer, and the hot house by which he

1. Hayward was a well-known civil engineer and was employed on the original surveys and construction of the Boston and Maine and other railroads. His technical knowledge and business ability led to his steady advancement until in 1854 he was made president of the Boston and Maine. See further, on p. 69, ante.— ED.

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could grow flowers in the winter. It appeared to many like defying Providence by thus perverting nature! For some years Mr. Craigie lived here in princely style, entertaining his friends and relatives in generous manner. It is said that he at this time employed twelve servants. Toward the latter part of his life, his ventures proved not successful and he gradually became more and more involved in debt, until, toward the last, fearing arrest, he dared not venture out except on Sunday. He died suddenly of apoplexy September 18, 1819, leaving his widow in straightened circumstances. She was Elizabeth (or "Betsy"), daughter of the Reverend Bezaleel Shaw (H.C. 1762), long the minister at Nantucket, and a near relative of the Chief Justice.

He was the principal mover in many public improvements, the most important being the construction of the Canal (or, as commonly called, "Craigie's") Bridge, completed in 1809. In connection with this was the laying out and development of the Lechmere Point (now called East Cambridge) section, which covered an area of over three hundred acres, extending about to Inman Square and including the important avenues of Cambridge Street and Bridge Street. In this connection also, the County Court House (civil and probate) and the jail — after a considerable controversy — were located at East Cambridge in 1816, the land (including the buildings costing \$28,190.78) being given by the corporation. He was also active in the laying out of a portion of Mt. Auburn Street between Elmwood Avenue and Brattle Square as already described, and also the laying out of Brattle Street from Elmwood Avenue to "Wyeth's Sign Post" at its junction with Mt. Auburn Street.

That his activities and methods did not always meet with the approval of his fellow townsmen is shown by the order for his prosecution for interfering in the laying out of the portion of Mt. Auburn Street already referred to, and still further (in the controversy arising from the laying out of Cambridge Street) by the references made to him in the report of a committee of the town appointed to oppose a petition dated June 6, 1809, addressed to the General Court, and signed by a Mr. Thomas H. Perkins and fifty-two others, requesting the appointment of a committee from that body "to explore, view, and mark out new highways from the westerly end of said bridge (Canal Bridge) to communicate with the great roads into the country, in such places as will best comport with common convenience and the public good."

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The committee appointed by the town, Hon. Francis Dana, chairman, made a very vigorous remonstrance against this petition, stating that "the inhabitants of Cambridge and Cambridgeport are deeply afflicted by the incessant machinations and intrigues of Mr. Andrew Craigie in regard to roads," alleging that at the last session of the General Court, Mr. Craigie had caused to be presented the petition for the appointment of a committee with extraordinary powers as to laying out roads in Cambridge, and that while they seemed to come from disinterested persons, some of the signers were proprietors of the Canal

Bridge or were owners of lands connected with the proposed roads, and that while Mr. Craigie's name did not appear on the petition, he nevertheless appeared at the hearings with two lawyers in support of the petition, while the petitioners themselves were absent, this being "a continuation of a plan by him and his coadjutors commenced in 1797 and invariably pursued to 1809 to turn the travel in that quarter, and the same game he is evidently now playing by the petition signed by T. H. Perkins and others."

The committee to whom this matter was referred reported that " it is inexpedient for the legislature to appoint any committee to view or mark out any of the highways aforesaid.

CONCLUSION

We have now traced with some detail the origin and history of many of the more important streets of Cambridge as they have been developed through a period of nearly three hundred years.

Beginning with the original "Way from Watertown to Charlestown," which could have been only slightly better than a cart path, and the eight little village streets of the original settlement of 1631, additional ways of travel were added as the needs of the community required until at the time of the first survey in 1794, there were about 12 miles of public ways. In 1830, at the time of the second survey, there were about 38 miles of ways in use. In 1846, when Cambridge was incorporated as a city, there were about 51 miles of roads in use. In 1875, there were 76 miles of city streets in use, and in 1918 there were 735 streets of all classes, having a total length of 125.2 miles. Meanwhile, the population and the material interests of the community had grown in corresponding proportion — very slowly at first and then with a constantly increasing ratio until at the present time

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our city stands high in those things which make for the best in modern civic life. It may be of interest to look for a moment at the present street system of our city as representing the consummation of these long years of growth and development.

It is generally held by modern experts in street and city planning that the most efficient plan of the streets of a metropolitan district is one in which the larger centers of business, educational and civic interests are directly connected with each other by broad, straight thoroughfares, while the local and residential interests of neighborhoods and communities are served by systems of smaller or secondary streets and ways connecting with the main thoroughfares which form the trunk lines of travel and communication.

An examination of a modern map of Cambridge and its surroundings will show that while for a city of its size the railroad facilities for passenger traffic and accommodation are unusually poor, the system of streets as they now exist is admirably adapted to its requirements, while its civic centers are connected by broad and conveniently located highways with each other and with the spacious avenues of approach from Boston and adjacent municipalities. Upon these main avenues are located the major part of the electric surface car lines, while the subway from Harvard Square to Boston is, in Cambridge, located below the surface on the original location of the old horse-car line, first operated in 1856. An admirable system of secondary streets leads into and connects with those main avenues, furnishing ample facilities for the local traffic. For the excellence of this street

plan, the city owes much to the foresight and broadmindedness of the men of the earlier time who, in the days of small things, provided so generously for the needs of the generations yet to come.

The streets of Cambridge certainly have a great historic and sentimental value because of their association with the lives and deeds of the great men who have lived upon them, and whose honored names many of them bear; but their greatest value lies in the fact that they have been an important factor in the progress of this community toward a higher civilization and a better civic and social life.

The following is a list of maps and plans of Cambridge having historic interest, which have been examined in preparing the foregoing paper:

MAPS AND PLANS OF CAMBRIDGE

AT CITY ENGINEER'S OFFICE, CITY HALL, CAMBRIDGE

Date	Description	Maker	Filing No.
MAPS AND PLANS OF CAMBRIDGE			
AT CITY ENGINEER'S OFFICE, CITY HALL, CAMBRIDGE			
1759	Small scale map of Cambridge, Charlestown and Watertown, photo copy		A-284
1777	Military map Boston and vicinity, lithograph	Major Henry Pelham	144
1795	Official map ordered by legislature, photo copy	Sam. Thompson	A-284
1807	Boston and vicinity showing fortifications, in <i>Life of Washington</i> , copy	John Marshall	6246
1810	Cambridge E. of Harvard Square, with parts of Somerville, Charlestown, and Boston	Peter Tufts, Jr.	5216
1813	Cambridge W. of Harvard Square, original parchment	" " "	411
1824	Cambridge E. of Harvard Square	" " "	M-25
1824	" " " " tracing of above	" " "	5082
1830	Official map ordered by legislature, photo copy	John G. Hales	A-284
1833	"Plan of Village in Old Cambridge," copy	Alex. Wadsworth	408
1837	Street map as ordered by the town, original	Jas. Hayward	5081
1838	" " " " " " lithograph	" " "	MV-31 and 5000
1854	Map of Cambridge, sale lithograph	H. F. Walling	A-160
1858	Map of Boston and vicinity, sale lithograph	" " "	M-21
1865	Map of Cambridge, lithograph	J. G. Chase	46
1853-1900	Maps of Cambridge, taken from sundry city directories, lithographs		5000
1880	Map of Cambridge as of about 1635, lithograph, compiled by	C. D. Eliot	2000
1906	Vicinity of Harvard Square compiled and drawn from ancient data by	Geo. Lamb	6246
1918	Plans of Cambridge Common from surveys made in 1782, 1784, 1798, copies from Widener Library		6142
AT WIDENER LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY			
1782	Plan of Cambridge Common, original, from surveys by	E. H. Williams	105-26
1784	" " " " " " " " " "	J. Green	105-26
1798	" " " " " " " " " "	S. D. Parker	105-26
1777	Military map of Boston and vicinity, original	Major Henry Pelham	M-3355-12
1826	Plan of Boston and parts of Charlestown and Cambridgeport, actual surveys	S. P. Fuller	MR-3360-4; 5
1801	Cambridge as of 1635, manuscript map		M-3450, 5
1833	Boston and vicinity, showing Boston, Cambridge, Watertown, Brighton, and Roxbury, small scale	J. G. Hales	M-3360, 4, 2

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AT ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT, STATE HOUSE, BOSTON

Date	Description	Maker	Filing No.
1759	Plan showing portions of Charlestown and Watertown petitioning to be set off to First Parish, Cambridge, original		3d series, Vol. 37, p. 22
1795	Town plan, original	Sam. Thompson	Vol. 9, p. 5
1830	Town plan, original	John G. Hales	Vol. 2, p. 23
1830	Plan of center of Cambridge, college grounds, etc.		3d series, Vol. 46, p. 3
1838	Cambridge, plan of roads in	Jas. Hayward	3d series, Vol. 57, p. 2
1846	Map of Boston with parts of Charlestown and Cambridge		No. 2273

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THE ENGLISH ANCESTRAL HOMES OF THE FOUNDERS OF CAMBRIDGE

BY J. GARDNER BARTLETT

AT the time of the settlement of New England, in the blood of the English nobility the Norman strain was still strongly preponderant; but of the blood of the great mass of the then five million population of England (the yeomanry, craftsmen, laborers, etc.), nearly two-thirds was Anglo-Saxon, the remainder being chiefly Norman, Danish, Briton and Roman, in amounts decreasing in the order named. This preponderance of Anglo-Saxon blood pertained especially to the counties of Suffolk, Essex, and Herts, whence were derived nearly two-thirds of the 25,000 English colonists who settled New England between 1620 and 1642. Those of our emigrants whose ancestors were of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, probably had considerable blood of Danish origin in their veins; while our emigrants from Devon and Cornwall had a considerable racial element of Celtic Briton origin.

From the foregoing considerations, two points of importance to our subject must be emphasized. First, our 25,000 emigrants from England comprised only about one-half of one per cent of the then population of England; and secondly, of that emigration nearly

ninety per cent belonged to the yeoman or to the craftsman classes, and so were most largely of Anglo-Saxon blood in origin.

Americans who have not scientifically studied early New England and English history and genealogy, usually have erroneous ideas on these matters; they will generally claim that their ancestors in England bore a coat-of-arms and that their first ancestor was a Norman noble who came into England with William the Conqueror. Furthermore, persons with these ideas are generally ignorant of the origin and evolution of family surnames, so imagine that all persons of any one name all belong to one family and descend from one common ancestor; if they have names like Warren, Beaumont, Lacy, Tilley, Montgomery, Chamberlain, Gifford, Basset, etc., they feel certain they descend from the Conqueror's companions of these names; and those named Howard are sure they descend from the Dukes of Norfolk. Unfortunately, these erroneous ideas have been nurtured

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by numerous false pedigrees that have been printed during the last seventy years, some of them compiled and published in ignorance, others as deliberate swindles. Most of these false pedigrees arbitrarily fasten the American emigrant onto an armorial landed or noble family of the same name, so as to claim a coat-of-arms. The publication of these fake pedigrees is deplorable, as once they are in print it is difficult to convince the descendants of their falsity. Among these fond delusions of descent from noble or landed armorial families of the same name, are the exploded pedigrees of Adams, Bigelow, Lawrence, Converse, Sears, Bartlett, Herrick, Seymour, Tracy, Sturgis, Bliss, Foster, Warren and Stevens, and the recent notorious Pomeroy swindle.

About ninety per cent of the founders of New England were of the best class of the English yeomanry; no peers or sons of peers, no baronets or sons of baronets, and but two knights, settled in New England; less than ten per cent were of the landed, mercantile or professional gentry; and only a little over one per cent have been proved to be of strictly armorial families; on the other hand, the proportion of scoundrels was small. Thus, although it is true that our ancestors in New England were strict in social distinctions, even in small country towns the people being seated in church according to their social position, nevertheless the range in rank was not very great from the landed and mercantile gentry down through the clergy, yeomanry, husbandmen and artisans to the laborers, these classes insensibly grading into each other down the scale. So, in a democratic community of equal opportunity, in the course of two or three generations, the bulk of the population of New England became welded together in a homogeneous stock of superior average worth, some of the great-grandchildren of armorial emigrants, like Saltonstall, Leete, Winthrop, Dudley, Bulkeley, Bruen, Cotton, Appleton, Chauncey, Chester, Talcott, Haynes, etc., having married into families who had risen in position, descendants of emigrants of the yeoman or the artisan classes.

Let us now return to our 25,000 early emigrants to New England. Of these, about 5,000 persons were the original male progenitor heads of families; the remaining 20,000 souls were their wives, children, and grandchildren whom they brought with them. We are therefore concerned with the subject of locating in England a few of the 5,000 male progenitor heads of New England families, of whom about 4,500 were of yeoman or artisan rank, about 500 were of the landed, mercantile

or professional gentry, and less than sixty have been proved to be of strictly armigerous families.

The early founders of New England did not generally come here at random by mere families and locate haphazard in the various settlements. On the contrary, the colonization was in large parties of families, relatives, and friends who had been acquainted and associated in England, emigrated together under the leadership of their respective nonconforming ministers, and located together in New England. For instance, Rev. John Cotton from Boston, England, had a large following from that region who settled in Boston, Mass.; Rev. Ezekiel Rogers was head of a colony of sixty families from the vicinity of Rowley in Yorkshire who founded Rowley, Mass.; and Rev. John Eliot was the spiritual leader of a band of emigrants from Hertfordshire and western Essex who founded Roxbury, Mass. It must not be thought that the followers of any one of these non-conforming ministers came merely from the parish in England where he resided; his influence often extended about the country for a radius of forty miles, and like a modern Billy Sunday he would attract an audience from miles around to hear him expound on the abstruse and hair-splitting points of theological controversies then rampant. At that time the public mind was completely engrossed in the absorbing question: What is orthodox in religion?

About two hundred families located in Cambridge before 1650 and may be considered the founders of the city, although less than half of these families continued here more than a generation. These founders may be arranged in seven divisions:

- 1. A group of ten families who started the settlement in 1631, with a view of making it the capital of the colony; none of these remained here permanently.*
- 2. A company of about fifty families from Essex and Hertfordshire, followers of Rev. Thomas Hooker and known as the Braintree Company, many of whom came in the ship Lion in the summer of 1632, a year in advance of their leader, and most of whom removed with him to Hartford, Conn., in 1635.*
- 3. A company of about seventy families from Essex, Suffolk, Yorkshire, and Northumberland, followers of Rev. Thomas Shepard, most of whom came about 1635 and bought up the homesteads which had been established by Hooker's company.*
- 4. A group of about fifteen families from Kent, most of whom came*

in 1635 and among whom was Rev. William Wetherell; only two of these founders remained permanently in Cambridge.

- 5. A party of five families associated with Rev. Jose Glover who came in 1638.*
- 6. A few persons who came after 1640, probably through the influence of Rev. Henry Dunster.*

7. A miscellaneous list of about forty families, the origins of twelve of whom are known, but of whose associations we lack information to show the influences causing their emigration.

Let us first consider the ten original founders of 1631, beginning with Gov. John Winthrop, who did not actually settle here although he erected a house, which he soon took down and removed to Boston. The Winthrop family probably derived their name from one of two parishes, Winthorpe, co. Nottingham, or Winthorpe, co. Lincoln. Gov. John Winthrop, lord of the manor of Groton in Suffolk, was born 12 Jan. 1587/8, son of Adam Winthrop, a lawyer of distinction, and grandson of another Adam Winthrop, the founder of the family fortunes, who was born in 1498, amassed wealth as a clothmaker in London, and in 1544 bought from the Crown the manor of Groton, where he settled. This manor had been seized by Henry VIII in 1539 from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds; thousands of mercantile families, like the Winthrops, became landed gentry about this time by purchasing from the Crown the vast estates sequestered all over England at the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539. In 1630 John Winthrop emigrated to New England as governor of the Massachusetts Colony, selling the manor of Groton that year.

Groton Church is a small but fine stone structure, part of which was built in the thirteenth century. In the chancel is a memorial brass to the Adam Winthrop who bought the manor and died 9 Nov. 1562; and about forty years ago Gov. Winthrop's distinguished descendant, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, installed in the chancel a large and beautiful stained glass window in memory of the governor. In the churchyard and against the corner formed by the outside walls of the chancel and south aisle may still be seen an altar tomb over the grave of Adam Winthrop, father of the governor. The Groton manor house occupied by the Winthrops was destroyed by fire soon after it was sold by the governor, but its location near a very ancient mulberry tree is still discernible. I recall with much pleasure the cordial hospitality I received on three visits to Groton from Rev. Mr. Wayman, who has

been rector of the parish since 1872. Groton, Mass., and Groton, Conn., were named for the old English parish.

Next let us take up that stern old Puritan, Thomas Dudley, the first deputy-governor of Massachusetts and later governor for four years. Recent investigations have established that he was baptized 12 Oct. 1576 at Yardley Hastings, a small rural parish eight miles southeast of the city of Northampton, son of Mr. Roger Dudley by his wife Susanna Thorne alias Dome who was daughter of Thomas and Mary (Purefoy) Thorne alias Dome; through the Purefoys, Thomas Dudley was connected with Sir Augustine Nicolls, a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and was descended from fine old armigerous landed gentry of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. Cotton Mather informs us as to the parentage and some maternal connections of Thomas Dudley, but gives not one word or hint of any connection with the noble house of Dudley of Dudley Castle, barons of Dudley, earls of Leicester and dukes of Northumberland. For the past eighty years we descendants of Gov. Dudley have struggled in vain to connect his father, Capt. Roger Dudley, with the noble family. The gates of the beautiful park of Castle Ashby, the seat of the Earl of Northampton, open into the quaint village of Yardley Hastings; so it is not strange that the son of a deceased army officer of evident gentle birth should have become a member of the household at Castle Ashby, as related by Cotton Mather.

