

The Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical Society, Volume 38, 1959-1960

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THE COST OF A HARVARD EDUCATION IN THE PURITAN PERIOD

By MARGERY S. FOSTER

Read April 28, 1959

THIS audience needs no introduction to the early Harvard, its founding in 1636 by the General Court, its establishment under Henry Dunster, its progress under Charles Chauncy, Increase Mather, and Thomas Brattle and John Leverett. The Harvard College which was then producing between ten and twenty graduates a year has changed considerably since those fine old Puritans strode around Harvard Yard, but some of the considerations of the earlier times have their exact counterparts in ours: people were then, are now, and I hope always will be concerned with what it costs a boy to obtain a Harvard education.

Now we have a fairly simple system of charges, but in the seventeenth century the Steward, who collected all the dues from the students, had a long list of items on his quarter-bill.¹

But first let me say that we know much about the way these matters were handled in the Puritan period because the Harvard University Archives has the actual books, or major parts of them, which were kept by the Stewards from 1650 to 1660 and from 1687 to 1712 and beyond. (My analysis goes only to 1712.) Mr. Morison edited, and the Colonial Society of Massachusetts published, parts of Steward Chesholme's 1650 to 1660 accounts. The Bordman family's accounts as Stewards from 1687 on to 1750 have never been published or

even thoroughly studied. They have been a fertile source for my work on the economic history of Harvard. In the bulk of the cases the old writing, after one gets used to it, is very legible, but there is a considerable problem in figuring out what the accounts really mean. Besides the Steward's accounts, other college records and contemporary documents, of course, provide many references to student costs.²

¹*No one but the steward was allowed to "intermedle" — wonderful word — with collections from students.*

² *References for the statements in this paper are, unless I state to the contrary, the Quarter-Bill Book of Steward Thomas Chesholme (published as Vol. XXXI of the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts), the Quarter-Bill Books of Aaron and Andrew Bordman (unpublished), and College Books I, III, and IV of the College Records (Vols. XV and XVI of the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts). All the originals are in the Harvard University Archives. There are detailed references to these and other relevant documents in Chapter V of my unpublished thesis (1958) on file in the Harvard University Archives and the Radcliffe Archives. Needless to say, though in all cases I have drawn on the original materials, Samuel Eliot Morison's work on Harvard College in this period has been of tremendous assistance to me — especially The Founding of Harvard College (Harvard University Press, 1935) and Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century (Harvard University Press, 1936).*

(In the original Proceedings vol. 38 the second footnote was continued as a footnote on page 8 starting with "(unpublished)"

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The table on page 9 gives an outline of the various costs involved in acquiring an education at Harvard in the Puritan period. Some fees were regularly assessed each quarter; other charges varied more with the individual and the quarter — for example, consumption of food. Some annual or one-time charges are shown broken down into quarters. We shall discuss in detail the material summarized in the table.

REGULAR QUARTERLY CHARGES

TUITION. The most obvious regular item, though not by any means the largest, is tuition. Tuition in 1650 was 6s. 8d. a quarter (£i 6s. 8d. a year). Then in 1652 the Massachusetts Mint was authorized to turn out pinetree shillings with silver content below that of the current English shilling, and there appears to have been an inflation in prices which just about offset the debasement of the coinage. The subject of exactly what happened to prices at that time needs much more study, but we know that when in the period from June to December, 1653, the Harvard tuition was raised to 8s. a quarter, the rise was almost the same percentage as coin had gone down in silver content.³

In 1686 the President of the Province of New England and his Council, who were temporarily in charge of the college, raised the tuition rate from 8s. to 10s. a quarter. This continued to be the rate through at least 1715. There were thus two periods of thirty years each without a tuition change. What does tuition of 6s. 8d. or 8s. or 10s. mean in 1959

terms? It is almost impossible to say. Economic statisticians today construct a cost-of-living index which tells how our prices vary from one year to the

³ To 1654 tuition payments had been an important part of the President's small salary, but in 1655 they were turned over to the Tutors, who continued to receive all tuition throughout the rest of our period. We hope the tuition increase in 1653 did something more than just keep up with the price change.

COSTS OF AN UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION AT HARVARD IN THE PURITAN PERIOD

| | Approximate Quarterly Fees and Charges * | | | Average Annual Payment per Student Enrolled * |
|--|---|--------------------------------|-------------------|---|
| | 1650-1652 * | 1655-1659 (probably 1655-1686) | 1687-1712 | 1687-1712 |
| <i>Regular fees each quarter</i> | | | | |
| Tuition | 6s. 8d. | 8s. | 10s. | £ 1 14s. |
| Detriments — if non-resident | 5s. | 5s. | 5s. | 6s. |
| Study rent — all residents | (£ 2 3s. cost) ^b plus 1s. 5d. | av. 4½s. | flat 5s. | 16s. |
| Cellar rent | | — | 9d. to 18d. | 1s. |
| Sweeper — all residents | 1s. | 1½s. | 2 to 2½s. | 6s. |
| <i>Charges per quarter (vary with individual)</i> | | | | |
| Commons & Sizings — all students ^c | £ 2 | £ 2 10s. | £ 2 15s. | £ 6 5s. |
| Punishments — all students | 2d. to 5s. | 2d. to 5s. | 2d. to 5s. | 2s. |
| Glass-mending — all residents | 1s. | 1s. | 0 to 7s. | 2s. |
| Monitor | ? | ? | 4d. to 7d. | 2s. |
| <i>Charges other than quarterly-per quarter ^d</i> | | | | |
| Wood & candles — all students | 6d. | 6d. | 3d. | 5d. |
| Gallery money — freshmen | (15s. cost) ^b plus 3d. | 2½d. | 2½d. ^e | 1s. |
| Commencement fee — A.B.'s at £3 ^f | 5s. | 3s. 9d. | 3s. to 9d. | 15s. |
| <i>Quarterly Total ^d — Residents</i> | £ 2 16s. 10d. | £ 3 10s. 9d. | £ 4 10d. | |
| <i>Annual Total ^d — Residents (quarterly x 4)</i> | £11 7s. | £14 3s. | £16 3s. | £10 4s. |
| <i>A.B. Total — Residents (annual x 3 or 4)</i> | £34 ^a | £57 | £65 | £40 16s. |

* Three-year course.

^b Money in parentheses was returned on graduation.

^c Price of parts was 1½d. (bevers ½d., 2¼d., & 2¼d. to 3d., respectively.

^d "Fees and charges" are the amount the college charged a student who was fully active (or, in case of detriments, entirely absent) during a quarter. "Average Annual Payment," in the last column, is the average of actual payments of all registered students; it is a smaller amount than four times the fees because not all students were fully active all quarters. Source: Quarter-Bill Books, Harvard University Archives.

^e Irregularly imposed fees are split into quarters or years.

^f Raised to 4½d. in 1708.

^g In addition there were tips of from 5s. to 15s.

next. The basic concept of such an index is the "market basket": the statistician picks a representative basket of goods, including, in 1959, an automobile, some food, clothing, a washing machine, and so on. He then determines how the prices of this market basket change from year to year. This is a satisfactory device over short periods, when there is

some consistency in the content of the basket. But how do we compare the twentieth-century with the seventeenth-century market basket of the Harvard parent? Our ancestor needed, among other things, clothing (most of which he grew, and his family spun and sewed), food (almost entirely grown in the back yard or on the farm), a horse, and a good musket for hunting and protection. Obviously we are in trouble. For our purposes here it will have to suffice to mention the relative prices of a few representative goods.

To help with this problem I have invented a device which I now call "Historic Multiplier." It avoids evaluating currencies or quoting price changes. For example, 100 bushels of wheat in the seventeenth century bought 5/12 a small house; in 1959 that much wheat is worth 1/36 of a small house. Thus 100 bushels of wheat bought fifteen times as much house then as now. Similarly, 100 bushels of wheat then bought five times as much food at college, fifty times as much college tuition, as now. In other words, the purchasing power of wheat as money (and it was often used as money) was then fifteen times what it is now in housing, five times in food, and fifty times in tuition. So we see that the relative value of food was in those days high, housing was next, tuition was least. For our purposes we are interested to notice also that the cost of food to some students was about five times the amount they then paid for tuition. Moreover, for the price of a year's tuition they might have bought only eight pairs of shoes (they practically never had more than one pair at a time), eight bushels of wheat, or four books. Tuition was cheap; food, books, shoes were expensive in the seventeenth century compared with the twentieth century.⁴

Before leaving the subject of tuition, we should say that some of the more wealthy students enrolled as "fellow-commoners." We know of thirteen of these before 1715. Each fellow-commoner was expected to present the college with a piece of silver plate and probably to pay double tuition.

⁴ Thesis, p. 136 et seq.

Another variation on the standard tuition charge occurred when a student "discontinued," that is lived away from the college and did not attend classes but wished to maintain his place in his class. In this case he was charged "half-tuition."

*The kind of teaching the student had for his tuition money is not the subject of this paper. We know it was a rigorous education. For details of the curriculum you may refer to Samuel Eliot Morison's *The Founding of Harvard College and Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*. Here we must stick to costs and include descriptions only when it is necessary in order to understand what our figures are costs of.*

COMMONS AND SIZINGS. By now it is apparent approximately what a student paid for food — perhaps five times his tuition. Food was the largest charge to which students were subjected.

The steward's department provided dinner and supper, when food was called "commons," and, in the morning and at tea time, two other meals called "bevers," when "sizings" were served (mainly bread and beer, and later cider). The standard charge for the beer and bread for sizings was in 1650 to 1660 about a halfpenny each serving; the "price of parts," that is, the cost of one meal for one person, was in Dunster's time apparently a penny and a half. The price of parts was raised in 1654 to twopence farthing (2 1/4d.). This was the usual rate until the 1690's, when the rate went up as high as 3d. a part, then returned to 2d. 1f. in 1699, only to start up again in 1707 as a bad inflation got under way.

Thus the student paid according to what he ate. The Butler (a student) kept track of those present at each meal, and totaled his accounts periodically. The Butler reported to the Steward, who in turn made up each student's quarter-bill, and from this the whole college's quarter-bill. These Steward's accounts were audited by the Fellows when they got around to it – usually, but not always, once a quarter. One can see the signatures of Fellows John Whiting, John Leverett, and William Brattle on some of the accounts. (I use "Fellows" and "Tutors" interchangeably here. These were the professors, of whom there were two or three at any one time during the years we are discussing.)

The average individual's quarter-bill for commons and sizings and food "extras" for 1650 to 1660 shows as the first charge in the second section of the table. It was in the neighborhood of £2 to £2 1/2, making the annual charge for a student in residence around £10 a year. Some

students managed on less than £2 a quarter, and a few had appetite and means to dispose of over £4 worth of the steward's wares each quarter.

In 1687 the student's quarter-bill for commons and sizings was just about the same size it had been in the late 1650's; up to 1694 the bills seldom went above £3, or £4 thereafter. A few resident students had board bills of less than £1 a quarter, a fourth of what their richer friends ate. When the price of parts went up, the annual tariff reached, by 1715, the neighborhood of £15 or £16 a student. Thus the charge for food might have been between £8 and £16 a year at any time from the beginning until after the end of our period.

A graph of the Steward's receipts from commons and sizings each quarter from 1687 on shows that the pattern is irregular, but there was a definite tendency for the scholars to take a vacation the first quarter (at this time July, August, and part of September). No doubt the young men were needed at home. There was for a short time an inclination to take a winter vacation also, during the third quarter. Therefore when we quote the amount of the college quarterly charge it does not show us what the average student actually paid. To get the actual average payment for a year we must include the quarters when the student was not there. That annual figure is the one in the last column of the table and usually is less than four times the quarterly figure. The average annual cost of food consumed in 1687 to 1712 was £6 5s., not £11 (£2 15s. times four 4).

DETRIMENTS. When the student chose not to be in residence at college for all or part of a quarter, in addition to the half-tuition he paid if he was not attending classes, he was subject to a charge at the rate of five shillings per quarter, called "detriments." The charge of detriments was made not only that the student should share in expenses which went on

whether or not he was present, but in order that students should be deterred from boarding out around town. This problem was especially severe in the late fifties and sixties, and many detriments were paid in the eighties; but by the new century most students were in residence again. Only five paid detriments in June, 1717.

The candidates for the A.M. degree were frequently away for the whole three years of their candidacy, and the detriments for that period, at 5s. a quarter, totaled £3. (The A.B. degree took three years to 1651, four thereafter. Bachelors who were seriously inclined to go into the

ministry usually took the A.M. three years later, though they seldom stayed in residence all that time.) After 1693 the Corporation relented and gave absent Master's candidates a bargain rate at £1 to cover the three years' detriments.

FINES. Most of us have for years heard tales of the fines imposed upon Harvard students in the early days. There was a miscellaneous assortment of possible monetary fines or punishments which added noticeably to the college's income and to the student's expense. Financial punishment, somewhat as today, was the first and mildest disciplinary means; more severe misdemeanors were taken care of by admonitions — private, then public — by sentence of sitting alone in commons uncovered, by lowering the rank in the permanent class order of academic seniority, and finally by suspension or expulsion from college. The General Court very clearly gave these powers to the Corporation.⁵

The tremendous fine of twenty shillings for having plum cake in their rooms is often cited. Three pence was charged "if any Schollar or Schollars at any time take away or detain any vessel of the Colledges great or smal from the Hal out of the doores from the sight of the Buttery hatch without the Butler's or Servitor's knowledge" Students were forbidden to go unaccompanied into the butteries or kitchen, "And if any shall praesume to thrust in they shall have threepence on their heads, But if praesumptuously and continually they shall so dare to offend, they shall bee lyable to an admonition and to other proceedings of the Colledge Discipline at the Discretion of the Praesident."⁶

Apparently there was occasional neglect of studies, for the College Orders of 1660 proclaim:

Whereas uncomfortable experience hath shewed that notwithstanding former Laws and provisions for Colledge Exercises (viz Common places, Disputes and Declamations) [they] have been too much neglected or slightly performed even by senior Schollars who should be exemplary to othrs. It is therefore ordered, that the President shall have full powr to impose a fine in a way of penalty upon any negligent person according to his discretion, provided it exceed not five shillings for one Offence.⁷

Compared with these serious offenses — punishable by fines, respec-

⁵ Colonial Society of Massachusetts Publications (hereafter referred to as CSM), XXXI, 338, 340.

⁶ CSM XV, 33-34, *College Orders of 1650*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

tively, of 20s., 3d, "not over 5s." — punishment for absence from prayers (on which part of the Puritan reputation is based) amounted to a fine of a mere one penny.⁸ Whether or not this form of punishment brought about an improvement in the behavior of the young gentlemen scholars appears doubtful from the recurrence of fines on their quarter-bills after quarter. At the least, however, it made a very pleasant addition to the college's income.

STUDY AND CELLAR RENT. When the first Harvard College was built it was left unfinished until Mr. Dunster took over the running of the college. His mention of putting the building into use was to charge each of the first students the cost of finishing his own study. The accounts of this work take up several pages of the earliest book of college records. There we see, for example, that Mr. Richard Harris, Governor Winthrop's brother-in-law, had a room "sieleed with Cedar round about." He paid £1 11s. for half the costs of the chimney, 6s. 8d. for glass and casements, £1 15s; for "Boarding round about with all appurtenances of workmanship, nailes, etc." The total charge was £5 19s. 11d.; his was the most expensive of all the studies, which more often cost only two or three pounds.⁹ In addition to this purchase price, there was a small quarterly rent charge.