At the time Thomas Dudley settled in Cambridge in 1631, two of his sons-in-law also located there, Simon Bradstreet and Daniel Denison. Bradstreet is justly termed the "Nestor of New England" from an unparalleled record of continuous public service of sixty-two years, from 1630 to 1692. He was baptized at Horbling, co. Lincoln, 18 Mar. 1603/4, and was educated at that famous Puritan institution, Emmanuel College, Cambridge. His father, Rev. Simon Bradstreet, graduated at Christ College, Cambridge, in 1576, and was vicar of Horbling from 1596 until his death in 1621; but he was born in 1555 in Gislingham, co. Suffolk, son of John Bradstreet, and grandson of Simon Bradstreet of Redgrave and Gislingham, born about 1490. The family were prosperous landholders and appear on the subsidies or tax lists of Suffolk as early as 1327. The ancient church at Gislingham is sadly in need of restoration and offers an opportunity for some wealthy descendant of Gov. Bradstreet to create a memorial to this worthy Puritan founder of New England. His wife Anne

(Dudley) Bradstreet is celebrated as the earliest poetess of America. Her "Contemplations" display fine poetic talent, but her verse is not all of equal merit. My ancestress Anne evidently had a clever press agent, as a volume of her poems published in London in 1650 bears the grandiloquent title, "The Tenth Muse, Lately Sprung up in America."

The other son-in-law of Gov. Dudley, Maj.-Gen. Daniel Denison, was baptized at Bishop's Stortford in Hertfordshire 18 Oct. 1612, son of William and Margaret (Monck) Denison. The family were wealthy citizens of the town for several generations. Bishop's Stortford is situated about thirty miles north of London on the main railroad line to Cambridge, and has the prefix of "Bishop's" on account of the manor having belonged to the See of London from the time of the Norman Conquest. Fragments still remain of its old castle, built in Saxon times on the top of a small artificial hill. The church of St. Michael's is a fine, large, stone structure in the Perpendicular Style of the fifteenth century; its church wardens' accounts are preserved from 1431, probably the most ancient documents of this class in England, and beginning over a century earlier than any parish register. Daniel Denison graduated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1629, and after coming to New England was prominent the rest of his life as a deputy and assistant, and as major-general of all the forces of the colony.

Besides the four leading founders of Cambridge above mentioned, five others settled here in 1631, viz., Edmund Lockwood, Daniel Patrick, John Poole, John Kirman, and Simon Sacket; of none of these is the English origin known, although they probably all came in the Winthrop fleet in 1630 and doubtless were from Suffolk or Essex. None of them lived long in Cambridge or left descendants there.

Rev. Thomas Hooker and his company next claim our attention. This protochampion of American democracy was born in 1586 at Birstall, co. Leicester, and his ancestry has been traced back with certainty for three generations among substantial yeomanry in that neighborhood, thus disproving the pedigree published ten years ago in the "Hooker Genealogy," which purported to place him in the armorial Hooker family of Exeter, co. Devon. He graduated in 1608 at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, that intellectual nursery of chiders of prelates, and for a time was curate at Esher, co. Surrey. Here he lived in the household of Francis Drake (a wealthy and distinguished

Puritan, formerly an officer in the household of Queen Elizabeth) and here he married the "waiting-gentlewoman" of Mistress Drake. We next hear of Hooker at Chelmsford, co. Essex, where he secured an appointment as lecturer, but in 1626 he was silenced by Archbishop Laud for promulgating "unorthodox" doctrines. Thereupon his preaching became limited to surreptitious gatherings, but he established a private school at Great Baddow, a suburb of Chelmsford, which he conducted four years. Then, the archbishop being warned that "unorthodox" doctrines were taught there, Mr. Hooker was summoned for trial before the Ecclesiastical Court, an inconvenience he eluded by collusive payment of his bail and a secret flight in 1630 to Holland, where he remained three years, part of the time serving as assistant to the celebrated Rev. Dr. William Ames at Rotterdam. Meanwhile a large party of his followers in Essex went to New England in 1632 and settled in Cambridge, and a year later Mr. Hooker joined them, coming to Boston in the ship Griffin in 1633. He at once became pastor of his old friends in Cambridge; but after two years he and his followers became dissatisfied with the theocratic oligarchy of Massachusetts under Gov. Winthrop, and therefore they removed from Cambridge and established a new settlement at Hartford, Conn., of which he was pastor until his death 7 July 1647.

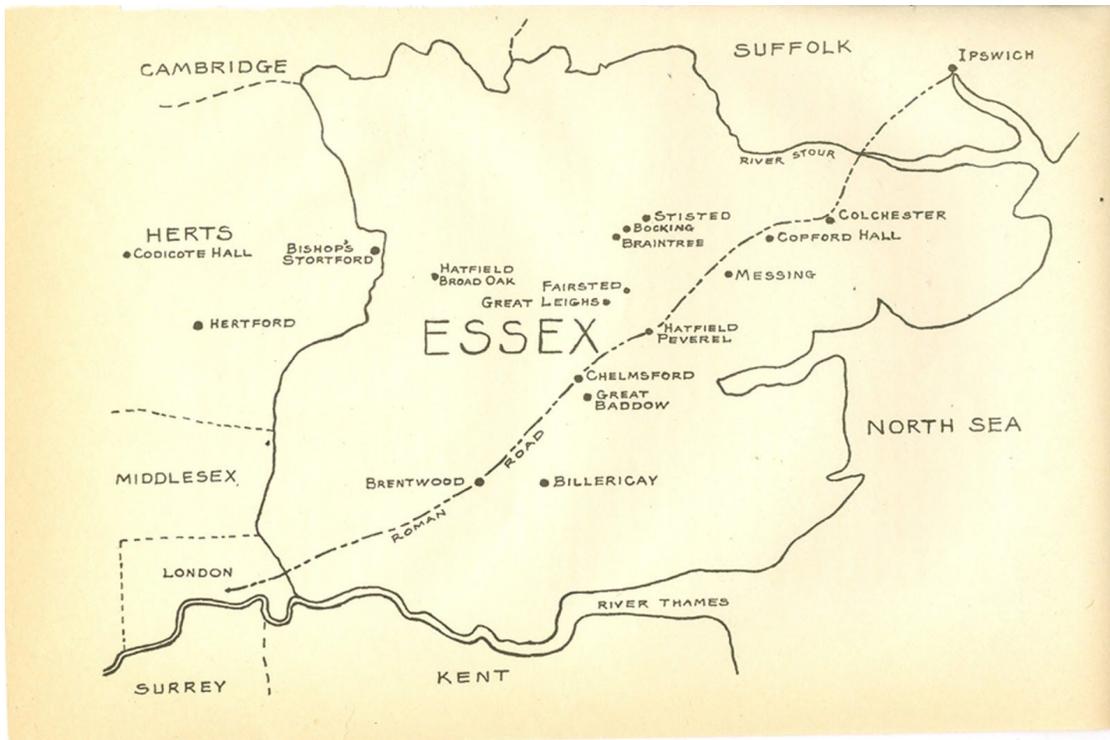
About fifty settlers of Cambridge before 1635 may be clearly identified as followers of Hooker, and with three exceptions they were all from Essex or Hertfordshire, the region of his influence while at Chelmsford and Great Baddow. Of these fifty adherents, the exact places of origin are known of at least fifteen.

Let me now assume the role of conductor of a party of Cook's tourists and take you on a motor trip from London, running over the field of Hooker's influence in Essex and noting the homes of some of his followers. Leaving the city and striking northeast over the old Roman road to Colchester and Ipswich, after passing through the slums of Whitechapel, Bow, Stratford, and Ilford, we reach the open country, and after a run of twenty miles arrive at Brentwood. Here we will make a detour from the main Roman road, and turning to the east a ride of five miles brings us to Billericay, a town located on an eminence and the parent of our Massachusetts town of similar name. Here was the home of William Ruscoe who followed Hooker to Cambridge, Mass., and thence to Hartford. Turning north a five-mile run brings us to Great Baddow where Hooker for four years kept his

school. The lofty square tower of the fine old Baddow Church is mantled with ivy to its battlements, above which rises a small pointed spire visible for several miles. Continuing on two miles to the north we again reach the old main Roman road at a point about thirty miles northeast of London in the town of Chelmsford. This place existed in Roman times as Caesaromagus, being a half-way station on the main road to Colchester; but its modern name is of Saxon origin, derived from its position at a ford on the river Chelmar. The parish consists of two manors, Bishop's Hall formerly held by the See of London, and Moulsham formerly held by Westminster Abbey, both tenures extending from Saxon times until about 1540 when the manors were seized by that rapacious despot, Henry VIII, and sold to Thomas Mildmay. The ancient church of St. Mary, with walls of rubble and flint and a few traces of Roman brick, was erected about 1425; the massive western battlemented tower

remains in its original state, but much of the remainder of the church has been extensively restored and rebuilt, largely from the old materials. Here Rev. Thomas Hooker preached as a lecturer, attracting large audiences from all over the county, and also attracting the notice of Archbishop Laud who, deeming Hooker's views to be unorthodox, forced him temporarily to silence. Twenty years later the people of England who had embraced Hooker's doctrines of democracy decided that the Archbishop was unorthodox and silenced him very effectually by chopping off his head.

Crossing the little river Can by an ancient stone bridge, we find ourselves in the manor of Moulsham. On the right a few rods from the bridge stands a dwelling house of Tudor times which is owned and occupied by a Rogers family who have possessed it from time immemorial. Of this family was John Rogers of Moulsham, born about 1510, who was great-grandfather of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich, Mass., who was the father of Rev. John Rogers, fifth president of Harvard College, and ancestor of our distinguished New England ministerial Rogers family. His descendants long claimed descent from the Marian martyr, Rev. John Rogers, a native of Warwickshire, who was burned at the stake in Smithfield, London, in 1555; but while the latter was thus displaying in fire his devotion to spiritual freedom, his contemporary John, the ancestor of the New England Rogers family, was making shoes in Moulsham. Among the modern objects of interest in Chelmsford are the buildings housing the famous grammar school of Edward VI, founded in 1551, and a bronze statue



of Lord Chief Justice Tindal, the town's most illustrious native. It is hardly necessary to state that Chelmsford, Mass., was named from this very ancient place in old England.

Taking again the old Roman road at Chelmsford we press on to the northeast. The Essex country in general is of rural aspect similar to eastern Massachusetts; but the English roadbeds are superior to ours, the English fields are bounded by high and thick hedges instead of the stone walls or rail fences familiar to us, and farm cottages with plastered walls and thatched roofs are seen instead of the clapboarded and shingled farmhouses common in New England. Also one will note that the barns in East Anglia are small, low structures, just to shelter the live stock; the hay is kept always in great stacks in the fields, thatched over the upper part for protection from the weather.

Six miles from Chelmsford we arrive at Hatfield Peverel, and taking a byroad to the northwest for four miles we reach the adjoining small rural parishes of Fairsted and Great Leighs. The little stone and flint churches of these parishes date from Norman times. Of our Cambridge adherents of Hooker, James and Richard Olmstead had lived in Fairsted and Great Leighs, and the brothers John and George Steele came from Fairsted. Returning to Hatfield Peverel we continue northeast on the Roman road for nine miles and reach the parish of Messing which is situated on elevated ground. The ancient church is located about a mile to the right of our main road and is a stone conglomeration of various styles, but the square embattled tower is of modern red brick construction. In this parish was fought one of the desperate battles between the Britons under Queen Boadicea and the Roman legions. From here came two of our Cambridge disciples of Hooker, Reynold Bush and John White, the latter of whom went with him to Hartford.

Four miles beyond Messing we come to Copford Hall, the home of Gov. Haynes, one of the noblest Puritans who came to New England and the one who suffered the greatest material losses for his religious convictions. He was born at Codicote Hall in Hertfordshire 1 May 1594, eldest son and heir of John Haynes, Esq., an armorial landed gentleman who died in 1605, leaving extensive estates in several parishes in Essex and Hertfordshire. Before 1624 Gov. Haynes bought the manor of Copford Hall where he resided until his emigration to New England with Mr. Hooker in 1633. Having served as governor of Massachusetts in 1635, he removed to Hartford in 1637

and was governor of Connecticut eight terms in alternate years until his death 1 Mar. 1653/4. His children by his first wife, Mary Thornton, remained in England, where his son Hezekiah Haynes became one of Cromwell's major-generals in the Civil War and succeeded to Copford Hall, which is still owned by descendants, although not of the name, which died out in 1763. By his second wife, Mabel Harlakenden, Gov. Haynes had five children born in New England, from whom many distinguished Americans descended. Copford Hall belonged to the See of London from Saxon times until the time of Queen Elizabeth, when on the death of Bishop Bonner in 1569 it passed to the Crown. This prelate took the leading part in the persecution of the Marian martyrs, over two-thirds of the three hundred who perished at the stake being condemned by him. During his tenure of the bishopric of London he resided part of the time at Copford Hall. The church of Copford was built in Norman times, and the interior is covered with the original frescoes.

Four miles beyond Copford Hall the Roman road brings us to Colchester, about fifty miles from London and one of the most ancient and interesting places in England. The town was established in Roman times and was one of their fortified castra, laid out in the usual form of a rectangle surrounded by walls and a moat, and having two main streets crossing at the center. After a lapse of over eighteen centuries extensive portions of these original walls, built of flint and Roman brick, still remain. In the time of William the Conqueror, a great stone castle was built here, of which only the ruins and the turreted keep, a majestic specimen of Norman architecture, now remain. These ruins have been converted into a museum containing a fine collection of Roman antiquities and the ancient archives of the town. The park outside the castle was the scene of the burning at the stake of twenty of the Marian martyrs of that region; and under the castle may still be seen the dungeons so often filled with victims of political vengeance or religious fanaticism. Other interesting features of the town include the remains of the two ancient monasteries of St. Botolph and St. John, and twelve ancient parish churches, two of them dating back to Norman times. The old town was badly damaged during the Civil War, when a Royalist force held it for three months when besieged by a Parliamentary army under Gen. Fairfax. In recent years the place has become an important industrial and commercial city with a population of about 50,000. Several of the early

settlers of New England came from Colchester; but I know but two who were followers of Hooker and came to Cambridge, viz.: William Bloomfield and John Talcott, the latter of whom was of a family of mercantile gentry formerly of Warwickshire.

We will now take leave of Colchester, and returning over the old Roman road as far as Copford we then strike westward over the very ancient main highway running across Essex to the borough of Hertford. After travelling about fifteen miles we come to Braintree, another parent town of a namesake in Massachusetts. Braintree and Bocking, although separate adjoining parishes, form practically, although not officially, a single town. The twin parishes are located on rising ground above a small river, and lie on the site of a Roman station. The streets of the double village are narrow and winding and are lined with houses, many dating from Stuart and Tudor times. St. Michael's Church in Braintree is situated in a spacious churchyard in the center of the town, and dates from the fifteenth century, although much restored. Its square stone tower is surmounted by a very high pointed spire covered with slate and spreading out at the bottom to cover the full size of the tower, an unusual feature in English rural churches. Unluckily the registers of this parish before 1660 have long been missing; and as many early founders of New England came from here, the loss is a great misfortune to us. The church of St. Mary in Bocking, also located in a spacious churchyard shaded by large trees, is a much larger and more interesting structure of flint and stone in the later Pointed Style. The ancient registers of this church were also long missing, but a few years ago were found, although missing in parts, and what exists from 1558 to 1639 was printed by the late James J. Goodwin of Hartford, Conn. Rev. John Wilson, pastor of Boston, was located in Bocking for a while. About 1570 a number of Flemish refugees settled in Braintree and established the business of cloth weaving which thrived here for a long time. In recent years large modern crape mills and other factories have been established in both towns, considerably increasing their population. Of our early settlers of Cambridge who were followers of Mr. Hooker, it is known that William Goodwin was from Bocking and William Wadsworth and John and

Nicholas Clark were from Braintree, although William Wadsworth was born at Long Buckby in Northamptonshire. Doubtless there were several other emigrants from Braintree, but the loss of the early registers prevents us from establishing the fact.

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Continuing west from Braintree on the main highway, after a run of about fifteen miles, we observe a short distance to the south the parish of Hatfield Broad Oak, the large and ancient church of which is located on an eminence. In Hatfield Forest still stands the huge trunk and massive limbs of an enormous ancient oak, called the Doodle Oak, from which part of the parish name was derived. In this parish the Barrington family long had their residence at Barrington Hall. Several emigrants to New England came from here, including Andrew Warner who came to Cambridge but later followed Hooker to Hartford.