When a scholar graduated he left his study with his successor, who paid the original owner approximately the cost of construction. The second owner recouped his expense when he in turn left college. This system was gradually changed: in the 1650's the college bought out most of the studies and thereafter charged higher rents.¹⁰ The rents in effect in 1651 or 1652 averaged about 1s. 5d. (in addition to the original one-time, refundable cost), but when the college bought the studies they raised rents to an average of around 4s. 6d., with variations depending upon location. Some time in mid-century a uniform rate seems to have been established, for the Quarter-Bill Book shows that all residents paid 5s. a quarter from 1687 to 1720.

Another small expense was first incurred when the newly built Stoughton College in 1700 offered cellars for the storage of the students' wine. The quarterly rental was 1 1/2s.

⁸ CSM XXXI, 335, *Laws of 1655*.

⁹ CSM XV, 5-13.

¹⁰ CSM XXXI, 332. CSM XV, 14-15, 213-215.

BED-MAKING AND SWEEP. "Bed-making" was an amenity which in 1654 automatically cost a student a shilling each quarter; when the rates went up in 1655 the charge was 1 1/2s. Toward the end of the century, bed-making as a separate charge had disappeared from the accounts, but a "sweep" had turned up there. March, 1678, found the Corporation ordering

"Goodman Brown shall have for his service in the Colledge two shillings per quarter from every schollar particularly that holds a study in the Colledge." " In 1696 this changed to 2 1/2s.

PERSONAL LAUNDRY. *Another personal charge, for laundry, was in some cases put through Steward Chesholme's Book as a convenience to the students, in the same way as the Steward paid sundry other of the boys' personal accounts for them.*

GLASS-MENDING. *A charge which appears quite regularly in Chesholme's Steward's Book, and very frequently in each student's and faculty member's account, is that for paying the college glazier. For some quarters every undergraduate had such a charge. Mr. Morison assumes, and Mr. Shipton agrees, that this damage was "one outlet for high spirits."¹² But it seems conceivable, judging from my experience with the fragility of old window-glass, as well as from the great regularity of the entry and the fact that tutors also were so afflicted, that the "glassemending" may have been just a necessary repair. In February, 1693, Brattle has an entry in his journal showing £31 13s. 9d. repaid to the Steward because of "Omission of the article for Glassemending 5 years and 1 Quarter, the Quarters having severally been viewed."¹³ Very frequently the college, also, is charged by the Steward for glass-mending.*

Whatever the cause, the college glazier was a very essential man and mention of payments to him turns up regularly. By 1720 this had become so standard a charge that not only does it show in the previously established column in the quarter-bill, but there is a regular charge of 5d. a quarter to every student, plus extras to some.

THE MONITOR. *Every quarter each undergraduate "whose name was*

¹¹ CSM XV, 65.

¹² Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (hereafter referred to as HCSC), p. 121. Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* (Harvard University Press, 1933), for example, IV, 201, 209, 288, 381, 496, et passim.

¹³ Thomas Brattle, *manuscript Journal as Treasurer of Harvard College*, Harvard University Archives.

in the Buttery" had to pay the College Monitor. This officer was a student "that shall observe them that are fayling eyther by absence from prayers or Sermons, or come tardy to the same" ¹⁴ The Monitor received £3 a year, later £5, which was "set upon the heads" of the students concerned, that is, distributed, usually evenly, among those in the buttery. This cost the students from 3d. to 7d. quarterly, depending upon the number of students enrolled at the time.

CHARGES REGULARLY LEVIED

WOOD AND CANDLES. *It was ordered in 1650 that,*

Whereas much inconvenience falleth out by the Schollars bringing Candle in Coarse into the Hall, therefore the Butler henceforth shall receive [20 shillings a year] ... to provide Candles for the

*Hall, for prayer time, and Supper, which, that it may not be burthensome, it shall be put proportionably upon every scholar who retayneth his head in the Buttery.*¹⁵

These amounts so "put upon their heads" varied over our period from 2d. to 7d. a year from each student. In addition to these costs of "fyer and candle" for the public rooms, the students were charged with wood for their own fireplaces, if they were so fortunate as to have studies with such a facility.

CAUTION MONEY. *A measure for the security of the exchequer was the requirement of an admission bond, an advance deposit called "caution money":*

For the removeall of those many distractions and great burthens of Labour Care and Cost that heretofore have pressed the Steward, and the great debts that hitherto sundry have runne into, and unsuitable pay whereby the House hath been disappointed of suitable provision, occasioning offensive Complaints, It is therefore provided

That before the admission of any Scholler, his Parents or Freinds shall both lay down one quarter expences, and also give the Colledge Steward security for the Future, and without this ingagement noe Scholler shall be admitted into the Colledge.

That whosoever is indebted to the Colledge at the end of any Quarter . . .

¹⁴ CSM, XXXI, 335.

¹⁵ CSM XV, 35.

*in case that the Bill be not payd within a month hee shall not bee Suffered to runne any further into Debt . . .*¹⁶

So spoke the College Laws of 1655. And in 1703 Samuel Sewall recorded in his Diary, "Paid Andrew Bordman his cautionary £3 to my son Joseph's being admitted." ¹⁷ The practice continued for many years; we hope it relieved the Steward of some of his worst trials.

GALLERY MONEY. *A combination of the two devices of putting charges "on the heads" and asking the students to make the initial investment was in 1650 used to defray the college's part of the cost of the second meeting house of the First Church of Cambridge. From that time on the east gallery of the meeting house was the property of the college. The arrangement was that when he entered or very shortly thereafter each student "lente [15s.] towards Buildinge the gallery"; then when he graduated the college usually paid 12s. back to him for the "re-turnde of his gallerye" — net cost 3s. In this case, as with studies, in 1655 the college bought out the students' investments. Thereafter each man paid one charge of 3s. 4d on entrance, and received no refund on graduation. In 1708 "gallery money" was raised to 6s., perhaps because in 1706 the college had laid out another £60 toward the third meeting house. This was a profitable arrangement for the college, which must have been paid for the gallery many times over.*

COMMENCEMENT MONEY. *Though the individual commencement fee of £3 appears to have been constant throughout the Puritan period, with £1 going to the President of the college*

and £2 to the Steward for the commencement feast, this item on the accounts was the cause of more apparent fluctuation from year to year than anything else. Mr. Morison points out that because of the disaffection caused by Dunster's lengthening the A.B. course from three to four years, during the first four years of Chauncy's incumbency— 1655 to 1658 —thirty of the graduates refused their degrees.¹⁶ (Mr. Chauncy's budget suffered by £90 as a result.) Three pounds was twice the annual tuition charge, and as much as a quarter's board. Therefore, when the number of graduates changed (as, for example, it did between 1690 and 1691) from thirty-one to seven, the shift from £62 to £14 on the total quarter-bill was very noticeable. What-

¹⁶ *Laws of 1655, CSM XXXI, 331-332.*

¹⁷ *5 Coll. Massachusetts Historical Society, VI (Boston, 1878), 81.*

¹⁸ *HCSC, 70, 300, 328.*

ever this variation did to the college's finances, to the student a £3 fee must have seemed a large tariff to pay, plus the 5s. to 15s. for a "present unto the officers" who were concerned with running the commencement dinner. The main thing the fee covered was the dinner itself, for Harvard commencement was one of the two annual holidays for many people in the surrounding country-side. The crowds which came were well treated indeed.

These were all the fees and charges. Now we can add up the total costs.

TOTAL CHARGE PER STUDENT

The total charges per year of education, as the table on page 9 shows near the bottom, were approximately £11 7s. during the years 1650 to 1652, £14 3s. from 1655 to 1659, and £16 3s. from 1687 and 1712, assuming that the young man was a resident of the college for four quarters. As we have said, the man who was in a Harvard class up to and including that of 1651 normally took three years to earn his A.B. degree, whereas the members of 1653 and later took four. The fees, then, for three years as of 1650 to 1652 might have totaled approximately £34; for four years in 1655 to 1659, £57; for four years 1687 to 1712, perhaps £65.

But the assumption that students studied for four full quarters is optimistic; we know there was a tendency to stay out of college for at least the quarter after commencement. Our table, in the column of the "average annual payment per student enrolled," shows that although at the end of this period the total fees per resident undergraduate added up to £16 3s. a year, actual average undergraduate payments came to only £10 4s. a year. The difference comes from non-resident students and students who stayed out for one or more quarters. An easy place to see this is in tuitions, where the usual fee was £2 a year, but receipts averaged only £1 14s: some students stayed at home and paid half tuition.

Again, the charge for study rent was £1 a year, but an average of only 16s. was paid; apparently over these years about one fifth of the students were non-resident: twenty-five percent were non-resident in 1687 to 1693, none in 1709 to 1712. We have said that the average resident paid £10 a year for commons and sizings, but we find the average person enrolled paid only £6 5s: many students ate out of commons.

In addition to these charges, students had personal expenses including those for clothing, books, tips, and wood for their own fireplaces — charges which could be very small if the student lacked funds.

But we might consider whether the college actually collected this money.

PAYMENTS IN KIND

In looking at charges we must remember that throughout this period, though in decreasing measure, payment was often made in commodity money, and effective payment may not have been as large as that credited on the books. The college tried to simplify the Steward's problem by such laws as:

That all such payments shall bee discharged to the Steward of the Colledge either in Current Coine of the Country, or Wheat or Malt, or in such provision as shall satisfy the Steward for the time being, and Supply the Necessities of the Colledge.¹⁹

or,

It is ordered that the steward shall not bee enjoyned to accept of above one quarter part of flesh meat of any person.²⁰

Of course, when a commencement dinner was about to be arranged, almost anything to eat could be fitted into the menu and credited on the college accounts.

An item not infrequently found is "payd by summeringe and winteringe of 8 sheepe." ²¹ A rather more sizable than usual receipt is "a barne" taken in payment of £6 for Samuel Shepard, 1658, a son of the Reverend Thomas Shepard, fortunately a close neighbor of the college.²² One wonders who wore the "yellow and read cotten" worth 5s. 5d., received from one student, along with 9s. of "buttens" and 1s. 2d. of "ribine." ²³ What "necessitye" of the college did they meet?

According to Bordman's ledger the college frequently received "hides of leather." Of obvious use, especially at the end of the quarter

¹⁹ *Laws of 1655. CSM, XXXI, 332.*

²⁰ *Ordered 1667. CSM, XXXI, 342.*

²¹ Wait Winthrop paid £3 11s. in this way in 1655. CSM, XXXI, 265.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 265.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

or the year, are many gallons of ale, and wine — either green or Madeira or just "wine." In 1706 to 1709 Recompense Wadsworth, brother of the President, paid in a very miscellaneous collection of hardware — six pairs of hooks and "hindges," four hasps and eight staples, a candlestick and a saw, a "trevit and testing Iron," a "pair of dogs," a "Chafendish," a dozen skewers — all useful.

SCHOLARSHIPS

One of the earliest gifts to Harvard was the £100 fund given in 1643 for scholarships by Lady Ann Radcliffe Mowlson. Continuously since the income of that fund became available, Harvard has provided scholarships to some students. There have been out-right grants of money applied against the scholar's account with the Steward, and there have been many and miscellaneous types of "work scholarships" — college jobs such as waiter, butler, monitor. We cannot here go into the sources of this scholarship money. We can say only that for practical purposes all the scholarships during the Puritan period came from gifts and endowment income, and not from college operating funds. The donors ranged from the very poor to the relatively rich, from individuals to societies to governments, from New England to Old England. Then, as now, those who can, and even some who really can't, liked to help young people get an education. One of the most appealing gifts which was used in large part for this purpose was the College Corn, the annual bushels and half-bushels of corn collected all around the colony, in many cases from people who could ill spare it but who believed that "learning should not be buried in the graves of our forefathers."

The tendency in the seventeenth century was definitely, though not exclusively, to subsidize the older students who had proven themselves, and their scholarships were sometimes renewed for one or two years and even carried into their years of graduate study.

It is difficult or impossible for much of the century to make figures such as colleges now publish showing the percentage of students in college who receive scholarships in any one year. A few sample years, however, indicate that from one quarter to one third of the men did have such assistance each year. The average amount "allowed" to undergraduates in the year 1709 to 1710, for example, was £4 9s., which would

have been about £18 over a four-year period — assuming the scholarship was received every year. This, if a man was very economical, might have covered over half his expenses, perhaps more — and this average does not ordinarily include pay he may have received for

jobs. Moreover, the students who worked as waiters or butlers spent less money on food, for they could pick up what had been prepared for those who were absent. Thus it was possible for an occasional student to earn his way completely, and in some years as many as half of those who graduated had had help at some time. The situation sounds in many respects like the present.

In summary we can say that, as the table shows, the money cost of an education at Harvard was remarkably steady during the Puritan period.²⁴ Figures for the years before 1653 are not comparable with the others shown because they cover a three-year course instead of four, and also because there was a definite change in the value of money in the mid 1650's. That the four-year total money cost on our rough average basis rose from £57 only to about £65 after fifty to sixty years is surprising, and there is no evidence that there were large fluctuations in the intervening years. Some of the increase, too, was caused by what we might call an improvement in the product, as when it became possible to spend six shillings a year for wine-cellar rent! And this total charge of £57 to £65 was, one cannot say larger than any man paid, but at least half again as large as the £41 the average student actually paid, ignoring scholarships.

For the average four-year cost, that is for £41, a man could, in the Puritan period, purchase a small house "38 x 17 and 11 foot stud," clap-boarded, with three chimneys.²⁵ Or one could hire (if he could find him) an ordinary laborer for two years. Thus it took the full pay of a laborer for two years, or half to a third of the annual salary of a college president, to send a boy through four years of college. These are slim bases for comparison, but the figures do not sound extremely different from now.

From the economic view it is significant that tuition then cost so much less than board and room. The fees at a residential college are made up of three very different variables – agricultural goods for food,

²⁴ *But we leave this subject at 1712, when a bad inflation was getting under way and really beginning to distort prices.*

²⁵ *William B. Weedon, Economic and Social History of New England, 1620-1789 (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894), pp. 213-214.*

manufactured goods (such as books), and what economists call "services." The relative value of these component parts may vary, but it is possible, and it seems very roughly to have been the case, that over even three hundred years the total real cost of a Harvard education has stayed nearly constant.

BY ROBERT W. LOVETT

Read May 26, 1959

THE Harvard Branch Railroad, which led a rather precarious existence from 1849 to 1855, is the only steam railroad ever to run from the vicinity of Harvard Square to a trunk road into Boston. This is its claim to fame, and this is the reason why, over the past forty years, many persons, both railroad fans and Harvard buffs, have delved into its history. In fact, the story of investigations into the history of the Harvard Branch is almost as interesting as the story of the line itself. A brief account of these researchers will indicate some at least of my sources. We begin with Dr. Freeman L. Lowell, a native of Somerville and a graduate of Harvard in the Class of 1894. He maintained a dispensary in Boston's South End and, as a hobby, developed an interest in railroads. About 1918 he prepared a history of the Harvard Branch, which he presented as a paper before the Cambridge Historical Society in 1920. This paper was not published, and on the author's death in Arlington in 1924, it presumably passed to his widow. The manuscript has since disappeared, and efforts by several persons to find it have proved unsuccessful. Dr. Lowell did present to Baker Library, the Harvard Business School, in 1918 a typed copy of the minutes of the directors of the Harvard Branch; this is fortunate, since the whereabouts of the original is not now (1959) known.