Five miles northwest of Hatfield Broad Oak we come to Bishop's Stortford (previously mentioned in the account of Daniel Denison), and in another fifteen miles we reach Hertford, the county seat of Hertfordshire, and a place of importance in early Saxon times. Of its five ancient church edifices but one, All Saints, now remains. Hertford Castle was originally built about the year 900, and ruins of a part of the ancient building still remain. The city is of interest to us as the parent town of Hartford, Conn., and also as the birthplace of Rev. Samuel Stone, who was baptized there 30 July 1602, graduated at the famous Puritan College, Emmanuel, in 1623, for a short time was lecturer at Towcester, Northamptonshire, and from 1627 to 1630 was curate at Stisted near Braintree where he became intimate with Hooker. In 1633 he accompanied Hooker to New England on the ship Griffin, became the latter's assistant at Cambridge and Hartford, and after Mr. Hooker's death was sole pastor at Hartford, Conn., for sixteen years until his own death 20 July 1663. Leaving old Hertford we run southward twenty-five miles to London, having covered in all during this trip about one hundred and forty miles.

A few other adherents of Rev. Thomas Hooker who came to Cambridge have been located abroad. Mrs. Joanna Ames was the widow of the celebrated Rev. Dr. William Ames of Rotterdam who died in Nov. 1663 and to whom Hooker had been assistant while in Holland. She was born about 1587, daughter of Giles Fletcher, LL.D., the eminent Elizabethan author and diplomat, who was ambassador from England to Russia in 1588. The noted poets Phineas Fletcher and Giles Fletcher were her brothers, and John Fletcher the illustrious dramatist was her own cousin. She came to New England in 1637

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and died in Cambridge and was buried 23 Dec. 1644.¹ Leonard Chester was a nephew of Mr. Hooker, and was born at Blaby, co. Leicester, in 1610, eldest son of John Chester by his wife Dorothy, sister of Rev. Thomas Hooker. The Visitation of Leicester for 1619 as printed gives the pedigree and arms of this family of Chester of Blaby, Leonard being named as heir of John and then aged ten years. He came to New England with his mother and uncle in 1633, and after a short residence in Cambridge settled in Wethersfield, Conn. The Spencer brothers, William, Thomas, Michael, and Garrard, were in Cambridge before 1633, and three of them followed Hooker to Connecticut. I think, however, that they became acquainted with him in New England, as they were born and lived at Stotfold in Bedfordshire, which is

quite remote from the scenes of Hooker's evangelism in England. Earlier generations of the family lived near by at Edworth in the same county.

Of the rest of Hooker's company who first located at Cambridge, there remain to mention Jeremy Adams, John Arnold, John Barnard, John Benjamin, Richard and William Butler, Joseph Easton, Edward Elmer, Nathaniel Ely, Richard Goodman, Stephen Hart, John Hopkins, William Kelsey, William Lewis, Richard Lord, William Manning, John Maynard, Abraham Morrill, John Pratt, Nathaniel Richards, Thomas Scott, Edward Stebbing, George Stocking, Richard Webb, and William Westwood. The exact English home of none of these has been made public to my knowledge; but we can be quite sure that practically all of them came from County Essex.

Rev. Thomas Shepard and his adherents formed the next company of settlers in Cambridge. This zealous and fiery Puritan minister was born 5 Nov. 1605 at Towcester, co. Northampton, a thriving town eight miles south of the city of Northampton. It is situated on Watling Street, the famous Roman road which starts at Dover and runs through Canterbury, London, St. Albans, Towcester, Atherstone and so on west to near Shrewsbury. Towcester was one of the Roman stations, remains of which are still discernible. Mr. Shepard's parents and relatives were Puritans, and he graduated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1623. From 1627 to 1631 he was lecturer at Earls Colne, co. Essex, and secured a large following in that vicinity. Having been silenced by Archbishop Laud he fled to Bossal in Yorkshire

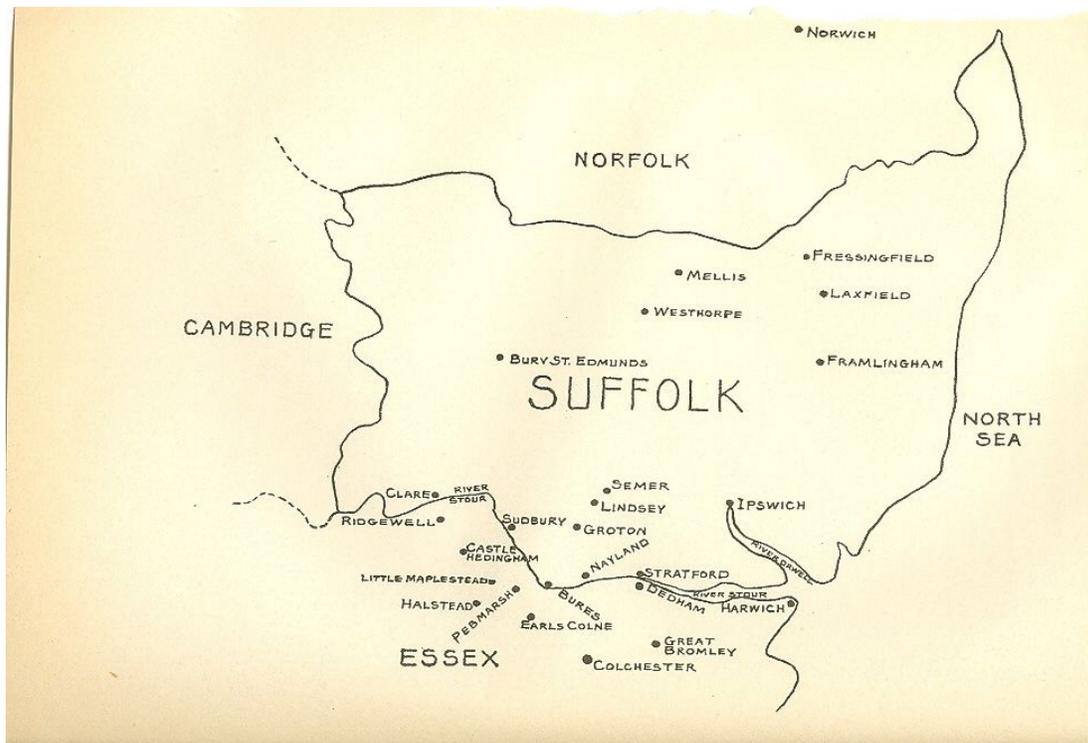
1. I think the parentage and distinguished connections of Mrs. Ames have not heretofore been known or made public. The account of Dr. Ames in the Dictionary of National Biography erroneously refers to her merely as Joane Sletcher.

where he remained a year and secured more adherents. In 1632 Bossal became unsafe and he removed to Haddon, a suburb of New-castle-on-Tyne in Northumberland, and in two years secured a new following in that region. Urged by his adherents to emigrate with them to New England, in June 1634 he went by ship from Newcastle to Ipswich in Suffolk; after a year in that region, on 10 Aug. 1635 he sailed from London in the ship Defence with his company, and on arriving in Boston they at once settled in Cambridge where he served as pastor until his death 28 Aug. 1649.

Let us take another motor ride over eastern Suffolk and northern Essex to visit the homes of some of Mr. Shepard's adherents. There is hardly a parish in this region that did not furnish at least one early emigrant to New England, and the nasal twang and the dialect among the rustics of the Stour Valley between Suffolk and Essex remind one of the old rural speech of New England. We will start at Sudbury, a town which existed in Saxon times, is situated on the northern bank of the river Stour, and has winding streets with many picturesque old houses. The town has three ancient stone and flint churches, St. Peter's and All Saints erected in the fifteenth century and St. Gregory's built in the fourteenth century. Simon Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1375 to 1381, was a native of this parish, and, being obnoxious to the Bolsheviki of Wat Tyler's short-lived rebellion, was seized by them and relieved of his head, which was put on a pole on London Bridge. A week later the head of Wat replaced that of the Archbishop, which was removed to Sudbury and may still

be seen in a grated niche in the walls of St. Gregory's Church. The great artist Thomas Gainsborough was born in Sudbury in 1727 and several of his early landscapes depict scenes in the Stour Valley, a lovely region still favored by artists. Sudbury, Mass., was of course named for this old town in England, whence came several of our early emigrants; but William Wilcox is the only one of them known to have settled in Cambridge.

Going east from Sudbury, an eight mile run brings us to Groton (the home of Gov. Winthrop before mentioned) and five miles farther to the northeast we come to Lindsey and Semer, the former being the native parish of the brothers Richard and Justinian Holden of Cambridge, and the latter the birthplace of Clement Chaplin, another early founder of Cambridge. Lindsey is a very decrepit-appearing place; several of the old houses in the village lean toward the street at



alarming angles, most of the farms have a shiftless aspect, and even the parson who was the incumbent when I visited the parish was a most unkempt individual. Continuing east, a fifteen-mile run brings us to Ipswich, a port from which sailed a large number of emigrants for New England, and the parent of our Massachusetts town of the same name. The town was of importance as early as Saxon times, until long after the Norman Conquest was called Gypeswic, and is located at the head of the Orwell River or estuary, eleven miles from its mouth at Harwich on the North Sea. The town of Ipswich has twelve ancient churches with square towers built of stone and flint, most of them constructed during the fifteenth century. The Sparrow House erected in 1567, and the birthplace of Cardinal Wolsey built in

1471 are well-preserved specimens of Tudor dwellings; the former is now used as a book store and tea room, while the latter is occupied by a "chemist" or druggist. William Andrews and Richard Girling were the Ipswich adherents of Shepard who came to Cambridge.

Striking northeast from Ipswich, at a distance of eighteen miles we come to Framlingham, the parent of our Massachusetts town of similar name. As Framalingaham it was a fortified stronghold in Saxon times, and after the Norman Conquest a massive stone castle was built on a hill, which is now a picturesque, ivy-clad ruin, although the walls and towers are practically intact. The walls are nearly fifty feet high and eight feet thick, and extend between thirteen battle-mented towers, each nearly sixty feet high. The stronghold encloses an area of over an acre, and was surrounded by a moat. This castle for over two centuries, from about 1400, was most of the time part of the vast estates of the illustrious Mowbray and Howard families, Dukes of Norfolk, although often temporarily seized by the Crown when these nobles engaged in unsuccessful rebellions or were on the losing side during the Wars of the Roses and so lost not only their castles but also their heads (concretely speaking). The fine old church is a large structure of mixed Decorated and Perpendicular work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, has a lofty square tower nearly a hundred feet high, and is built of stone and black flint. In the interior are several magnificent monuments and tombs of the Howard family. In this parish long resided the prosperous yeoman family of Danforth, of whom Nicholas Danforth came to Cambridge in 1635. He was father of Hon. Thomas Danforth, baptized in Framlingham 20 Nov. 1623, for nearly forty years Massachusetts' most

strenuous champion against the doctrine of the divine right of kings.

We next drive north about eight miles over beautiful rural country and come to the pleasant and attractive parish of Laxfield; the stone and flint tower and nave of its church date from the fifteenth century, but the chancel is a hideous structure of modern white brick. Here is located the manor of Stadhaugh, comprising manor house and over a hundred acres of land. This estate was the homestead of the armorial Fiske family, during three centuries beginning about the year 1400. About 1635 several members of this family came to New England, among them David Fiske who early located in " Cambridge Farms," now Lexington.¹ The present manor house of Stadhaugh was built in the time of Henry VIII and is a picturesque ell-shaped stucco mansion, originally surrounded by a moat, part of which still remains. This manor was finally acquired by one John Smith, who at his death in 1718 bequeathed it to the parish for philanthropic uses. The picturesque guildhall, opposite Laxfield church, was built in the fifteenth century and is still used for public parish purposes.

Proceeding five miles farther north we arrive at Fressingfield, another charming rural parish. The church is of Decorated and Perpendicular work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the roof and seats have especially beautiful carving. William Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1677 to 1690, was born in Fressingfield in 1617, resided here during the Commonwealth and also after he was forced out of his office, and was buried in the churchyard here in 1693. Nathan Aldis of this parish, where members of the

family still live, came to New England about 1638 and was in Cambridge a short time, but permanently settled in Dedham.

We now push westward some fifteen miles over more hilly country and then come to Mellis, a rural parish with houses scattered on the fringe of a large green or common. The church was originally built in the Early English style of the thirteenth century, but was considerably altered about 1500. In 1730 the ancient tower fell down and has not been replaced. Here, as in very many Suffolk manors, the custom of Borough English prevails, whereby copyhold lands descend to the youngest instead of the oldest son of a family. From Mellis came about 1645 Nicholas Wyeth, founder of a Cambridge family resident here to this day; and it is to be noted he followed the Borough English custom of Mellis by leaving his homestead in Cambridge to his young-

2. See p. 70, ante

est son. He married first in England about 1630 Margaret Clarke, born at Westhorpe (four miles from Mellis) in 1600, sister of Dr. John Clarke the distinguished Baptist founder of Newport, R. I.

From Mellis we take the main Norwich-to-Bury-St.-Edmunds highway, and a run of twenty miles southwest through beautiful country brings us to the latter town. Many New England founders came from here, including Clement Chaplin of Cambridge, although he was born at Seiner as before stated. Of Bury St. Edmunds I will merely mention the wonderful ruins and remains of the Abbey, once the grandest monastery in England, the superb Norman tower erected about 1090, and the magnificent parish churches of St. Mary and St. James, built mostly during the fifteenth century. Continuing south from Bury about fifteen miles we arrive at Clare, formerly the seat of the Earls of Clare, who were also lords of the Honour of Clare, a great feudal barony having jurisdiction over many manors both in Essex and Suffolk. Of the former great castle of Clare only a fragment of the keep on the top of a hill now remains.

Crossing the Stour we will now take a little trip on its south shore in Essex, first coming to Ridgewell which has the usual fifteenth-century church, but in recent times its exterior walls have been plastered over. Here our Barnabas Lamson of Cambridge resided before his emigration. Proceeding southeast five miles we pass, on a hill to the left, the massive keep of Hedingham Castle, a stone structure about sixty feet square with walls about twelve feet thick and rising to a height of over a hundred feet to the top of its square corner turrets; this castle was built about 1130 and for five centuries was possessed by the illustrious de Vere family, Earls of Oxford. Five miles more brings us to Halstead, now a town of over six thousand inhabitants. In this parish is Stansted Hall, a large, many gabled, brick, Elizabethan manor house, owned and occupied from 1590 to 1613 by Thomas French who became lord of this manor by marriage to an Olmsted heiress. His fourth son, William French, was baptized at Halstead 15 Mar. 1603; and for many years it has been generally claimed in America that he was identical with our William French of Cambridge in 1635. A descendant of the latter, after several pilgrimages of admiring worship to this supposed ancestral manorial shrine, discovered that William French of Stansted Hall died unmarried

in England in 1637! Sic transit gloria mundi! But there was another William French baptized in Halstead in 1606, son of William

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French of "The Leete," who possibly may have been Shepard's fellow-passenger on the ship Defence in 1635.

Two miles north of Halstead we pass through Little Maplestead, where stands one of the four small circular churches in England built by the Knights of St. John during the twelfth century. Two miles east of Little Maplestead we come to the parish of Pebmarsh, the church of which in the Decorated Style was erected in the first half of the fourteenth century. Here was the ancestral home of George and Joseph Cooke of Cambridge, their eldest brother Thomas Cooke entering the pedigree and arms of this family of armigerous landed gentry in the Visitation of Essex in 1634. Turning south we come in three miles to Earl's Colne, a manor purchased from the Earl of Oxford in 1583 by Roger Harlakenden, an armigerous gentleman from Kent, where his pedigree is traced back ten generations to Norman times at Warehorne and Woodchurch. His grandson Roger Harlakenden, baptized at Earl's Colne 2 Oct. 1611, came to New England in the ship Defence in 1635 and settled in Cambridge. His sister Mabel Harlakenden came with him and became the second wife of Gov. John Haynes, as already mentioned. Michael Leppinwell, another early settler of Cambridge, was from the adjoining parish of White Colne, where he was baptized 19 Feb. 1603.

Proceeding five miles towards the northeast we come to Bures St. Mary, a parish situated on both banks of the Stour and so in both Suffolk and Essex. Several emigrants to New England came from here, of whom Herbert Pelham was the most important, and the only one who settled in Cambridge. He was of an ancient landed and knightly family and was born in 1600, son of Herbert Pelham of Buxstepe in the parish of Warbleton, co. Sussex, a family estate for several generations and still standing; his mother was Penelope West, daughter of Lord Delaware. He made a great match by his marriage in 1626 to Jemima Waldegrave, heiress of Ferrers Court in Bures, and a descendant of a very ancient knightly family of Essex. The old church of Bures St. Mary, which has been largely rebuilt in recent years, contains several fine monuments and brasses of the Waldegrave family.

We have now crossed the Stour at Bures into Suffolk and follow the river easterly about five miles to Nayland. Here resided for nearly twenty years prior to his emigration in 1635 Gregory Stone, who also brought with him to New England his stepson John Cooper.

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Both settled permanently in Cambridge, the former on Garden Street opposite Shepard Street; the latter built in 1657 on Linnaean Street the ancient house still standing there, the oldest building in Cambridge. Dr. Thomas Parish of Cambridge, the next-door neighbor of Gregory Stone on Garden Street, also lived in Nayland.

Continuing easterly along the northern bank of the Stour, a charming ride of about seven miles brings us to Stratford St. Mary where we again cross the river and find ourselves in Dedham in Essex. Here preached for over thirty years the famous Puritan minister "Roaring

John Rogers," born in 1572, died in 1636, eldest son of Thomas Rogers of Moulsham in Chelmsford, and father of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich, Mass. The soubriquet of this doughty Puritan lecturer doubtless indicates his method of expounding the Gospel. A lecturer in the Church of England is a minister voluntarily engaged and paid by the people of a parish or maintained by endowments left for that purpose, generally to preach or lecture once a week. During the growth of Puritanism in England, many nonconforming Puritan ministers secured these positions, conflicting with the vicar or rector. In Dedham an endowment maintains a lectureship to the present day. Three of the early founders of Cambridge were from Dedham, namely Edmund Angier, John Cooper, and Nathaniel Sparhawk.