One of those who first tried to find the Lowell manuscript was F. B. Rowell, an engineer, who had helped Dr. Lowell prepare his paper. In 1926 T. F. Joyce, assistant to the president of the Boston and Maine, asked Rowell to bring together material on the Harvard Branch. Rowell drew up a brief chronological account, to which he appended copies of source materials, mainly items from the Cambridge Chronicle. A copy of these notes is now filed in the portfolio relating to the railroad in the Harvard University Archives. Walter W. Wright, son of the late Professor Charles H. C. Wright, and a former colleague of the writer's on the staff of the Harvard Library, also was interested in the road. Walter has kindly lent me various notes, photostats of annual reports, and other

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material relating to the Harvard Branch which he has collected. In 1946 Clifton Harlan Paige drew up a series of chronological notes on the road's history; a copy of these he turned over to Foster M. Palmer, now Assistant Librarian for Reference in the Harvard College Library. Finally, Professor Charles J. Kennedy, of the University of Nebraska, who has written a history of the Boston and Maine Railroad, has let me see his notes on the Harvard Branch. In this brief sketch I have omitted several popular accounts in the Cambridge Chronicle, the Boston Transcript, the Enthusiast, and elsewhere.¹

All the published articles I have seen, drawing from the same sources, emphasize in general the same points. These represent in a sense the scaffolding for a history of the railroad, and I shall also make use of them. But I should like to concentrate on the business aspects of the venture, drawing not only on the annual reports for facts and figures, but also on documents in the Massachusetts Archives and the Boston and Maine Railroad files. Another person might emphasize the technical aspects, or the social, but since the road was first of all a business venture, it is not surprising that this is the side best documented, though even here there are serious gaps.

Most chronologies of the Harvard Branch Railroad begin with the stage lines of the early nineteenth century and proceed to the construction of railroads in the 1830's and 1840's. Cambridge grew rapidly in that period, becoming a city in 1846, with a population of about 13,000. Of the three main sections, East Cambridge and Cambridgeport had outdistanced Old Cambridge, or the area about Harvard Square. This was in part a result of the construction of two bridges, the West Boston Bridge, now the Longfellow Bridge, in 1793 and the Craigie, or Canal, Bridge in 1809. There had been several stage or omnibus lines, but by the 1840's these were largely consolidated under the firm of Stearns and Kimball. The promoters of the Harvard Branch felt that they could improve on the service — and the costs — of these lines; here is what "Old Cambridge," a contemporary observer, had to say about them:

The citizens of Old Cambridge, in the way of communication with the City of Boston, are a quarter of a century "behind the times"; and, comparatively speak-

¹ *Article by Thomas F. O'Malley, Cambridge Chronicle, August 15, 1930; unsigned account, Cambridge Chronicle, Centennial Edition, 1946; also, September 20, 1929; unsigned account, Boston Evening Transcript, July 3, 1926; article by Benjamin Thomas, following Rowell's account, The Enthusiast, May, 1934.*

ing, much further from that Metropolis than towns on Railroad lines at a distance of ten or fifteen miles. — Besides the annual expense of getting to Boston from the Colleges — although only a distance of three and one half miles — is greater than that of conveyance from the towns before mentioned. How stands the case? We have some good omnibuses — generally obliging drivers and often very bad boys. Sometimes, we are left at our doors, sometimes dropped in the mud, and often driven through clouds of dust — and are under most favorable circumstances from 30 to 50 minutes making the passage from University to Boston.²

The letter concludes with the argument that stage tickets cost \$13.00 a quarter, or eight tickets for a dollar; whereas, when the Harvard Branch is completed, tickets are likely to be \$5.00 a quarter, or sixteen for a dollar. (As it happened, when the road opened, tickets were \$6.00 a quarter, and six could be obtained for fifty cents.)

By 1849, when this was written, railroads were a well-established alternate means of transportation; in fact, the railroad fever was so great it seemed a matter of life and death to even the smallest town to be part of the system. If not on a main line, a town could at least be on a branch, and local promoters were ready to build such a branch in the expectation that the main road might eventually take it over. Boston, as the hub city, was served by several lines, and the Boston terminal of the Fitchburg Rail-

² *Cambridge Chronicle, February 1, 1849; the letter is dated January 30, 1840, obviously a misprint. The remainder of the letter is worth quoting:*

"The cost of yearly conveyance over the road once each way per diem is \$52.00 or \$3.00 per quarter, eight tickets for one dollar, or 15 cents for a single passage. Now the citizens of Watertown, Newton, Waltham, Lexington, Dedham, Lynn and many other places that might be named can reach Boston quicker and at half this expense per annum. The Branch railroad when completed will produce an entire change in this matter.

Are the people of Old Cambridge aware that the yearly price of riding on the Fitchburg road, from the Somerville Depot, which is but little more than a mile from the College buildings, is only 514.00 — or \$4.00 for three months? and that the payment of this sum entitles the person to pass over the road, daily either way as many times as the cars run — say six or eight times in the morning and as many in the afternoon? Sixteen tickets can also be procured for one dollar. When the Cambridge Branch is completed, the walk, which, by the way, we have found very pleasant, even in the winter, will be unnecessary, and the expense of travelling from the University to Boston will not be more than \$16.00 per year, or \$5.00 per quarter, or 16 tickets for \$1.00.

Under these circumstances, we trust that the citizens of Old Cambridge will 'wake up!' and hasten the consummation of a work so devoutly to be wished. We trust that when the 'time of the singing of the birds has come', ground will be broken, and that the sound of the hammer and the clang of laying down rails will ring among the classic groves and halls of Old Harvard, and that before the blossoms of Spring ripened into fruits the citizens of Old Cambridge will be enabled to enjoy some of the fruits and benefits of the modern improvements in transportations."

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road (at Causeway Street, where the present Boston and Maine Railroad Industrial Building now is) had been opened the year before. The Fitchburg Railroad also had stations at Prospect Street and near the Bleachery, both in Somerville, and at what is now Porter Square, North Cambridge. It was thus the main line into Boston nearest to Harvard Square, only about three-quarters of a mile distant. Thus the need and the opportunity were present, and by early in the year 1848 certain persons in Cambridge decided to act.

We first learn of plans for the Harvard Branch through a petition for incorporation presented to the House of Representatives on January 13, 1848, signed by William L. Whitney and 173 other Cambridge residents. The two signers after Whitney, of whom we shall also hear more, were Samuel Batchelder and Oliver Hastings; and another, who was to be active in the affairs of the railroad, was Estes Howe. The petition also bore such familiar Harvard names as C. C. Felton, Benjamin Peirce, William Ware, Henry Ware, and, last of all, Jared Sparks. The line of the proposed railroad is described as follows: "commencing on Fitchburg Railroad not far from the station near the Bleachery in Somerville,³ thence by a curve crossing Hampshire street in Cambridge or Somerville [the last two words were inserted later] and running in a south-westerly direction to some convenient point at or near the Common in old Cambridge." The petition was referred to the Committee on Railways and Canals, and it was also directed that copies be served on Lucius R. Paige, Clerk of Cambridge, James Walker, representing Harvard, John P. Welch, the Fitchburg Railroad, and Charles E. Gilman, Clerk of Somerville. In March, 32 citizens of Somerville presented a further petition, stating that the line "will greatly benefit the inhabitants of Somerville as well as of Cambridge and promote the public convenience."⁴

With the earlier petition was a detailed estimate of the cost of building the line, of running it, and of income, prepared by Samuel M. Felton, engineer and superintendent of the

Fitchburg Railroad. We shall compare some of these figures with the actual ones later, but it is of interest now that the total estimate for construction was \$30,976.87, while the

³ *The Bleachery was variously known as the Charlestown Bleachery, the Milk Row Bleachery, the Somerville Bleachery, Inc., etc. The station was known as the Park Street station or simply the Somerville station.*

⁴ *Mass. Laws 1848, chap. 107. The petitions and other material filed at this time are to be found in the State Archives in a docket file under the above number.*

actual cost was \$25,485.51. Felton, figuring that the road would run its own equipment (actually, it paid the Fitchburg an amount per mile for use of theirs), estimated a daily running cost of \$38.30,5 or a yearly cost (based on 313 days) of almost \$12,000, plus \$1,000 interest on heavy equipment. He estimated income, based on 450 passengers per day at 12 1/2 cents each, at \$17,606.25, leaving some \$4,500 for interest on outlay and compensation for use of the Fitchburg Railroad to Somerville. These figures evidently convinced the legislature that the scheme was a practical one. As it turned out, the number of trains run per day came to about half of the fifteen each way he expected, the expenses were about half of his estimate, but the income was only a little over a third of his figure.