A five-mile run southward from Dedham brings this trip to an end at Great Bromley, the birthplace and ancestral home of Gregory Stone, although he lived at Nayland for the score of years prior to his emigration, as already noted. The church of Great Bromley is a fine old structure of rubble, brick and flint, mainly in the Perpendicular Style of the fifteenth century; the fabric consists of chancel, clerestoried nave, two aisles, a small south chapel, a south porch and a pinnaced western tower in which hang six bells.¹ In 1904 a beautiful stained glass window, in memory of the brothers, Gregory and Simon Stone, was unveiled and dedicated in this church, the gift of descendants in America. I would like to see a stained glass window in memory of each early founder of New England placed in the church of his native parish by his American descendants, as a recognition of the tie of blood that binds this old American stock to the mother country.

Among other followers of Shepard who settled in Cambridge were Roger Bancroft, Thomas Blodgett, Robert Bradish, John Bridge,

1. For an illustration of this church see these Proceedings, vii, 72.

William Buck, Christopher Cane, Richard and John Champney, Edward Collins, Gilbert Crackbone, Robert Daniell, Richard Francis, Edmund Frost, John Gibson, Edward Goffe, Richard Hassell, John Hastings, Thomas Marret, William Patten, Richard Park, Thomas Prentice, and William Russell. While the exact places of origin of none of these emigrants have been made public, it is safe to state that nearly all of them were doubtless from either Essex or Suffolk. William Holman was from Northampton, which is only eight miles from Towcester, and so he may have known Rev. Thomas Shepard in his youth; and Samuel Shepard was the latter's brother and came with him to Cambridge.

While Rev. Thomas Shepard was living and preaching at Bossal in Yorkshire, Thomas Brigham, Thomas Crosby, and the latter's son Simon Crosby, all of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, co. York, evidently fell under his influence, and so followed him to Cambridge. Holme-on-Spalding-Moor is a parish lying about fifteen miles southeast of the city of York, in the midst of a great flat and low plain. In the northern part of the parish rises to the height of a hundred and fifty feet a small oval-shaped hill, so regular in outline as to look artificial in construction. On its summit, surrounded by trees, stands the venerable parish church, with a square tower, from the top of which a fine view can be had for many miles, the lofty spires of York Minster being clearly discernible fifteen miles to the

northwest. Except for this hill, much of the parish was a swampy moor until about a century ago. In ancient times, so difficult was the crossing of these dreary wastes, that the lords of the manor maintained on the edge of the moor a cell for two monks as guides for strangers, one acting as conductor, while the other was praying for the safety of the travellers, the monks alternating at the two offices. As I have walked across the windswept plain during a bitter blizzard, covering the two miles from the railroad station to the village of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, I can realize the praying monk's duty was much the more comfortable.

While at and near Newcastle-on-Tyne in Northumberland, Rev. Thomas Shepard obtained quite a number of adherents from that vicinity who accompanied or followed him to Cambridge, viz., Guy Bainbridge, Thomas and William Bittlestone, Thomas Chesholme, Widow Elizabeth Cutter and her sons Richard and William, Widow Ann Errington and her son Abraham, Edward and Thomas Hall, Robert Holmes, John Sill, Andrew Stevenson (or Stimpson), John

Swan, John Trumbull, Isabel Wilkinson, and Edward Winship. Concerning the region whence came this band of emigrants, I will follow the discreet example of Benjamin Franklin when examined by the House of Commons concerning the Stamp Act, and being asked what he knew about Newfoundland, replied, "I have never been there."

We will next give our attention to the group of fifteen families from Kent who located about 1635 in Cambridge, and will begin with Rev. William Wetherell. He was a native of Yorkshire, born about 1601, and graduated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1623. He soon secured a position as teacher in the Free School at Maidstone, co. Kent, but having become unorthodox from the prelatical viewpoint, and being suspected of imparting undesirable heresies to the youthful mind, he found himself persona non grata as a pedagogue. So early in the spring of 1635 he came to New England with a party of Kentish emigrants in the ship Hercules, and located in Cambridge. After teaching school a few years in Cambridge, Charlestown, and Duxbury, in 1644 he became pastor of the Second Church in Scituate, where he served forty years until his death 9 Apr. 1684. Nearly all these emigrants from Kent were from the southwestern and central parts of the county, known as the Weald of Kent, which before the Norman Conquest was a vast, heavily-wooded forest and sparsely settled. Throughout this county prevails the custom of gavelkind, a land tenure by which a man may devise his lands by will, and if he dies intestate they are equally divided among all his sons instead of descending wholly to the eldest son, as is the general usage in England, or to the youngest son as in manors having the custom of Borough English.

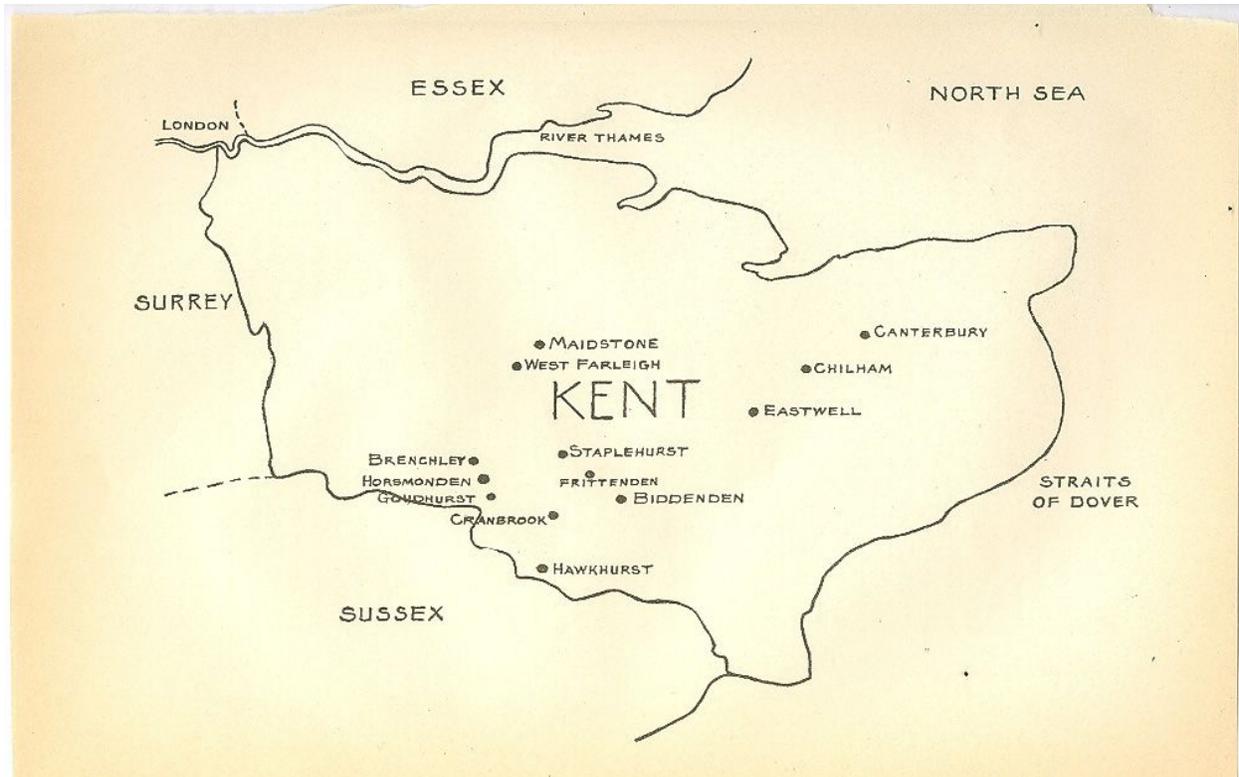
Of this group of emigrants from Kent who settled in Cambridge, William Pantry and perhaps Stephen Post had been fellow-townsmen of Mr. Wetherell in Maidstone. This place existed in Roman times and is now a manufacturing city and railroad center of 40,000 population. The great church of All Saints, mostly built during the latter part of the fourteenth century, is one of the largest parish churches in England and has the unusual feature of having its square embattled tower located on the south side of the nave instead of at the western end. The populace of Maidstone were active in the peasant rebellions of Wat Tyler in 1381 and

Jack Cade in 1450. The grammar school where Mr. Wetherell taught was founded in 1536 and established in its present modern buildings half a century ago.

Three miles southwest of Maidstone is the small parish of West Farleigh with a correspondingly small church, part of which is of Norman style of the twelfth century. Dolor Davis was of this parish before coming to Cambridge. Eight miles to the southeast of West Farleigh is the low-lying parish of Staplehurst, the native place of Jonas Austin, baptized 3 Dec. 1598, and Samuel Greenhill, baptized 11 July 1605, both of whom became early settlers of Cambridge. Staplehurst Church shows three periods of architecture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Three miles farther southeast is Frittenden, where the ancient church was taken down about 1850 and replaced by a modern stone structure; the old registers however are preserved from 1558. Our Moses Paine of Cambridge was baptized in Frittenden 23 Apr. 1581, and his ancestral line has been traced back there for several generations. The railroad station for Frittenden consists of a stopping point in a field, whence the walking is good or bad, according to the season, for a distance of two miles to the village.

Eight miles west of Frittenden is the parish of Horsmonden, the birthplace of that worthy Puritan, Major Simon Willard, who was baptized there 8 Apr. 1605, and on emigrating to New England at first located in Cambridge, which lost a valuable citizen when he removed to Concord. Among his distinguished descendants of the Willard name were two presidents of Harvard College and the late Frances E. Willard, founder and president of the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union; a memorial tablet to her memory has been placed in Horsmonden Church, but the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral was the place chosen for a memorial to the colonist Major Simon Willard. Earlier generations of this family resided in Goud-hurst and Brenchley, parishes adjoining Horsmonden.

Five miles southeast of Horsmonden is the thriving and prosperous-appearing parish of Cranbrook, for three centuries after 1350 the most noted place in England for the manufacture of broadcloth. The church is an unusually large and handsome edifice of the fifteenth century and has a fine stained glass triple window, erected in 1902 to the memory of Rev. William Eddy, vicar here from 1591 to 1616 and ancestor of the Eddy family in America; also a tablet to the memory of Dr. Comfort Starr, baptized here 6 July 1589, who settled in Cambridge in 1635. Five miles south of Cranbrook is Hawkhurst, where on 2 Jan. 1602/3 was baptized Thomas Hosmer who located in



Cambridge in 1634 but moved to Hartford the next year. Ten miles northeast of Hawkhurst is Biddenden, the native parish of two more of our Cambridge founders, Thomas Besbeech, baptized 3 Mar. 1589/90, and Thomas Beal, baptized 25 Mar. 1599. Biddenden was another famous place of broadcloth manufacture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the old Cloth Hall is still standing, but now used as a dwelling. Fifteen miles northeast of Biddenden is the parish of Eastwell, the register transcripts of which show the baptism on 10 June 1610 of Samuel House, son of John House the rector there, and a proprietor of Cambridge in 1642. Six miles northeast of Eastwell lies the parish of Chilham, the old home of John Fessenden who appeared in Cambridge in 1637. Another six miles farther to the northeast is Canterbury, a place so familiar to everyone that no further mention of it is necessary. From here came Daniel Cheever who settled in Cambridge about 1640.

Three small groups of Cambridge founders next require brief notice. Reverend Jose Glover was born in England about 1597, son of Roger Glover, a wealthy London merchant. He was perhaps educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, and from 1624 to 1635 was rector of Sutton in Surrey. After a short visit to New England in 1635, he returned to England and for over two years assisted in the plans for establishing Harvard College. In 1638 he again sailed for New England with his family, bringing with him a printing outfit, mechanics to run it, and several servants. He died on the voyage, but his widow Elizabeth (Harris) Glover soon married Reverend Henry Dunster, who in 1640 became the first president of Harvard College. In Mr. Glover's party was Stephen Day of Cambridge, England, who set up and operated in Cambridge, Mass., the printing press of Mr. Glover, the first press established in America. William Boardman from Cambridge, England, a stepson of Mr. Day, and John and Robert Stedman, probably from Sutton in Surrey, were other members of Mr. Glover's party

and also settled in Cambridge. Richard Harris, a brother of Mrs. Glover, born at Blechingley, co. Surrey, in 1617 and graduated at New College, Oxford, in 1640, later came to Cambridge, Mass., where he died 29 Aug. 1644, unmarried.

Rev. Henry Dunster was baptized at Bury in Lancashire, 26 Nov. 1609, graduated at Magdalen College, Cambridge, in 1630, and for several years taught school and preached in his native place. He came to New England in 1640, at once became the first president of

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Harvard College and continued in office until 1654. Having become an Anabaptist, the Overseers feared he might ensnare the students in his unorthodox ideas, and labored ("with extreme agony" says Cotton Mather) to rescue him from his errors. But Mr. Dunster remained obdurate, so was removed from office and went to Scituate in the Plymouth Colony, where more tolerance prevailed and where he preached five years, until his death 27 Feb. 1658/9.

A letter is preserved, written to Mr. Dunster by his father, dated at Bury, 20 Mar. 1640/1. He mentions receiving four letters from New England from his son, and also states, "I do not know of any that you sent for that intend to come as yet." This expression indicates that some relatives or friends of Mr. Dunster were contemplating following him to New England. While positive legal proof is lacking, I feel absolutely certain that one of these adherents was Richard Dana, who was in Cambridge about 1642, and that he was identical with Richard Dana baptized at Manchester Cathedral 31 Oct. 1617, son of Robert and Elizabeth (Barlow) Dana. Manchester is only nine miles from Bury, the home of Dunster, and the name Dana is extremely rare in England and in fact has been found before 1700 solely in Manchester and at Kendal in Westmoreland where Robert Dana, father of Richard, was undoubtedly born, and where the family was living as early as the time of Henry VIII. The records at Kendal clearly show that Dana was a shortened form of Dawney, a family name on record in Westmoreland as early as 1327. Manchester was founded in Roman times, and had grown in 1640 to a town of only six thousand inhabitants; so could Richard Dana, like a Rip Van Winkle, now return to his native place, he would certainly be bewildered in finding himself in the greatest cotton-cloth manufacturing city in the world with a population of nearly a million. Other early Cambridge settlers after 1640 who were probably followers of Dunster were Richard Eccles, Richard Oldham and Humphrey Bradshaw; these are very common family names in and about Bury and Manchester.

In conclusion there need to be briefly mentioned twelve other founders of Cambridge whose English origins are known, but who are not associated with any of the five parties of emigrants previously mentioned. The first "master" of Harvard College, Nathaniel Eaton, that wretched prototype of Wackford Squeers, was born in 1609 at Great Budworth in Cheshire, son of the local vicar. Matthew Allyn was baptized 17 Apr. 1605 in Braunton, co. Devon; Andrew

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Belcher was from London; Francis Foxcroft, born in 1657, was a son of the mayor of Leeds in Yorkshire; Thomas Hitt was from Folkingham, co. Lincoln; and Daniel Gookin, born about

1613, came here from Virginia, but his father was of an ancient armorial and landed family of Ripple and Beakesbourne in Kent. John and Edward Jackson were baptized in Stepney, London, 6 June 1602 and 3 Feb. 1604/5 respectively; James Kidder was from a family of East Grinstead, co. Sussex; Gary Latham was baptized 10 Nov. 1613 in Aldenham in Hertfordshire, and Samuel Wakeman was a native of Bewdley, co. Worcester. John Adams was baptized in Kingweston, co. Somerset, 4 Dec. 1622, son of Henry Adams, and came to New England about 1638 with his father's family, who soon located in Braintree, Mass., where Henry died in 1646.

Rev. Charles Chauncey was baptized 5 Nov. 1592, son of George Chauncey, a member of an armorial and knightly family located for six generations at Gedleston (or Gilston) in Hertfordshire and for ten generations previously at Skirpenbeck in Yorkshire. Mr. Chauncey graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1613, and from 1627 to 1637 was vicar of Ware in Hertfordshire. Being persecuted for nonconformity by Archbishop Laud, he came to New England in 1637, preached three years at Plymouth, and from 1641 to 1654 was pastor of Scituate. He became an advocate of immersion instead of sprinkling for baptism, and the latter being then the orthodox form for New England, Mr. Chauncey found himself in hot water with the authorities. But being offered the presidency of Harvard College on condition of recanting his heresy, and being less obdurate than Dunster, he agreed to conform, and in 1654 succeeded the latter, and remained in office until his death 19 Feb. 1671/2.

FORTY-EIGHTH MEETING

THE FORTY-EIGHT MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was a special "garden party" held on the afternoon of Saturday, June 7, 1919, at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Henry D. Tudor - "The Larches" (the old Gray estate), Brattle Street and Larch Road.

The members first gathered in the parlor, and Mrs. Tudor read the following account of the old house (prepared by her brother, ROLAND GRAY, ESQ.).

THE WILLIAM GRAY HOUSE IN CAMBRIDGE

At 22 Larch Road, a short distance north of Brattle Street, stands the William Gray house, now owned by Mrs. Henry D. Tudor, which has been occupied successively during more than a century by Mrs. Tudor's great-grandfather, William Gray, his son John Chipman Gray, and the latter's nephew of the same name, long professor at the Law School, from whom it descended to his daughter, Mrs. Tudor. Both this house and the little old farmhouse just north of it were moved in 1915, after Professor Gray's death, from a position facing on Brattle Street near its intersection with Mt. Auburn Street, and just west of the entrance to the old private way known as Fresh Pond Lane, a portion of which is still preserved as a part of a road recently laid out from Fresh Pond Parkway.

The age of the smaller house is not known, but it bears in its interior many marks of old-fashioned methods of construction, and was undoubtedly in existence in 1801, when the land on which it stood at the corner of the "County Road to Watertown," as Mt. Auburn

Street was then called, and Fresh Pond Lane, was sold by Ebenezer Wyeth to Jonathan Hastings, son of Jonathan Hastings who was steward of Harvard College. Hastings built his mansion in front of the Wyeth house, facing towards the County Road, and the two houses were connected with a passageway so that the smaller served as an ell to the larger. Brattle Street did not then extend west of the present location of Elmwood Avenue.

According to tradition, Hastings had not finished the house in 1808 when he sold it to William Gray, familiarly known as "Billy Gray,"

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in those days the greatest shipowner of Salem, who moved his residence from Salem to Boston in the following year, and from that time until his death in 1825 passed his summers in Cambridge. Here lived, as a child, his granddaughter Lucia Gray Swett, who married the artist, Francis Alexander, and passed the greater part of her century-long life in Florence with her talented daughter Francesca, the friend of Ruskin. Mr. Gray's choice of this situation was perhaps influenced by its proximity to the residence of his friend, Elbridge Gerry, whose political running-mate he was in 1810 and 1811, when Gerry was elected governor, and Gray lieutenant-governor. From Mr. Gerry, Mr. Gray purchased, shortly after his acquisition of the Hastings house, a tract of over thirty acres to the west of Fresh Pond Lane, running back to Fresh Pond, and also a piece of land to the south of the County Road, which now forms part of Mt. Auburn Cemetery.

For over fifty years, from 1825 to 1881, the elder John Chipman Gray made this estate his summer home, and from the latter date until 1915, his nephew, Professor Gray, lived there a portion of every year. The date of the house is not exactly known, but appears, from the facts above stated, to have been a little before 1808. Neither is the architect known; but the details of the woodwork and the applications in relief upon the mantelpieces are very similar to those known to have been produced by Samuel McIntire, the celebrated wood carver of Salem. The windows in the roof, the porch in the rear of the mansion house, and the eastern end of the small house, are recent additions. The fine fence with larch cones on the posts was designed towards the end of the last century by Mrs. John Chipman Gray, the younger, and later removed from Brattle Street to its present location.

The garden in the rear of the house in its present situation includes a part of the old gardens, which were laid out for the most part by John Chipman Gray, the elder, a devoted patron of horticulture. He planted a great variety of foreign trees and American trees not indigenous to this neighborhood, such as the Japanese gingko, Scotch larch, English oak, Australian pine, Norway spruce, European linden, rowan tree, mulberry, tulip tree, virgilia, catalpa, Judas tree, black walnut, umbrella tree, southern cypress, etc. There was also a clump of sassafras trees, some very old chestnuts, and a grove of shellbark hickory. One of these last, which was blown down more than fifty years ago, was supposed to have been the largest of its kind. In spite

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of the fact that the greater part of the estate is now cut up into building lots, many of these trees are still standing. The long row of larches on the eastern edges of the place, a few of

which are now living, gave their name to Larch Road, and to the house itself, which has been known for forty years as "The Larches."

MRS. CORNELIUS C. FELTON read the following account of a member of the Gray family.

MRS. ALEXANDER AND HER DAUGHTER FRANCESCA

My acquaintance with Mrs. Alexander and her daughter began in Florence, Italy, in 1883. They were then living at Hotel Boncianni, Piazza Santa Maria Novella.

The Boncianni is an old historic hostelry; a tablet on the front facing the cathedral bears the inscription that here Garibaldi rallied his forces in a patriotic address at the struggle for the unification of Italy. Mrs. Alexander's entrance and stairway were always guarded by a heavy iron grill, and one had to ring and await the arrival of the venerable porter, who conducted you up the two flights of marble stairs to Mrs. Alexander's apartment. There above, you were met by Edwidge, the faithful maid, who assisted you to lay off outside wraps and show you to the salon, a high stately room, hung with tapestries and crimson damask, ornamented with marble busts of emperors and cardinals and many interesting relics — the two greatest, original paintings by Giotto and Ghirlandajo.

Mrs. Alexander tripped in gaily and kissed us affectionately in foreign fashion on both cheeks. She was rather short, full of vivacity, wore a white muslin cap and curious handsome ornaments. Francesca dressed very plainly, and in the fashion which prevailed about fifty years ago, at the time she left America. Her lovely nature shone out in her expressive face. She had a quick nervous way of talking with an old-fashioned Yankee pronunciation which was noticeable in her fluent and correct Italian. She was not handsome, and her appearance was rather rustic and immature, but there was wonderful simplicity in everything she did and said. Mother and daughter adored each other and agreed in everything.

I recall various pleasant visits, but one in particular when we were all invited to dinner (including my baby and nurse) at 4 P.M.— their usual hour. The elders sat down to a sumptuous and lengthy meal,

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*while the baby was put for a nap on a richly carved marble sarcophagus. After dinner, Mrs. Alexander said, "Fannie will sing for you by and by." We requested her to do so, and she went to the piano and sang or chanted several simple airs with Italian words. They were partly religious and partly joyous — called *rispetti* by the peasants, from whom she had learned them. It was an odd and quite remarkable performance, as she had made piano accompaniments for the airs, and her memory for the words was unailing. Her manner was modest and simple, and one felt she sang to please her mother. Mrs. Alexander looked the picture of content when Francesca sang. They seemed like people who had remained in*

some peaceful dream, while the rest of the world hurried on, but thankful for an occasional glimpse of this Arcadian innocence.

Francesca's sanctum, where she worked at her pen-and-ink sketches, was a tiny room at the top of the hotel, among the roofs and chimneys, giving a free view of the city and mountains, as well as a strong light; and what lovely creations she produced, there in her sky parlor! The only implements of her work were large sheets of white drawing paper, her tiny stylographic pen, and an inkstand of either black ink or sepia. She often received her friends in her studio, and while she talked or sang, her pen flew along over the paper, bringing out, as if by magic, bouquets of flowers, angelic faces of children, groups of country people at their various occupations in their surroundings. The penmanship of Francesca was exquisite, and the songs were written down as she sang them, in a joyous simple spirit. You only wished everyone could be as happy and carefree over their work, while as successful.

The principal works which she published were: "The Story of Ida," a touching recital of patience under suffering; "The Roadside Songs of Tuscany," edited by Professor Ruskin; "Hidden Servants," a collection of stories, some of them taken from old Italian books which she had read, and which she thought were suited to children. These stories she translated into English rhymes, and she had a rare gift for doing it. The first important work of Francesca, which I saw, but which was never published, was a volume of pen-and-ink drawings illustrating a simple Tuscan story called La Sorellacia, or the bad sister. This she presented to Mrs. Quincy Shaw of Boston, who had given her a sum of money in aid of the poor Florentines to whom Mrs. Alexander devoted herself.

The story is of a humble peasant woman, the sister of a priest and of a nun (called "the good sister"). La Sorellacia was the mother of a large family of small children, and so busy with her household cares that she could not find time to go to mass very regularly. Her brother, the priest, came to pay her a visit, reproving her for her neglect of religious duties, and offering at the same time to stay with her children while she went to church. La Sorellacia accepted the offer. Dressed in her wedding gown, her black lace veil, looking very lovely, she said good-bye to the family and left her brother in charge of the baby and children, and started joyfully for mass, chatting with her neighbors on the way. She had a quiet, happy hour in church, but when she returned home she found her brother at his wit's end, and the children crying and quarrelling. Taking her baby from his arms, she soon had them all in a state of harmony. The result was that the priest declared La Sorellacia, the bad sister, was more of a Christian than either he or the good sister, the nun.

The whole work is exquisite; the trees and wayside flowers, the campanile, the people whom she meets, all are cleverly depicted. The original copy of this precious book, done by Miss Alexander's own hand in pen and ink, has been kept with greatest care, but Mr. Shaw had it reproduced by photography, page by page, so that each of his five children should have a copy. The results were remarkably successful, as will be seen in the beautiful volume which is loaned to us today through the courtesy of Mrs. Quincy Adams Shaw, Jr. What gave the work an especial value to Mrs. Shaw was that the family of La Sorellacia were portraits of her own children, who were between the ages of twelve and two years.

In these years the Alexanders spent the summer months at Abetone in the Pistojan Mountains, a day's journey from Florence, and many subjects for her drawings were taken from that picturesque region, also many songs and rispetti were collected there. We had never contemplated going to this remote village, but a general epidemic of cholera which visited Italy decided us to avoid seaports and cities, and we hastily took flight to the mountains.

The journey began with a train to Pistoja, where we took an open carriage to drive us to Abetone. Our pair of little ponies was adorned with red tassels, and had jingling bells attached to their harnesses. This was a merry accompaniment on the journey, adding much to the happiness of our one-year-old bambina and her Tyrolian nurse, as the

ponies trotted smartly along over the smooth, hard roads. These soon became very steep, and our coachman kept up a constant chirruping and cracking of his whip to urge his steeds. We passed through many villages, over fine stone bridges, and had lovely views across the hilly country.

At about 5 P.M. we entered the Castania or chestnut tree country, and here we wished to stop and call upon the Stillman family, who were living in a villa on the highway. Our driver knew where to stop, as he said forestieri often went there. The delightful Stillmans were expecting us, and all came out on the porch to receive us. Mr. Stillman was the soul of cordiality to his friends, and we were led into an immense salon, partly studio, partly living room, which expressed the pursuits and tastes of the occupants. There by an open fire we had tea, and rested in the genial atmosphere, charmed by our beautiful hostess and her three tall, graceful daughters.

As we still had an hour's ride of steep mountain climbing, we put on our warm wraps, especially guarding the sleepy baby, and called the carriage. Meantime the coachman had refreshed himself with a glass of Chianti or vino santo, and with a change of horses we started briskly on. As we left the villa the Stillman family again assembled on the porch to bid us farewell. The picture of the group remains a sweet memory, as I have never seen them again.

The road constantly grew more mountainous. Slowly, we climbed up the steep and winding way, and left the Castania or chestnut tree region for the Abetone or great hemlock forest. This forest belongs to the royal domain, and no tree can be cut or trimmed without government supervision. It is a noble possession — the fragrant green of the great trees lined the roadway and made an imposing approach to the mountains.

The sun had set, and twilight was almost over when we arrived at the solid stone inn where we were to stop. Lights were a welcome sight to the tired travelers; we were pretty stiff and cold and ready to go inside, where large open fires were burning. The hotel was different from anything we had seen before, a new experience, as we had never stayed in the country in Italy. It was bare and empty, but clean, and the bed linen, though coarse, was white and inviting. And the same with everything — food plain but good. On the way we were almost afraid we had been rash in attempting the journey, but instead were agreeably surprised. We had heard that Italians of

the upper class resorted here, and we now understood why they liked it.

Mrs. Alexander and her daughter did not live in the hotel, but had a cottage very near by. The next morning we went to see them, and found other visitors — some Italian peasants, who were their dear friends, all calling Francesca by her own name. Mrs. Stillman had told us that the Alexanders had nothing to do with the fashionable hotel guests, but walked out mornings and evenings when other people were indoors. This was a habit of later years, since Abetone had become more known and fashionable. Edwidge, the maid, usually went with them, and we got accustomed to seeing the three going early in the morning to the summit or top of the pass, where a wide view extended across the whole region.

Francesca often remained to work on her drawings in the mornings, and Mrs. Alexander returned home to sew and knit for the children of the peasants. At evening again they took the same walk when the hotel guests were dining. This was the most lovely hour of the day, late sunset. Sometimes I sat with Francesca while she worked in the mornings; she was finishing a series of sketches ordered by Mr. Ruskin — mountains, trees, rocks and peaks, also a waterfall, which she declared was the hardest thing she had ever attempted.

This summer was probably the most eventful period in the lives of both mother and daughter. They were in constant correspondence with Prof. John Ruskin, and his letters were a source of undisguised pleasure and pride to them, especially to Mrs. Alexander, who felt that her daughter's unusual qualities and gifts were appreciated by one of the foremost judges of art and literature. The rare modesty of Francesca was never more charmingly displayed than now, and her childlike happiness in her mother's joy was beautiful. The letters were indeed very interesting. At that time Mr. Ruskin was founding and encouraging a School of Technical Art at Sheffield, England, and he desired Miss Alexander to furnish certain specimens of her work to illustrate his ideas — he gave the most minute directions as to the drawings. These letters were interspersed with friendly and intimate accounts of his life, his occupations and reading, as well as opinions on public concerns. His critical spirit was shown, but also his noble and keen discernment, and a charming friendliness.

His acquaintance with Mrs. Alexander and her daughter had been brought about through Mr. Newman, an American artist in Florence.

Mr. Newman was a beautiful worker on the same line of art as Mr. Ruskin. His exquisite water colors of Florentine architecture, as well as Italian scenery, were the admiration of Mr. Ruskin, and they often met. Mr. Newman told Mr. Ruskin of the work of Francesca and perhaps may have shown him a specimen of it; but however that was he asked permission to take Ruskin to see Francesca in her studio. So after a friendly visit with Mrs. Alexander he was conducted up the narrow stairway to the top of Hotel Boncianni to Francesca's tiny workroom. There, among the roofs and chimneys, she evolved her lovely visions of angelic children and her wonderful flower decorations to Italian folk songs.

Mr. Ruskin was quite overcome, not only by her conscientious and beautiful work, but by her modest attitude and her unconscious simplicity in everything. The devotion to this work in her remote studio pleased him immensely, and also the relation of mother and daughter filled him with delight. The spectacle of such sweet affection, he said, was a source of infinite happiness to him, and their independent way of living was as great a surprise to him as anything. It seemed to be a new vista, and he was enthusiastic in his admiration of both ladies.

This first visit was followed by many others, and when he left them the correspondence began, and lasted as long as he lived. I am not sure whether Mr. Ruskin made another visit to Florence, but I think he did.

When the drawings which he ordered for his Sheffield school were finished, they were bound in vellum; but Mr. Ruskin wrote Francesca not to attempt to send the book by express or any usual method — that he would send a messenger for it. Some weeks elapsed, when one day a little Quaker lady appeared with a letter from Ruskin, saying she was the messenger. She was also an unusual type of person, and interested the Alexanders greatly. They gave her the book of drawings, which had been a whole year's work, and Mr. Ruskin paid a handsome sum for it. When it arrived in England, the book was unbound, and each page was exhibited separately.

While at Abetone we were so fortunate as to hear Francesca read some of the Ruskin letters — but now comes a sad mystery. The letters were carefully preserved and arranged by Mrs. Alexander in sequence, and no one else was supposed to meddle with them — but the whole correspondence has disappeared. No one can give the slightest clue to it, and its loss was a terrible trial to Mrs. Alexander.

I heard that Francesca tried to comfort her mother, and said, "But we read them so often that we knew them by heart."

After twenty years I was again in Florence, and one of my first desires was to see the Alexanders, who still lived in Hotel Boncianni. Early one afternoon I directed my steps toward Piazza Santa Maria Novella, and soon found the old hotel with the Garibaldi tablet in front; but I had forgotten exactly where the old entrance was, and had to ask the neighbouring grocer. "Oh, yes," he said, "the forestieri," and pointed out the iron grill above the regular entrance. I rang the bell, and awaited the footsteps of the approaching custodian, which seemed to patter very slowly. But what was my surprise to find the same venerable porter, who looked only a little older. He examined my card critically, and said he would take it up to the Signore. Soon returning, smiling, he ushered me upstairs. There above was not Edwidge, but her grand-daughter, who received my wraps. I felt much hesitation in entering; I knew I had changed a good deal, and that they also must have changed, and it seemed quite a solemn moment. If I had not received a cordial note from them I should not have dared to make the visit.

She opened the dining room door, where Francesca was about to lunch with an intimate friend from Pisa. Francesca came forward in the same affectionate manner, and in her quick way of talking, just as she used to. But she was bent over with rheumatism, and seemed much older. She wore a heavy woolen shawl and mittens. She said her mother was not

quite as well as usual, but would I not take luncheon? She and her friend then stood a moment in silence, to say grace before sitting down.

Cabinets of rare china and Venetian glass lined the walls of the dining room, but otherwise everything was most simple. The Pisan lady was in a hurry to take her train, and soon left, and then I had a lovely talk with my dear friend Francesca. She said she was almost helpless, could not knit or sew, as her hands were very stiff, and that her eyesight was very feeble. When I expressed regret that she could no longer make her lovely drawings, she said, "Oh, I have done my share, let others do it," so cheerful and resigned.

When taken in to see Mrs. Alexander I was amazed at her unchanged appearance. As Francesca said, "She looks years younger than I." If I am not mistaken she was sewing without eye-glasses, at the age of 93. We sat in her room by the open fire, and chatted

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for half an hour. "Generally I walk around the piazza every day," she said, "but today was so very windy I thought it too unpleasant." There was no elevator, so she had to climb several flights of stairs. Her memory seemed unimpaired, and she recalled the different members of our household and asked affectionately for each, smiling sadly when speaking of friends who were no more; but still she did not remain sad. "I suppose they are all in Mt. Auburn," she said; and then with a droll smile, "Miss C. says there are more distinguished people buried in Cambridge than in Mt. Auburn. I was born in Cambridge, in my grandfather's, William Gray's, home, before Mt. Auburn existed."