The resulting act passed the legislature and was approved on April 17, 1848. It provided, first, that "William L. Whitney, Samuel Batchelder, Oliver Hastings, their associates and successors, are hereby made a Corporation by the name of the Harvard Branch Railroad Corporation...." Second, it authorized the corporation to "locate construct and maintain a railroad with one or more tracks from some convenient point on the Fitchburg Railroad near the Bleachery in Somerville, to some convenient point near the Common, in Cambridge: provided, that said railroad shall pass between the house of John G. Palfrey and Divinity Hall." In the third section, the capital stock was limited to four hundred shares at \$100 a share, for a total of \$40,000. Section four was a customary requirement that the plan of location be filed within a year and construction be completed within two years. As we shall see, this time was later extended. The final section provided that the franchise might be disposed of to the Fitchburg Railroad, which could then increase its capital stock by \$40,000. It now remained for the persons interested to find ways and means of carrying out the terms of the act.

The Cambridge Chronicle for June 15, 1848, reported that the first meeting of the petitioners for a charter for the road was held on the preceding Thursday, or June 8. William L. Whitney was chosen chair-

⁵ *Felton estimated a distance to Boston of 3 1/2 miles; for he figured that trains running fifteen times each way per day would total 105 miles. His daily expenses were: fuel and waste, 15 cents per mile, \$15.75; repairs of engines (2), 6 cents per mile, \$6.30; repairs of passenger cars (3), 5 cents per mile, \$5.25; repairs to road, \$1.25; engine man, \$2.00; fireman, \$1.25; conductor and brakeman, \$3.25; depot man and switchman, \$3.25, making a total cost of \$38.30 per day.*

man and Adam S. Cottrell, secretary. An investigating committee was appointed, to report the following week; their report has not survived. Little seems to have been accomplished; for "Old Cambridge," writing on January 30, 1849, in the letter previously mentioned, asks: "And why should not the work be immediately commenced and completed?" It is likely that the promoters hoped that the Fitchburg Railroad would take over the franchise and construct the road. "Old Cambridge" subscribed to this view, for in a subsequent letter he asks: "Will it pay? Who will build it?" Going on to answer his own questions, he states: "We should, however, prefer that it should be built by the Fitchburg Company, who have experience in these matters; and we have no doubt that under the able and gentlemanly management of Mr. Felton, the superintendent of that road, the Harvard Branch would prove to be as productive in proportion to its cost, as any piece of road belonging to the corporation."⁶ He is of the opinion, however, that, if the Fitchburg will not do the job, the petitioners can and will, and that it should be undertaken without delay.

Further support for action by the petitioners came from a meeting of citizens of the First Ward (Old Cambridge) on February 7. The following resolution was adopted: "Resolved: — That an Agent be appointed to prepare plans and file location of said road immediately, agreeable to the charter already granted, and that Messrs. William L. Whitney, Adam S. Cottrell, Stephen Smith and Dr. Estes Howe be appointed a committee, to take such measures as they may deem proper for the completion of said road."⁷ However, the year 1849 was not a prosperous one, and it is likely that the distribution of stock was not going well. Thus, in an act approved April 24, 1849, the legislature granted a three month's extension on both the filing of the location and the construction of the railroad, remarking that it was "owing to the financial pressure and other causes."⁸ The petitioners then moved more rapidly, calling a meeting of the subscribers to the capital stock for June 28, at Lyceum Hall. By-laws were adopted, and seven directors chosen. We do not know the names of all the stockholders, but may assume that those who became directors were among them. The by-laws, in customary

⁶ Cambridge Chronicle, February 22, 1849.

⁷ Cambridge Chronicle, February 15, 1849.

⁸ Mass. Laws 1849, chap. 136.

fashion, covered such matters as the annual meeting (to be the last Thursday in June), provision for proxies, semi-annual reports, the duties of the directors, the form for the stock certificates, the seal, and the duties of the treasurer and clerk. The following seven persons were chosen directors (a total of 99 votes were possible, 50 were necessary for election):

| | |
|--|----|
| <i>Edmund T. Hastings of Medford</i> | 99 |
| <i>Estes Howe of Cambridge</i> | 99 |
| <i>William L. Whitney of Cambridge</i> | 99 |
| <i>Gardiner G. Hubbard of Boston</i> | 98 |
| <i>Oliver Hastings of Cambridge</i> | 97 |
| <i>James Dana of Charlestown</i> | 94 |
| <i>Joseph W. Ward of Cambridge</i> | 58 |

And now it is time to sketch some of the backgrounds of these men, who were to remain active in the management of the road.

*One of the most active was Hubbard, who served as president during much of the life of the road. Frederick T. Stevens, in *The Cambridge of 1896*, describes him as engaging, with Estes Howe and others, in many subsequent commercial ventures in Cambridge.⁹ A Boston lawyer, Hubbard seems to have handled a major share of the financing of these concerns; he moved to Cambridge about 1852. Estes Howe was the president's right-hand man, serving as treasurer and clerk. He graduated from Harvard in 1832, married a sister of the first Mrs. James Russell Lowell, and served in the state senate in 1859 and 1871.¹⁰ He trained as a physician, but gave up practice about 1852, to devote himself to his various commercial interests. James Dana, who served as Mayor of Charlestown, was a lawyer and attained the rank of Brigadier General in the state militia. William L. Whitney was connected with Brackett and Company, furniture dealers, Brattle Square, Cambridge. Like Hubbard and Howe, he engaged in other business enterprises (he was treasurer of the Cambridge Savings Bank from 1857 to 1866) and he also entered politics on occasion. It was he who finally purchased the railroad's property. The two Hastings were not closely related. Edmund, whose business was in Boston, moved to Medford in 1840; Oliver was*

⁹ Arthur Gilman, Ed., *The Cambridge of Eighteen Hundred and Ninety-Six*, Cambridge, Riverside Press, 1896, p. 396.

¹⁰ Lois L. Howe, "Dr. Estes Howe: a Citizen of Cambridge," *Cambridge Historical Society Proceedings*, XXV (October, 1939),

122ff.

concerned with a lumber wharf in East Cambridge. Joseph W. Ward operated a drug firm with his brothers in Boston, and was also treasurer of the Suffolk Lead Works.