Since writing the above account of my last visit, my dear friend Francesca has joined her mother, from whom she was separated scarcely a year. It was with a feeling akin to joy that I heard of her release from her crippled body. I have not heard the details of her last hours, but I am sure she was brave and cheerful to the end, with the hope of joining the blessed saints whom she had loved so fondly.

*In connection with this paper there were exhibited a photograph of Francesca Alexander at the age of sixteen, given by Mrs. Alexander to Miss Alice M. Longfellow, and a copy of *La Sorellia* described in the text, the property of Mrs. Quincy Adams Shaw, Jr. Mrs. Felton also read the sonnet "To Francesca Alexander" by James Russell Lowell, and the poem "The Story of Ida" by John Greenleaf Whittier.*

After remarks by MR. HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW DANA on the Reverend Samuel Longfellow,¹ born one hundred years ago this month, the members adjourned to the garden, where tea was served.

*1. For a full biography see Joseph May's *Samuel Longfellow, Memoir and Letters*. Boston, 1894.*

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FORTY-NINTH MEETING

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE FORTY-NINTH MEETING, being the fifteenth annual meeting of the Society, was held on the evening of October 28, 1919, at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Philip L. Spalding, 121 Brattle Street.

The President, William R. Thayer, called the meeting to order. The minutes of the last meeting were read and allowed.

Voted that the President appoint a committee of three to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

On this committee the President appointed Mr. Spalding, Mr. Frank Gaylord Cook, and Miss Alice Durant Smith.

The Secretary read the following report:

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY AND THE COUNCIL

By vote of the Council their report is incorporated with that of the Secretary.

The most notable public meeting of the Society for several years was that held in Sanders Theatre on February 22, to commemorate the centennial of the birth of James Russell Lowell. This celebration was undertaken with some hesitation as to the public interest felt today in a man of letters whose best-remembered productions were those linked with two wars which have become ancient history in comparison with the world convulsion from which we are now just emerging. It was an unexpected satisfaction therefore that this meeting proved to be one of the best attended and most enthusiastic ever held under the auspices of the Society. The demand for tickets taxed the committee (under the devoted management of Mr. Bailey) to the utmost, applications being received from New York, New Hampshire and other distant points. The addresses by President Eliot and Prof. Bliss Perry and the poem by Mr. Percy MacKaye were of such high excellence that they were published in a special "pre-print" from the Society's Proceedings, as well as in various papers and magazines. The occasion was marked by several appropriate con-

comitants. By the courtesy of Mr. Charles Henry Davis, the Lowell homestead at Elmwood was open during the afternoon to as large a number of visitors as could be accommodated. A special exhibition of Lowell's books and manuscripts was given in the Widener Library

under the supervision of Mr. William C. Lane. A prize competition on "James Russell Lowell as a Patriotic Citizen," open to pupils in the schools of Cambridge, was won by Mary M. Twomey; second prize, Ruth M. Miles; honorable mention, Gladys R. Flint.

The other meetings of the Society during the year have been as follows:

October 30, 1918, annual meeting at the residence of Mrs. William G. Farlow, at which a paper was read by Mr. George G. Wright on "The Schools of Cambridge, 1800-1870."

April 22, 1919, spring meeting in the Paine Memorial Room of the Episcopal Theological School, at which papers were read by Mr. Lewis M. Hastings on "The Streets of Cambridge — Some Account of Their Origin and History," and by Mr. J. Gardner Bartlett on the "English Ancestral Homes of the Founders of Cambridge."

On June 7 at 4 P.M. a special meeting was held at the residence of Mrs. Henry D. Tudor. Mrs. Tudor read an account of the old house, Mrs. Cornelius C. Felton read a paper on "Mrs. Francis Alexander and Her Daughter," and Mr. Henry W. L. Dana, one on "Reverend Samuel Longfellow." After the papers the members had an opportunity to inspect the very interesting house (built in 1809 and occupied by the Gray family for four generations) and to take tea in the garden, enjoying a delightful afternoon.

During the past year the Society has lost by death the following regular members:

WILLIAM BREWSTER

GEORGE HODGES

HENRY AINSWORTH PARKER

EDWARD PICKERING

WILLIAM READ

HENRY DETRICK YERXA

And by resignation, etc., the following:

ALICE C. ALLYN

JOHN HERBERT BARKER

VINCENT RAVI BOOTH

WOODMAN BRADBURY

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EUGENE ABRAHAM DARLING

MARTHA ELIZABETH DRIVER

WARNER FOOTE GOOKIN

JOHN WINTHHOP PLATNER

CLARA BURNHAM PLATNER

The following new members have been elected:

JOSEPH GARDNER BARTLETT

ELIZABETH FRENCH BARTLETT

HELEN CHAPIN BOSSON

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW DANA

ALBERT PERLET NORRIS

LOUISA PHELPS PARKER

MARGARET BROOKS ROBINSON

ROSE SHERMAN

KATHARINE COOLIDGE WHEELER

HORATIO STEVENS WHITE

FANNIE GOTT WHITE

The regular membership of the Society now stands almost at the full quota of 200.

The Council has met four times during the year — on November 30, March 1, May 17 and October 21 — with an average attendance of five.

Besides the preparations for general meetings and other routine matters, a proposal has been made for re-naming the new West Boston Bridge as the "Longfellow Bridge," and some progress has been made in interesting city authorities in the proposal.

A vote to secure a set of photographs of Cambridge Common as it appeared while occupied by the barracks of the Naval Radio School resulted not only in a set of photographs especially taken, but also in the gift from Lieutenant-Commander Nathaniel F. Ayer (in charge of the school) of a very complete set of over 100 official photographs of all phases of naval activity in Cambridge — certainly one of the most interesting local results of the great war and well worth preserving.

The need of a good index to the two printed volumes of the early records of Cambridge has been much felt, and it has been thought well worth while to include such an index with the

index of Paige's History of Cambridge now practically completed. Mrs. Gozzaldi and Mr. Edes have been appointed a committee with full powers to carry out this plan.

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The Council, with much regret, finds itself deprived of the long and valuable services of Hollis Russell Bailey, Esq., a charter member, and one of our vice-presidents, whose removal to Andover makes him ineligible for active membership, under a most regrettable by-law. We shall miss his constant attendance at meetings and his great practical helpfulness.

The Council has also lost seriously by the death of the Reverend George Hodges, in his third year as a member of that body.

On October 22, 1907, Henry Herbert Edes, Esq., was elected Treasurer of the Society. After twelve years of continuous and successful administration of this most important department, he now resigns his post, followed by the thanks and appreciation of all who realize its responsible and exacting duties.

SAMUEL F. BATCHELDER,

Secretary

Cambridge, 28 October, 1919.

Voted to accept the above report and refer it to the Committee on Publications.

In the absence of the Curator, his report was presented and summarized by Mr. William C. Lane.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR

I beg to submit herewith a list of the additions to the Society's collection from October 29, 1918, to October 28, 1919.

ADDITIONS TO THE SOCIETY'S COLLECTION FOR 1918-1919

AMERICAN IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Journal. Vol. 17 (1918).

BROOKLINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 30, 1919.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Collections. Vol. 17. Hartford, 1918.

DRIVER, Miss ELIZABETH.

Revolutionary cannon ball found in Dr. S. W. Driver's garden at 55 Brattle Street, Cambridge

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EDES, HENRY H.

Register of the Charlestown Schools, 1847-1873: High-Winthrop, by James E. Stone. Boston, 1918.

Register of the Charlestown Men in the Service during the Civil War, by James E. Stone, Boston, 1919.

ELIOT, CHRISTOPHER R.

Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith and the Rev. Samuel Deane, by William Willis. Portland, 1849.

GOZZALDI, MRS. SILVIO M.

The Dayspring from on High, edited by Emma F. Gary. Boston, 1893.

Discourses, by Edward H. Hall. Boston, 1892.

Ten Lectures on Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Christian Church. Boston, 1883.

Verses, by Louisa J. Hall. Cambridge, 1892.

The Early Writings of Montaigne, and Other Papers, by Grace Norton. New York, 1904.

Death and Life, by Mary G. Ware. Boston, 1864.

Lectures on the Works and Genius of Washington Allston, by William Ware. Boston, 1852.

Sketches of European Capitals, by William Ware. Boston, 1851.

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library. Nos. 24, 25.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society Vol. 10, nos. 3, 4, and Index; vol. 11, nos. 1, 2 (1917-18).

INDIANA STATE LIBRARY.

Indiana Historical Society Publications. Vol. 6, nos. 3, 4; vol. 7, nos. 3, 4.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Collections. Vol. 14 (1915-18). Topeka, 1918.

KENNEDY, MRS. ELIZABETH.

4 silver spoons.

LANCASTER COUNTY (PA.) HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Papers read before the Society. Vol. 22, nos. 7-10; vol. 23, nos. 1-6 (1918-1919).

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Publications. Vol. 10. New Orleans, 1918.

MEDFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Historical Register. Vol. 21, no. 4 (1918); vol. 22, nos. 1-3 (1919).

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Minnesota History Bulletin. Vol. 2, no. 8 (1918); vol. 3, nos. 1, 2 (1919). 20th Biennial Report, for the years 1917-1918.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI.

Missouri Historical Review. Vol. 13, nos. 2-4 (1919).

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Proceedings. New Series, vol. 3, nos. 2-4 (1918).

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.

Bulletin. Vol. 22, nos. 9-12 (1918); vol. 23, nos. 1-8 (1919).

NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.

State Library Bulletin — History series. Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12.

Calendar of the Sir William Johnson Manuscripts, compiled by Richard E. Day. Albany, 1909.

Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts, translated and edited by A. J. F. van Laer. Albany, 1908.

Minutes of the Commissioners for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York. Albany County Sessions, 1778-1781. Edited by V. H. Paltsits. 3 vols. Albany, 1909-10.

Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York. Administration of Francis Lovelace. Edited by V. H. Paltsits. 2 vols. Albany, 1910.

Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York; published by the State under the supervision of Hugh Hastings. 6 vols. Albany, 1901-05.

Military minutes of the Council of Appointment of the State of New York, 1783-1821; compiled and edited by Hugh Hastings. 4 vols. Albany, 1901-02.

New York University — Division of Archives and History. Proceedings at the Unveiling of a Memorial to Horace Greeley at Chappaqua, N. Y., February 3, 1914. Albany, 1915.

OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly. Vol. 27, no. 4 (1918); vol. 28, nos. 1-3 (1919).

OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Quarterly. Vol. 19, nos. 3, 4 (1918); vol. 20, nos. 1, 2 (1919).

PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY.

New York City. Year book for 1919.

PHILADELPHIA COMMERCIAL MUSEUM.

Report of the Philadelphia Museums for the years 1916 and 1917.

SAUNDERS, MISS MARY E.

Autumn leaves; original pieces in prose and verse [edited by Anne W. Abbot], Cambridge, 1853.

SCHENECTADY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Historical Sketches and Points of Interest in Schenectady.(1918).

SHAW, Miss JOSEPHINE MACC.

Three documents relating to the estate of Mrs. Elizabeth Craigie.

Photograph of a miniature of Mrs. Elizabeth Craigie.

Newspaper clipping relating to Mrs. Craigie's present of sixty badges to Engine Company No. 1.

STONE, WILLIAM E.

Gregory Stone Genealogy, by J. Gardner Bartlett. Boston, 1918.

UNITED STATES. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Report of the Librarian of Congress for the year ending June 30, 1918.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada. Index to vols. XI-XX (Toronto, 1918); vol. 22, 1917-18 (Toronto, 1919).

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VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. 27, nos. 1, 2 (1919).

VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY.

Bulletin. Vol. 11, nos. 1-2 (1918).

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Washington Historical Quarterly. Vol. 10, nos. 2, 3 (1919).

WILDER, FRANK G.

Order of exercises at the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Shepard Sabbath School, February 14, 1864.

WILLARD, Miss SUSANNA.

Augustus Willard, 1776-1799; his diary of three months in Spain. Cambridge, 1919.

WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The Wisconsin Archeologist. Vol. 17, no. 3 (1918); vol. 18, nos. 1, 2 (1919).

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.

Wisconsin Magazine of History. Vol. 2, nos. 2-4 (1918-19); vol. 3, no. 1 (1919).

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Proceedings and Collections. Vol. 16 (1918).

EDWARD L. GOOKIN,

Curator

Cambridge, 28 October, 1919.

Voted to accept the Curator's report and refer it to the Committee on Publications.

The Treasurer presented the following report, accompanied by the certificate of the auditor, Professor Fred N. Robinson:

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

CASH ACCOUNT

In obedience to the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer herewith presents his Annual Report of the Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1918-19.

RECEIPTS

Balance, 28 October, 1918.....\$622.84 Admission fees.....\$24.00 Annual assessments: Regular members.....\$567.00 Associate members.....10.00 577.00

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Interest.....16.66

Society's publications sold.....1.75

Helen Leah Reed: Contribution toward Index of Paige's History of Cambridge.....5.00 624.41

\$1,247.25

DISBURSEMENTS

*McCarter & Kneeland, printing notices of meetings, etc. .
.....42.50 University Press, printing, postage, binding,
addressing and mailing.....166.82 Lowell Centenary Celebration, 22 February,
1919:*

*Addison C. Getchell & Son, circulars, tickets and engraving
cards.....\$122.10 Richard H. Jones, services in reporting the proceedings
.....10.00*

*Charles F. Mason, bursar, expenses at Sanders
Theatre.....40.06 Hollis R. Bailey, personal
disbursements.....2.60 Percy MacKaye,
viaticum.....27.00*

*Mary M. Twomey, essay on Lowell 1st Prize.....15.00
Ruth M. Miles, " " " 2d Prize.....10.00
253.76*

*Conveyancers Title Insurance Company,
stationery.....2.00 Harvard College Library, hardware for
case.....1.27 John H. Thurston, 15 lantern
slides and rent of 5 slides, 22 April,
1919.....*

9.25 Sarah L. Patrick, typewriting reports, papers and envelopes.....11.00
Elsie E. Minton, clerical services rendered the treasurer.....25.00
Edward L. Gookin, services as Curator for the years 1918 and 1919.....50.00
Samuel F. Batchelder, stenographic expenses, etc.....32.05
Postage.....6.00
\$599.65
Balance in National Shawmut Bank, 25 October, 1919.....647.60

\$1247.25

On retiring to-night from the treasurership of the Society, which I have had the honor to hold during the past twelve years, I embrace the opportunity to express to the members my appreciation of the confidence they have reposed in me by repeated reelection to office, and to assure them that my interest in the Society and its work will suffer no abatement in consequence of my withdrawal from the Board of Government.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY H. EDES,

Treasurer

Cambridge, 28 October, 1919.

Voted that the Treasurer's report be accepted and referred to the Committee on Publications.

On motion of ex-president Dana it was Voted that the special thanks of the Society be extended to Henry Herbert Edes, Esq., for his sterling and valuable services as treasurer.

Mr. Spalding for the Nominating Committee reported the following list of nominations:

President --- WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER

Vice-Presidents --- ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, HENRY HERBERT EDES

Secretary --- SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER

Treasurer --- FRANCIS WEBBER SEVER

Curator --- EDWARD LOCKE GOOKIN

Council

SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER, FRANK GAYLORD COOK, RICHARD HENRY DANA, ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, HENRY HERBERT EDES, WORTHINGTON CHATTNCEY FORD, EDWARD LOCKE GOOKIN, MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, FRANCIS WEBBER SEVER, WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER

Voted to accept the report of the Nominating Committee.

On motion of Professor William Morris Davis Voted that the Secretary cast only one ballot for officers.

The President declared the above persons to be duly elected as officers for 1919-1920.

After brief remarks by the President he introduced the REVEREND PERCY H. EPLER, D.D., of Methuen, who read the following paper.

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ELIAS HOWE, JR., INVENTOR OF THE SEWING MACHINE

1819-1919

A CENTENNIAL ADDRESS

BORN IN A CRADLE OF INVENTION

The succession of master minds in a particular locality compels us to believe in the spiritual consanguinity of genius. It is an heredity much greater than that of blood. It is an heredity of spirit,

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that second birth that is not flesh-born but spirit-born. Especially do we need the transmission of its influence in America and in New England today. With such a reflex action upon us today of geniuses of yesterday, America celebrates the centennials of founders, authors and creators; and with this motive, we celebrate the birth of the inventor of the sewing machine, Elias Howe, Jr., born in the hills of Spencer at the Commonwealth's heart,

July 9, 1819, one hundred years ago. Though born but 27 years before, Howe patented, September 10, 1846, 73 years ago, the completed creation of his genius, a mechanism that revolutionized industry – the sewing machine, invented in Cambridge.

The New York Independent said not long ago that within the last 100 years no ten names could be assembled in one zone, greater than those of the ten master minds who sprang within a radius of ten miles of Worcester. Close upon us, in addition to that of Clara Barton, founder of the Red Cross, are the centenaries of two of these great internationally famous creators, born a century ago, and within a few miles of one another. Within a month of the centenary of Elias Howe, occurred the centenary of William T. G. Morton of Charlton, discoverer of ether. Morton was also born on a Worcester County farm in 1819, the same year as Howe, and in the same year, 1846, he patented his famous discovery. In the same years of like starvation and poverty from 1843 to 1846 that Howe worked up the steps to his invention, Morton worked up to his masterpiece of anaesthesia. These two Worcester County boy neighbors, thus each 27 at the climax of their creations, were each under twenty-five when their great ideas captured their vision at the same time.

There are external ways of immortalizing that appeal to the eyegate of every passer-by – to every lad driving the cows home, and to every flashing auto. One is in "marked" birthplaces. The Howe Memorial Association has marked the birthplace of the Howe inventors – two miles out of Spencer, 15 feet back of two threshold stones that stand semi-exedra style, with doorstep base and slanting pillar indented in perpetuo with bronze plate. Here are the very steps trodden by the feet of the barefoot Howe boys. There were eight children in the family. Today the mill pond sings through the sluices across the road and rumbles through the broken iron gauges of the old mills. Three of these whirred their flanges there. Beside the old house, a perfect stone raceway allows the water to escape

in a tempting, rippling trout brook that gurgles from back in the forest.

Already inventive streams had been strong in the family blood, blending three-fourths Bemis and one-fourth Howe. Captain Edward Bemis in 1745 commanded a Massachusetts company. When the French in retreat spiked their guns, on the inspiration of the moment he invented a way to drop out the spikes by heating and expanding the metal through building fires under them. In the home settlement, by the little dams and waterfalls challenging Yankee invention, machines for shoe pegs and other devices were long since made by the other members of the family. By the time the older Howe family in the late seventeen hundreds walked over those stone steps that now make the "markers," they were manufacturing grist and sawn lumber in three crude mills opposite the house. Here were made all of the simple essentials for bringing up a Puritan Yankee family – grist for bread, and lumber for shelter, and shingles, and cider, perhaps over one-half of one per cent, a proportion not unknown to the earliest Puritans.

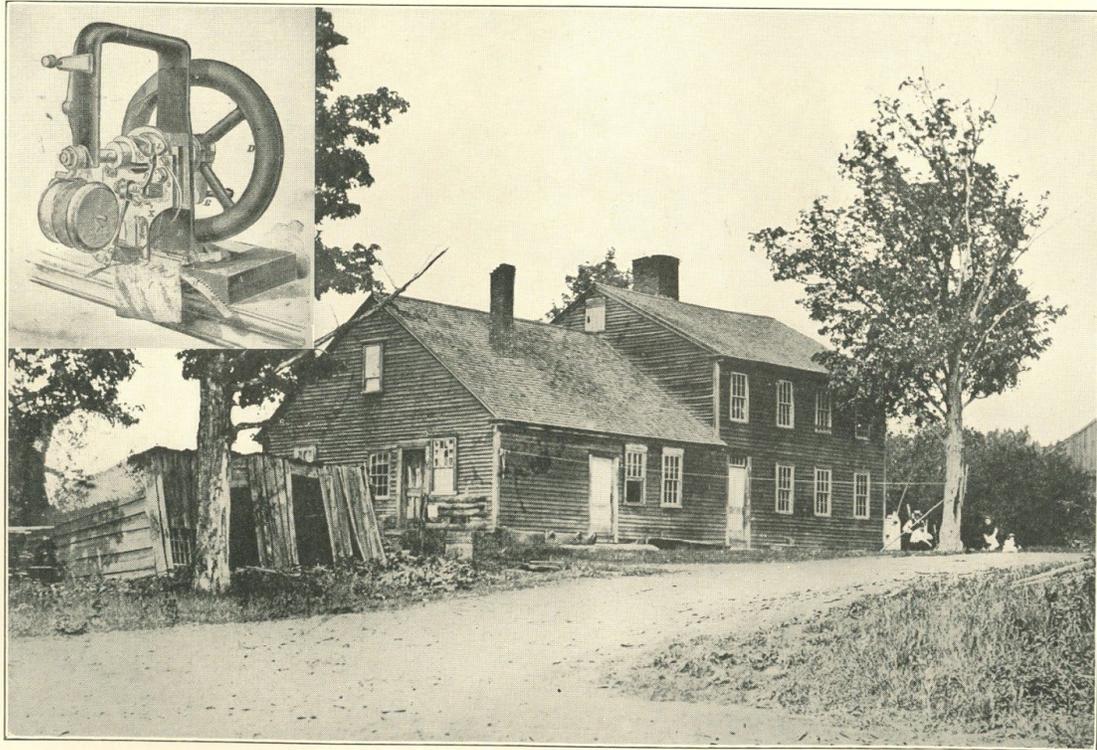
In the smaller wing of the old house, dating from the seventeen hundreds, were born Elias Howe, Jr.'s father's two brothers, William, the fifth son, and Tyler, the fourth son. William was the inventor of the truss bridge. Unlike Elias, his nephew, it was later in life that William Howe had caught this fever for invention. He was then an inn keeper of a tavern

standing till 1871, being a carpenter and builder also. In October, 1919, in an original letter from Richard Hawkins, a family connection at Springfield, came to me this authoritative sketch of him:

William Howe, who invented the celebrated Howe Truss Bridge in 1838 or 1839, was born in Spencer, Mass., May 12, 1803. He was a carpenter and builder and while erecting a church in Warren, Mass., which required a roof of some length, he conceived and built it under the system which has since been known as the Howe Truss. He afterwards built a bridge by the same system, about 60 feet long, in West Warren. At that time the Western Railroad was extended westerly from Springfield across the Connecticut River, a series of 7 spans of about 180 ft. each, single track.

He patented the bridge system in 1840 and it was once renewed. From that time to his death he had no other business but to sell rights to the patent. He received a large amount of money for its use by railroads and private parties, who bought all the state rights. As they were mostly his relatives, the business became a family affair.

The system was based on a combination of vertical rods of iron and



BIRTHPLACE OF ELIAS HOWE, JR., SPENCER, MASS.
WITH ORIGINAL MODEL OF SEWING MACHINE

vertical wood braces with top and bottom chords of timber. The plan was so easily figured for strain loads, and so safe and correct in principle, that the bridge became almost universal for railroads and towns, and was largely used in foreign countries. Major-Gen. Whistler, who built the Western Railroad and afterwards built the railroad from Moscow to St. Petersburg, used the Howe Bridge in its construction. The Long Bridge, so-called (later taken down) at Washington, was of the same design.

There have never been any changes made in the original design except that the angle block formerly made of wood was changed to iron by Mr. Howe.

The bridge or truss system continues to be used in roof trusses and small spans, but the modern loads are so much increased that it has become impracticable to use the combination of the wood and iron, and iron bridges have become necessary for work of any magnitude.

Mr. Howe's residence after his invention was in Springfield, Mass. Tyler Howe, his brother (1800-1880), who had gone in a Pacific Ocean boat upon a disappointed quest for gold in

California, hit upon the idea of a spring bed to take the place of the rigid berths in which he had been tossed about while on the vessel. He showed it to A. G. Pear of Cambridge in San Francisco in 1853. Then in 1855 he patented the elliptical spring bed and opened a successful factory in Cambridge. His house is still standing back of those old mill sites of his father near Spencer.

In 1819 Elias Howe, Jr., was born in the larger wing of the birthplace. By the time he was six he joined the older children in sticking wire teeth into strips of leather for carding cotton. Making easier the monotonous drudgery, there was a genius in the place architectonic with invention. The buzz of mill wheels filled the air in which Elias became acquainted with the elements of machinery, so far as known, and with machine tools. He absorbed an atmosphere kinetic with ingenuity. In 1866 he told James Parton that he was of the opinion that this early experience gave his mind its bent.

After five years of this struggle, as early as eleven, his Spartan father "bound him out "in 1830 to a neighboring farmer till the time of his apprenticeship should be over and he could return wearing his "freedom suit." But he was inclined to lameness from his birth, and he returned at twelve to stay home till sixteen.

The biographer, James Parton, who knew Howe so well, describes him, while congenitally lame, as a regular boy, curly headed, though a bit undersized, fond of jokes, and not over able or over fond of grinding from candle light to candle light on a hard-scrabble farm. Later

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he must have outgrown some of these traits, as his daughter, Jane R. Caldwell, wrote to me from New York, September 28, 1909, as to Parton's descriptions as follows: "My family and I are far from satisfied with the impressions given of my father's early life and character, which was full of purpose." However, Parton was right in his general psychoanalysis of his friend. Each of these characteristics could be true, one of the natural fun-loving human boy, the other of the controlled man chastened by suffering and responsibility and struggle. One would think more of him because he was no abnormal, mechanical crank, but thoroughly human.

In 1835, four years after his return home, he drifted to Lowell where he had heard of the vast cotton machine shops. But the sixteen-year-old mill hand lost his place in the panic of 1837. Then the "bobbin boy," N. P. Banks, his cousin, and later governor, Speaker of the House and Civil War general, took Elias' arm and drew him to Cambridge to a hemp-carding machine shop of a Professor Treadwell. The two boys in greasy jumpers and overalls worked side by side and roomed together.

At this critical age of awakening, no doubt Banks's aspirations could not but have been creative of ambition in Elias. From this time too, William Howe, the landlord of the sleepy tavern, who awakened just before 1840 to his inventive dreams of bridging the streams of the world and carrying railways on his spans through Europe, must also have stirred the imagination of Elias.

THE VISION OF A SEWING MACHINE

At 18, late in 1837, Elias Howe as journeyman entered a machine shop at 11 Cornhill, Boston, kept by Daniel Davis. Howe's employer manufactured optical instruments and was noted as a skilled repairer of intricate mechanical inventions. Elias himself made little improvements and worked at a bench and lathe, often hearing snatches of conversations of inventors who came in to talk over their half-finished machines.

After three years at the machine shop, in 1840, he was only getting \$9.00 a week. But he married, on this salary of a dollar and a quarter a day. To support the wife and the family of three children coming on, one after another, put the boy husband under pressure. It almost crushed him. After work he was hardly able to get up from

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the bed upon which he threw himself supperless and worn, only wishing, as he told James Parton afterward, "to lie there forever and ever." In 1842, when Howe was now twenty-three years old, and had been in the shop five years, there came in an inventor of a little knitting machine that would not work. With the inventor was a promoter of the machine, the man who was his financial backer. Mr. Asa Davis, brother of Daniel, explained his plans were not complete, but he would make the model when perfected.

"Why don't you make a sewing machine?" asked Asa Davis, dissuading the man from wasting his time on a knitting machine.

"It can't be done," snapped the financial backer.

"Yes, it can. The man that can make a machine that will sew, will earn his everlasting fortune."

When Howe went home to Cambridge that night, his untapped reservoirs of inventive energy were pierced. No longer dormant from exhaustion, he mused upon the declared impossible invention. He could not dismiss the challenge from his awakened mind till his ingenuity grasped at an idea. "Thomas," he exclaimed the next morning to his fellow journeyman mechanic at the next bench and lathe, "I have gotten an idea of a sewing machine!"

In the meantime Howe's wife took in sewing to eke out. Lying supperless in bed after the exhausting day's work, his eye saved him from dropping off by following the motion of her arm. He was trying to discover a way to imitate it in an arm of wood and steel. What he would save if he could! He often imitated Mrs. Howe's arm movements. The mania of invention seized him deeper and deeper and would not let him rest. Thence, day and night, he aimed to materialize the ideas burrowing in his inventive imagination. Then in 1843 he set to work to make a machine to take the place of the human hand. Night after night he whittled upon models till morning. Nothing but piles of whittlings were the result. It would not work.

THE CRISIS OF THE INVENTION — THE NEEDLE WITH AN EYE AT THE POINT

He was halted at the needle's eye. Should it be a needle pointed at both ends with the eye in the middle, working up and down, thrusting the thread through each time? Through many nights of experiment he tried it. No — it would not work!

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Then why not another stitch using two threads, a shuttle and a curved needle? But where pierce the eye in the needle? Why not try it at the front end?

He cut coils of wire. He grooved them on one side with a pair of steel dies. He left in the middle a raised edge. With highly tempered steel at the needle's end, he drilled an eye. Then he inserted it in the crude whittled model. His contemporary, Parton, describes the moment thus: "One day in 1844, the thought flashed upon him — is it necessary that a machine should imitate the performance of the hand? May there not be another stitch? Here came the crisis of the invention, because the idea of using two threads, and forming a stitch by the aid of a shuttle and a curved needle with the eye near the point soon occurred to him. He felt that he had invented a sewing machine. It was in the month of October, 1844, that he was able to convince himself, by a rough model of wood and wire, that such a machine as he had projected, would sew."

The miracle of the sewing machine was achieved!

There is a remarkable letter which I have discovered from the living eyewitness and coworker on the original model. It is one that catches the invention at its birth from the worker at Howe's elbow on the next lathe at the very hour of invention. It has lain in the hands of Dr. Alonzo Bemis of Spencer. It is as follows:

Dec. 8, 1910.

Madisonville, Ohio.

Dr. Alonzo A. Bemis.

Dear Sir:

Probably I am the only man living who was with Howe when he invented it (the sewing machine) and worked on the model. In the year 1839, I went to work for Daniel Davis, philosophical instrument maker, at No. 11 Cornhill, Boston, Mass. Mr. Davis was the father of Daniel Davis, of Princeton. Elias Howe was then working for Mr. Davis as a journeyman. His bench, and lathe, was next to mine. Mr. Davis' shop was headquarters for all kinds of geniuses, inventors, etc. One day there came a man into the shop who wanted Davis to make a knitting machine. Mr. Asa Davis, brother of Mr. Daniel Davis, talked the plans over and said to the man: "Your plans are not complete. Perfect your invention and I will make the model." Asa remarked that if anybody could make a good, practical sewing machine a woman could use, there would be a fortune in it. That remark stuck in Elias' head. The next morning, he said to me, " Thomas, I have gotten an idea of a sewing machine."

Howe did not rest until he perfected the machine. He made a very

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coarse model but in that model was the embryo of all the sewing machines made to this day, and that was, pushing the eye of the needle through the cloth, instead of the point. In my leisure moments, I would work the machine with Howe. Everybody discouraged him. We found great trouble in passing a thread through the loop so as to lock the thread. When he conceived the idea of a shuttle, the sewing machine was practical.

Yours respectfully,

THOMAS HALL (85 yrs. old)

"I should like," adds Dr. Alonzo Bemis, "to correct an error which has found its way into the press on many occasions — that is: that the idea of the needle came to Elias Howe in a dream. This is not true. Mr. Howe was too much of a Yankee to place any dependence in dreams and the needle idea was worked out by careful thought and countless experiments."

After working upon the model, assisted sometimes by his fellow-mechanic, Thomas Hall, who tells us of it so interestingly, Howe found the increasing toil and increasing family and increasing expense upon the model too overwhelming a burden. With no money at hand to develop his invention, he turned to his father.

Elias Howe, Sr., had by this time left Spencer and moved to Cambridge. The inventive ingenuity of Tyler Howe, the one of his brothers who later invented the spring bed, had invented a system of cutting Palm Beach leaf for hat manufacture. Elias Howe, Jr.'s father, came to conduct the factory. This factory was at 740 Main St., Cambridge, below Lafayette Square. This "incubator of invention" is still standing, a plain three-story brick affair. It was then called the Palm Beach Hat Factory, later Howe's Spring Bed Factory. It has been a very nest of genius. Here the three Howes carried into materialization their developing dreams of the truss bridge, the spring bed, and the sewing machine. Here at times Morse worked on the telegraph, and Elias Howe made batteries and magnets at \$1.25 a day. Here Graham Bell, after 1872, struggled with the invention of the telephone; and here John McTammany, who was working on the voting machine and the pneumatic tabulating system, disclosed his vision to invent a player piano, and with the inventor's urge came from the Howes' home at Spencer and worked it out.

Into his father's house in Cambridge in November, 1844, Elias Howe, Jr., removed his family and put his lathe and few machinist's

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tools into the garret, where he worked desperately hard, concentrating himself upon the model, yet rough and coarse. For the design must be made, he knew, into "iron and steel with the finish of a clock." At this time the Palm Beach factory burned out, and Elias Howe, Jr., with an invention in his head ready to revolutionize the world's industry, was blocked.

Here crops up an old Spencer friend, George Fisher. He was a schoolmate. Now he was a small coal and wood dealer in Cambridge. But in December, 1844, Fisher asked Howe with

his family into his own house, and let him put his lathe under the slanting eaves in the garret. Besides, he loaned his old Spencer schoolmate \$500 for which he would receive one half interest in the patent, if successful. He was one of the unknown soldiers of invention, the romance of whose chivalry was equal to that of the Yale friend who financed, and at the cost of his life saved, Eli Whitney. "I was the only one of his neighbors and friends in Cambridge that had any confidence in the success of the invention," Fisher declared. "Howe was generally looked upon as very visionary in undertaking anything of the kind and I was thought very foolish in assisting him."

To this centennial celebration, October, 1919 — to this house on Brattle Street where Worcester wrote the Dictionary —has come a lady, the daughter of this chivalrous friend, to confirm the facts of his friendship.¹

Winter passed. But here by April, 1845, the steel model grew into form. The needle shot through the cloth, sewing a perfect seam. By May it was complete, and in July he sewed two suits of clothes.