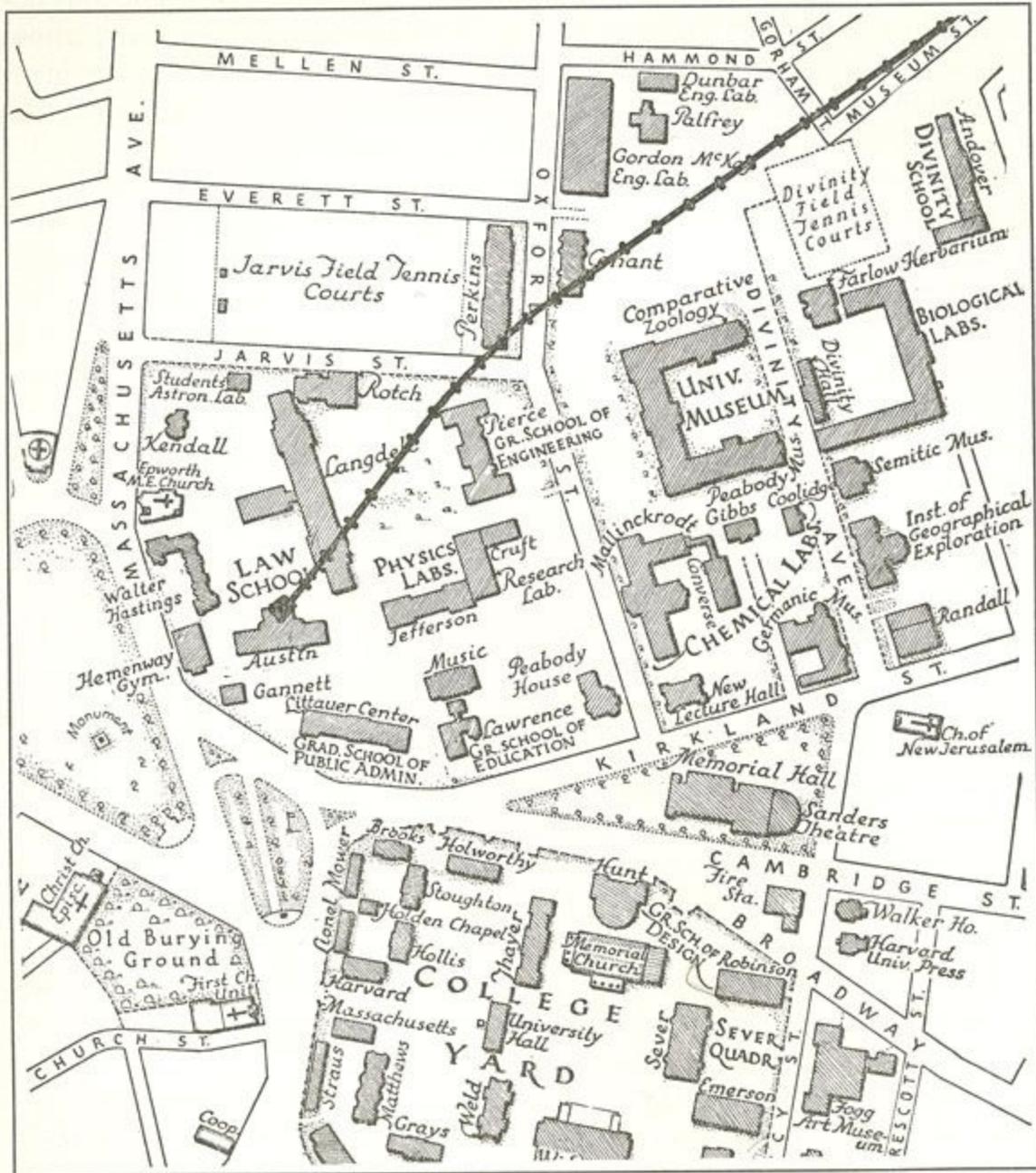
Among some of those connected with the railroad's early planning, but less active than the seven above, were Samuel Batchelder, who was treasurer of the Portsmouth Steam Factory, with his office in Boston, and Adam S. Cottrell, who was concerned in a lumber wharf in Charlestown. Moses M. Rice was a trader, with a shop in Brazier's Block, Cambridge. William

A. Saunders was a hardware merchant in Boston, and Stephen Smith had a lumber wharf in Brighton. It is of interest that several of these men — Cottrell, Oliver Hastings, and Smith — were in the lumber business. Representing the professions were Dana and Hubbard, lawyers, and Howe, a physician. The two Hastings were among the oldest members of the group, while Dana, Whitney, and Howe were about of an age. Several of the men had their offices in Boston, but all those who lived in Cambridge (and only Edmund Hastings and Dana did not) were residents of the First Ward. Batchelder and Oliver Hastings appear to have been the most well-to-do, at least on the basis of the Cambridge tax returns of 1851.¹¹

From the minutes of the directors we learn many details concerning the construction of the road in the summer and fall of 1849. First of all, land had to be acquired, and E. T. Hastings, Hubbard, and Howe were appointed a committee on land damages on June 29. It proved possible to file the location plan on July 16, just a day before the deadline.¹² As designated in the legislative act, the road passed between the house of John G. Palfrey and Divinity Hall, taking land from both owners. Some property was acquired from Samuel Rand, of Somerville, and the railroad

¹¹ *Cambridge Directory, 1851; the tax rate was \$6.30 on a thousand. Of the men mentioned, O. Hastings' tax was \$356.82, Batchelder's \$336.66, Whitney's \$185.22, Howe's \$70.80, Cottrell's \$51.90, Smith's \$51.90, and Saunders' \$46.86.*

¹² *The Middlesex County Engineer's Office has the plan as filed; it is number 1887. After leaving the Fitchburg Railroad, the line crosses Rand's land, Hampshire Street, land of Norton, Palfrey, Norton, a brook, land of Hall, the Divinity School land, a brook, land of Jarvis, Oxford Street, land of Jarvis, of Mrs. Holmes, and ends on the college land on Holmes Place. The plan was surveyed and drawn by J. B. Henck, S. M. Felton, Engineer. Also on Holmes Place, which left Kirkland, turned at right angles, and entered into North (now Massachusetts) Avenue were homes of Samuel Pomeroy (later, of Mrs. Baker), of Royal Morse, and the Old Cambridge Baptist Church. The Lawrence Scientific School, built in 1847, was nearby. The road appears on the map in the Cambridge Directory, 1850; revised by W. A. Mason, 1849; this basic map is found also in the Directories for 1851 to 1855. No trace of the road now exists, unless it be reflected in the curve of Museum Street.*



HARVARD BRANCH RAILROAD

Imposed on detail of map made in 1940 by Erwin Raisz. By courteous permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

received a reduction in damages claimed by the owner.¹³ Some also belonged to Mrs. Abiel Holmes, mother of Oliver Wendell Holmes, whose home was on the northwest corner of

Holmes Place, for the president was authorized to confer with her about it on December 29. Some was acquired from Professor Norton, but the largest amount undoubtedly came from the college, representing the old Gannett property, the site of the station. For the sum due on this, the road preferred to give a note, based on a mortgage of the land, and this was accomplished in May, 1851. Land takings for this 72/100 of a mile amounted to \$10,841.91, quite close to Felton's estimate of \$10,000. Land represented a considerable portion of the debt recorded at the end of the first year of operation; in the Special Report of February, 1851, Harvard College is listed as a creditor for \$3,839.41, and land damages comprise an additional liability of \$1,190.

The next step was to engage an engineer to draw up detailed specifications. On July 2 the directors designated the committee on land damages to select a person for the job. Samuel M. Felton was the logical choice,¹⁴ but he seems to have left much of the work to one Parker, whose early estimate of the cost of the road (\$23,000) was much lower than Felton's. That they worked together is shown by a vote of February 19, 1850, which made Hubbard and Dana a committee "to settle with Messrs. Felton and Parker." Hubbard himself served as superintendent of construction, for which he was granted \$200 in June, 1850. In the annual reports the engineer's accounts come to a total of \$824.31. On January 19, 1850, it was voted to give the engineers fifty dollars "for all extra charges and expenses — including the price of the model of the Station House"; this is probably included in the above figure. This amount was evidently not enough, for a further settlement, recorded in the vote of February 19, mentioned above, was necessary.