THE VICTORY OVER LABOR MOBS

Starvation near his door and the \$500 of George Fisher exhausted, Howe could now manufacture his machine for sale — if it would sell. To do this, he asked a practical Boston tailor to Cambridge to test it by sewing. All at once the whole company of tailors in Boston rose up against the labor-saving device, crying out, "It will make us beggars by doing away with hand sewing!" For ten years they opposed Howe fiercely.

Howe would not be intimidated. He did not flinch. He would test the sewing machine before the world. He arranged to have a two

1. Mrs. Austin C. Wellington (Sarah Cordelia Fisher).



740 MAIN STREET, CAMBRIDGE
"AN INCUBATOR OF INVENTION"

weeks' daily demonstration by himself at Quincy Hall Clothing Factory, sewing 250 stitches a minute and beating five of the fastest seamstresses, each doing a seam while he did five of the equal length, faster, neater and stronger. But as a result of violent opposition and the cost of the machine to manufacture, not a machine was ordered!

In the spring of 1846, starvation again stared him in the face, and frail and worn, he tried his hand as engineer at the throttle of a locomotive. But health failed him and he broke under the strain. He tried desperately to sell the model. To testify to this, an original eyewitness is at hand. It is Luther Stephenson of Hingham Center. His letter reads:

Hingham Center, Mass.

Oct. 7, 1910.

Chairman of the Board of Selectmen,

Spencer, Mass. Dear Sir:

About the year 1846, I was employed in the store of Stephenson, Howard and Davis at No. 72 Water Street, Boston, the head of the firm being my father. I remember one afternoon Mr. Howe

came to the store, bringing a model of his sewing machine for the inspection of the firm with the view of enlisting them in the manufacture of the same. The model was smaller than the machine now in use and was operated by a crank instead of a treadle as at the present time. This machine Mr. Howe brought as his own invention, and as original with him.

No arrangement was made with him by the firm for manufacturing the machine for business reasons.

Yours truly,

LUTHER STEPHENSON

Yet in his effort to introduce his machine, in his fight with the blindness of labor agitators, Howe won where other would-be inventors of the sewing machine failed because of exactly this same blind opposition to labor-saving machinery. This crushed Thomas Saint upon the eve of his success in England in 1790. This crushed Thimonnier of St. Etienne, France, upon the eve of his discovery in 1830.

In 1790, Thomas Saint patented a machine for sewing leather with a threaded awl with a hole in the point. A mob of glove makers, blindly enraged against this labor-saving machine, scrapped and smashed it.

Thimonnier in 1830 made eighty machines for stitching gloves, a sewing machine all but the feed. Thimonnier's needle, hooked at the end, descended through the cloth. It brought up the loop through a

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previously made loop and formed a chain in the upper surface of the fabric. A furious mob attacked his machines just as the government gave him war orders for his eighty models. Thimonnier they nearly murdered. In 1845 he patented it. He tried again in 1848, but the Revolution wrecked his plans. In 1851 he tried in London before the exposition. No notice was taken of his machine and he went home to France to die in the poorhouse in 1857.

In 1832, Walter Hunt in New York, in an alley in Abingdon Square, worked to invent a sewing machine and hit upon the shuttle to form the stitch. But it would not sew, and discouraged, he threw it into the rubbish heap in a garret on Gold Street.

What was it in Elias Howe that would not allow him to be crushed like Saint, Thimonnier and Hunt? It was Spencer's New England fighting blood and individual worth ingrained after generations from the blood of the sires. His was a victory over a phase of labor agitation that sought to own the laborer and kill the invention of his brain.

Howe met this crisis. All the hoots of labor mobs in the world could not floor him. He did not quail. He owned himself. They could not own him. Labor's contention today is, the laborer must own himself. It is not only capital that endangers self-ownership. There are kinds of labor agitation that would deny the mechanic's owning himself. And whenever this

happens, labor just as much as capital should not be feared but conquered — and Howe conquered. Challenged at this crisis of labor, son of Spencer, he owned himself. Had he not, as with the others, he would have failed to invent the sewing machine.

Many also derided the invention as a folly. They never thought it would sew. This one thing prevented mob violence by the tailors against Howe. We all know Langley's airplane models of 1896, 1898, and 1903 lay in a Washington museum. They never flew because Langley was crushed by people laughing at him. Yet Glenn Curtis with some changes flew them over Washington.

Elias Howe's manhood was such that to none of these three things did he yield — mob violence, hardship or laughter. This stands as his greatest tribute, for it marks the man as well as the inventor.

THE BATTLE WITH CAPITAL AND INFRINGEMENT

In the midst of these rebuffs of fortune, Howe for four months buried himself again at work in Fisher's attic in Cambridge, and he made another machine. It was a model design, which he carried to Washington, where September 10, 1846, seventy-three years ago, it was approved and patented. But Washington people, when he exhibited it at a great fair, laughed at it as only a mechanical toy.

Fisher had now spent \$2000, and declares, "I had lost all confidence in the machine's paying anything." With nowhere else to go but the curb, Elias went back to his father's house with his family. In October he induced his father to send Amasa Howe across the Atlantic to England.

William Thomas of Cheapside was a somewhat chesty manufacturer employing 500 persons at making corsets, umbrellas, valises, shoes, etc. Amasa Howe offered him the machine. It did not take him long to decide. Thomas saw it was the crude beginning of a vast enterprise. For 250 pounds, \$1250, Amasa guilelessly sold him the machine and the right to use all he wanted and to patent it in England, paying three pounds royalty. He never paid at all. Thomas made a million dollars by 1867, for he had induced Amasa to beguile Elias across the sea in order to adapt the machine to corsets. February 5, 1847, Elias, pressed financially, sailed for England, to be joined by his wife and three children, whose passage Thomas paid.

As we behold the flying arm of steel in the sewing machine, we can never forget that, carbonized into it, is not only the genius of the inventor, but the sacrifice of a suffering woman — Howe's loyal wife. In eight months, at only ten dollars a week, Howe made the adaptation of this machine to corsets. At this point, having got out of him all he wanted, Thomas degraded Howe to petty repairs — the beginning of the end. At this snubbing by the English snob, the American of Spencer forebears arose hot in Howe's veins and he said, "I am poor, but will not kneel to one who treads your soil."

The selling of an inventor's brain to capital which alone can thenceforth own the rights is a pawning of the laborer — wrong then and wrong now. I mean by this, the signing over forever of the invention the laborer may make. It keeps him from owning himself and his

brain. But the injustice of the capitalist could not crush Howe any more than the injustice of labor. He kowtowed neither to the mob nor the snob.

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Comes now another piece of human clay who had a spark in the clod, Charles Inglis, a coach maker. As in George Fisher, Howe in him found human kindness. With his family in three small rooms furnished by Inglis, he proceeded to construct his fourth machine. He was driven to the wall again. Then, forced by starvation and creditors to move into one little room in the cheapest quarters of Surrey, he decided to embark his wife and children for America. There were three children, two daughters and one son.

Inglis recalled: "Before his wife left London he had frequently borrowed money from me in sums of five pounds and requested me to get him credit for provisions. On the evening of Mrs. Howe's departure, the night was very wet and stormy and, her health being delicate, she was unable to walk. He had no money to pay the cab hire and he borrowed a few shillings from me to pay it, which he repaid by pledging some of his clothing. Some linen came home from his washerwoman for his wife and children on the day of her departure. She could not take it with her on account of not having money to pay this woman. Unable to get a wagon, Howe got a wheelbarrow to carry her trunks to the boat."

The acid of poverty ate in even more keenly after this. "He borrowed a shilling from me for the purpose of buying beans which I saw him cook and eat in his own room," added Inglis.

In four months more of the biting ignominy, Howe completed the machine, valued at \$250. He could only get \$25 for it in a note discounted at \$20. Early in April, 1849, without enough to get home, he pawned the model of his first machine and the patent itself. Pushing his handcart of effects to the boat, he sought a job as cook in the steerage for emigrants. So he returned. Landing here four years after his first machine was made, he had but fifty cents in his pocket as reward. Hardly had he rented a cheap immigrant tenement, before he received the tidings that his wife, as a result of her faithful sufferings by his side in his struggle, was dying of consumption in Cambridge. With no means to get there, he waited for ten dollars from his father before he could reach her. He had to borrow a suit of clothes for the funeral. Downcast, bent, but not broken, he went home from the funeral to learn that the ship containing all his tools and effects had been wrecked at Cape Cod!

All was wrecked — but himself and his unconquerable soul.

Thus reduced in America as in England it would seem as if capital

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had crushed him as well as labor. In his absence, notwithstanding his original model and the elemental devices he had patented, manufacturing machinists were copying his machines everywhere. With it as a basis, inventors were making machines with their own

designs added, but all using at least his chief original device — the needle with the eye in the end.

How could he contest? His model was three thousand miles away in a Surrey pawn shop. Hon. Anson Burlingame, however, acting as his representative, with a hundred dollars Howe raised, redeemed his precious model from "the three balls" in the neighborhood of England's hell of London paupers.

At home, however, four leading manufacturers were infringing upon his patent.

Elias Howe's father, who had loyally sheltered his boy again and again, sprang to his aid. He mortgaged his old Spencer farm in order to have funds to win the fight. George Bliss took Fisher's one half share and advanced the money for the patent war. Rufus Choate was Howe's famous attorney. He began the patent cases in United States courts that in time involved over 30,000 pages. Choate was to win.

In 1850, in New York, Elias Howe was constructing fourteen machines at a little one-horse Gold Street shop, the very street where Hunt had cast discarded his model of a sewing machine. In time, Isaac Merritt Singer, an actor and theatre manager in New York, saw Howe's machine. At work on a carving machine himself, he took it to Boston and while there repaired a number of sewing machines on which he made, as he declared, three devices as improvements. He at once began commercializing the machines and advertising. He invented, not the machine, but the sewing machine agent. This proved him the greatest commercial organizer for the sale of machines in the world. He did much to domesticate the machine and bring down its price. Yet he was not the inventor, and suddenly Elias Howe accused him of infringing upon his patent, No. 5346. Singer contested it. Unable to prove an original model from England, France and China, he sought an earlier invention to at least supersede Howe's. He at last landed upon Hunt's machine of 1832 lying in a garret. He found Hunt, too, but Hunt could not make it run.

Everywhere Howe's patent held, in the uniform finding of the courts. In 1854 Judge Sprague of the Massachusetts Supreme Court

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decided "the plaintiff's patent valid and the defendant's machine an infringement." The court concluded, "There is no evidence in this case that leaves a shadow of doubt that for all the benefits conferred upon the public by the introduction of a sewing machine, the public are indebted to Elias Howe."

This is not saying that in 1849 and 1859, Allen B. Wilson did not construct a four-motion feed for a machine with an original device, later combined with Mr. Wheeler's rotating hook and shuttle and four-motion feed, the "Wheeler & Wilson" machine. And it is not saying that Gibbs, a Virginian farmer, did not make a great invention — a machine with a revolving hook, later the "Wilcox & Gibbs." Still other firms made improvements. Over one thousand improvements have been invented.

Yet the original device stood. Howe's claim was in brief: "I claim the use of an eye pointed needle, operating in connection with a shuttle looper, loop holder, or any other device by which one thread is passed through the loop of another and a stitch is thereby secured." As

to his claims, the U. S. legal conclusion awarded him "vital points far-reaching — the foundation of the whole vast machine structure for sixty years."

The sewing machine battle ended with the other great firms paying a royalty to Howe of so much a machine. Then in 1856 they combined into a joint stock company or combination to prevent further losses by lawsuits and destructive legal battles. By 1860, just before the Civil War, fifteen years after Howe's first model which he could not get one order for, there were made 116,330 machines. By 1866, there were 750,000. By 1867 the country was making a thousand machines a day. Four thousand dollars a day was passing into Howe's hands in royalties when the Civil War broke.

Beyond all financial gain, Elias Howe had made incomputable gifts to his country. In creating domestic industry and in the emancipation of woman, the sewing machine transferred labor from sewing in homes to the factory system. It founded the shoe industry. It gave millions of women work. It emancipated millions of others from painful stitching.

It is not linen you're wearing out

But human creatures' lives.

Hood thus sang, and when we count the stitches in one shirt we see it is so. For in each shirt there are over 20,000 stitches.

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THE CIVIL WAR AND THE SUPREME SACRIFICE

Happily the touch of comedy had come into the tragedy. With undreamed-of wealth from royalties, Howe remarried. His wife was an English woman he had met in his travels — one perhaps who was a friend in need in bitter days. He established an estate at Bridgeport, next to P. T. Barnum's estate, and the two were neighbors and friends. Children that romped about this estate have been present at the 1919 centennial and record this phase of his life as a return on his part to the sunniness of his boyhood — a disposition from which he was never embittered and to which therefore he could return along the line of least resistance. There comes down to us today a gold tea-set bought at this time by Elias Howe and given to his father at his golden wedding. His picture at this stage with the fashionable mustachios and loud waistcoat of English pattern reveals a touch of the comedy and interlude in the tragedy — a bit of playtime in the afterglow. Unfortunately, in this picture, however, the interesting marks of struggle were creamed over with fuller face and figure. At this, for a moment, one fails to rejoice, for he misses the illumination born of struggle; for the great text is true — "Ye shall be illuminated — after a great fight of afflictions." An hour of re-illumination was now however to come, and "a great fight of afflictions."

It was the crisis of the Civil War.

Isaac Merrit Singer was said to be astonishing New York and London with his equipages and luxuries costing millions of dollars. Why should not Howe? War profits could be enormous. So far as doing for his country, did not his machines by rapid equipment put a million men in the field? Millions of further equipment had to be sewed — underclothes, blankets, overcoats, shoes, knapsacks, haversacks, cartridge belts, tents, balloons, harness, sails, bunting, hammocks. Was not inventing means to equip a million men with these

millions of articles enough? The output of that machine reached, as we have seen, many millions of value by 1863, and 52,219 machines were used in war work alone. Sewing machines made even forts, for they made hundreds of thousands of bags to be filled with sand for their parapets. "One day," declared Parton, "during the war, at three o'clock in the afternoon an order from the War Department reached New York, by telegraph, for fifty thousand sandbags such as are needed in field works. By two o'clock the next afternoon the bags had been made and packed and shipped and started southward." In all, nineteen million dollars were saved to the country by the machines.

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Was it not enough? Should Howe not have a good time like Singer, on his \$4000 a day, and "play around" on his estate next P. T. Barnum's? But it was not enough for Howe. He had sacrificed his home, wife, health, sleep and food during sixteen years of suffering. Yet fourteen Bemises had been in the Revolution, eight in the Federal Army. The blood of his patriot fathers would not let him sit at ease, be a profiteer, and spend his \$4000 a day. Clara Barton's "What is money without a country?" was also his grand protestation. He would give all on the altar.

He could have been exempted, not only for age and on account of producing equipment, but because of his tendency to lameness. All of his life he hid it. Concealing it again, he enlisted as a private in the Seventh Regiment Infantry, Co. D, and was not to be mustered out till July, 1865. All through life's crushing pain, he never had complained. Why now? In an original letter to me from Jane R. Caldwell, once the little daughter, she says, "I have never heard him complain in all the tribulations of his sad home. Regarding my father's lameness, though it might have troubled him at times, I never heard him complain of it and doubt that except in the event of a long march he was disqualified as a soldier. He was a man of peace, but his patriotism was great and he was willing to serve his country to the extent of his ability."

He therefore gave his own body as a humble private. He did this though he raised and equipped the regiment. Though walking himself, he presented every officer a horse. When the company had not been paid for months, Howe stopped out of the disappointed files and asked the subordinate, "What is the back pay? When is it ready?" "When the Government is ready and not before," snapped the petty paymaster. "How much is due them?" "Thirty-one thousand dollars." Howe amazed the petty officer by seizing a pen and writing a check for the whole. Then he stepped up at his own time in the file of "buck" privates and received his back pay — \$28.60.

Officially, he came out with no more honor than when he went in. Really, he came out with the greatest honor mankind can bestow — the record of a Christ-like self-bestowal and death for the cause. For in 1867, though twice a millionaire, as a victim of his terrific exertion, he died of Bright's disease in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Two years after his death, in 1869, at an International Exposition, great-souled France, though its Thimonnier failed at the point of

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success, at the hand of Emperor Louis, accorded Howe France's highest honor, the Cross of the Legion of Honor. At the fourth election, America, through the Committee of National Judges, elected Howe to the Hall of Fame, together with Daniel Boone and five others, the list ending with Rufus Choate, his patent attorney, who won his great cases on the patent which mark the triumph which we celebrate today – the triumph of the sewing machine.

In connection with the above paper, various portraits, documents, early models, etc., were exhibited.¹ MRS. JOHN AMEE, a niece of Elias Howe, read some family letters. DR. ALONZO BEMIS of Spencer, the birthplace of Howe, spoke briefly. Among the members present was Mrs. Sarah Cordelia (Fisher) Wellington, daughter of George Fisher, in whose house at Cambridge the sewing machine was invented.

Mrs. Gozzaldi presented from Mrs. William B. Lambert a collection of papers on Cambridge history formerly belonging to the late John Reed, a member of the Society.

Voted that Mrs. Lambert's gift be accepted with thanks.

The meeting then adjourned.

A three-quarter length portrait of Howe, painted a year or two before his death, was loaned to the Society in 1914 by his grandson, Elias Howe Stockwell. By an arrangement with the Cambridge Public Library, it is at present hung on exhibition there. (See these Proceedings, ix, 61, 82.)

Howe's finished model of the sewing machine is in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, but the Society has one of the earlier rough models in its collection.