John Allen's bid for the construction of the earth work and masonry was accepted on October 15; Allen also took care of the fencing. On the following January 19 he was granted \$100 in stock as compensation for

¹³ One aspect of the case is recorded in Luther S. Gushing, *Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Boston, 1862, Vol. VIII, pp. 218-219.*

¹⁴ Felton, son of Cornelius C. Felton, graduated from Harvard in 1834. He was superintendent of the Fitchburg Railroad in 1845, president of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore in 1851, and president of the Pennsylvania Steel Company.

his loss on the grading contract. The total cost for grading and masonry came to \$912.27, much less than Felton's estimate of \$2,635. In his preliminary estimate Felton included under this heading such items as 11,000 cubic yards embankment at 16 cents, 150 yards cattle guard at \$2.50, 200 yards culvert at \$2.50. Four signs and crossings at \$100 each were figured separately. Evidently the fill required was much less than he had thought necessary.

By October, attention could be paid to the superstructure and the iron. E. T. Hastings and Joseph W. Ward were appointed a committee to acquire iron, and were later instructed to contract for 400 "chairs" of the Peterboro pattern ¹⁵ at sixteen pounds to the chair, and also spikes. General Dana, E. T. Hastings, and the president were made a committee to

purchase sleepers and to make contract for the laying of the superstructure. On November 14 the Fitchburg Railroad directors voted to sell not exceeding seventy-five tons of railroad iron to the Harvard Branch, at \$45 a ton.¹⁶ By December 1 the American Railway Times was able to report that "the grading of this road is now completed, and the workmen have commenced laying the rails." Total costs for iron and superstructure were \$6,928.15, again considerably less than Felton's estimate of \$8,500.

More time at directors' meetings was devoted to the station and related structures than to any other part of the road. On September 20 the two Hastings and Whitney were appointed a committee to examine station houses in the vicinity. A month later, on October 19, Mr. Parker submitted a plan for a station house, which was adopted. By November 6 he was able to lay plans and a model before the board. Discussion was carried on for the two following days, and on the 8th it was voted "that the design for the station house fronting on the street, with a circular roof and curved side at the angle on the side street be adopted."¹⁷ The vote was so close that the Yeas and Nays were recorded; it passed four to three. On December 14 it was voted "that the depot be painted on the roof of a slate color & the body of a color similar to the house of Stephen Smith

¹⁵ *A chair was that part of the iron attached to the sleeper, in which the rail rested.*

¹⁶ *References to the minutes of the Fitchburg Railroad directors are to the original volumes in the Boston and Maine Railroad offices.*

¹⁷ *Pictures of the building, after it became the College Commons, show the circular roof, with columns in the front. It apparently stood between properties of Mrs. Baker and Royal Morse, the latter's house on the right being very close.*

Esq." In December directions were given about plastering, in January as to furnishing, and in February as to paving and grading. The directors were resolved that the station, as near the Common as it could be placed without crossing North Avenue, should be an asset to the area. The building seems not to have been completed until June, for the Cambridge Chronicle of the 17th states that it is "about finished."

Meanwhile, it was decided that the depot building could be so constructed as to afford room for the engine. A contract was also let for a turntable, to cost \$1,050. Total station costs were \$4,304.99; Felton's estimate was for \$6,000. By the end of November, 1849, the directors set about selecting a conductor and station master, charging the two Hastings and Whitney with the preliminary screening. On November 27 they reported in favor of William Thayer, of Cambridge, who was forthwith recommended to the superintendent of the Fitchburg Railroad "as the person whom this board desire to have appointed to the office of Conductor." The committee was not so successful in their recommendation of G. W. Randall to be station master; the board decided to recommend John Stimpson to the superintendent of the Fitchburg instead.

To ensure a supply of money to meet bills, General Dana moved, on November 20, that a second assessment of ten dollars on each share be payable on December first, and that further assessments, up to ten in all, be spaced out from then to the first of April. A first

assessment of ten dollars had been made on October 19, payable by November 15. It was also time to consider such matters as fares and schedules. On December 14 the committee on fares (Dana and Howe) recommended that the following rates be adopted: single tickets, twelve and a half cents;¹⁸ packages of six tickets for fifty cents; quarterly tickets, six dollars; no annual tickets to be sold. At the following meeting it was decided to reduce the price of single tickets to ten cents, which would compare favorably with stage coach fares. On December 29, it was voted that the fare from Cambridge to Somerville be five cents. The meeting of December 14 also set up a schedule, providing for six trains a day from Cambridge and the same number from Boston. However, at the following meeting, it was decided that General Dana should settle the question

¹⁸ Felton had recommended this price in his early estimate. The American Railway Guide for 1850 and 1851 gives the fare as 15 cents; those for 1852 through 1855 as 10 cents.

of schedule with the superintendent of the Fitchburg Railroad, and the times were changed on several occasions.¹⁹

At length all was in readiness for the opening. In an excess of optimism, the directors on December 14 voted that the road be opened on Monday the twenty-fourth, and that no fares be charged that day. By the nineteenth, they found it necessary to postpone the date to Monday the thirty-first, and to state that there should be no free opening. The Cambridge Chronicle followed events with interest, explaining the delay by the fact that "more time is required to make the necessary preparations at the Station in Cambridge, than was expected."²⁰ The newspaper issued on the twenty-seventh carried both a news note of the opening on Monday next and an advertisement for the railroad. The reporter approved of the 10:30 P.M. train from Boston, which, he stated, "will accommodate those who may wish to spend the evening in our sister city." The advertisement, signed by Estes Howe, as treasurer, gave the schedule and the fares, and further stated that: "tickets must be purchased before entering the cars, otherwise 5 cents extra will be invariably charged." We can imagine (even though it is not reported) the pride of the directors and the interest of the students and townspeople when the first train moved off.²¹

Here we may pause for a moment to consider the total costs of construction and some additional details relating to the railroad's right of way. Costs for construction, as shown in the annual reports, were carried forward each year; totals (excluding figures for unliquidated claims) were: 1850 report, \$3,096.57; 1851 report, \$20,213.02; 1852 report, \$24,501.34. In 1850 the Fitchburg Railroad altered its line slightly in Somerville and the subsequent expenses to the Harvard Branch amounted to \$785.51. This brought the total construction cost for the 72/100 miles to \$25,286.85; or, if one follows the figures given in the special report to stockholders, of 1851, to \$25,485.51. Meanwhile, stock assessments amounting to \$6,810 were received in 1849, \$12,630 in 1850, and \$1,140 in 1851, making a total of \$20,580, or only half the amount provided for by the charter.²² Thus, on construction costs alone, there was a deficit of between \$5,000 and \$5,500. The state required data on

¹⁹ *The subject of schedules is considered further at the end of this paper.*

²⁰ *Cambridge Chronicle, December 20, 1849.*

²¹ *There was no extended college vacation at Christmas at that time.*

²² *An additional amount of \$220 came in after 1851, for the final figure for stock subscriptions stood at \$20,800.*

various aspects of the line as constructed, and these, though technical, have a certain interest. The length in feet measured 3,673 (of single track), with sidings measuring 555 feet. The weight of rail per yard was 49 pounds; the maximum grade 37 feet per mile for 600 feet;²³ the shortest radius of curvature, 451 feet for a length of 239 feet; total degrees of curvature, 102°; total length of straight line, 2,240 feet; and number of public ways crossed, two.

Since the Harvard Branch did not operate any equipment itself, our information about this side of the venture is rather sketchy. There was an oral contract with the Fitchburg Railroad, by which the latter operated the trains at a cost of fifty cents per train mile, the Harvard Branch to pay for repairs. Samuels and Kimball, in their history of Somerville, state that the equipment consisted of a single passenger car, in one end of which was the locomotive.²⁴ There was a smokestack, covered with screening, giving rise to the name "pepper-box." It is likely that wood was used for both power and heat, though coal might have been used for the latter. Some fossil cinders were found by a Harvard geology class in the 1920's. The annual reports state that a maximum speed of twenty miles per hour was set for the trains and that a speed of nineteen miles per hour was actually attained. It proved desirable to arrange for a connection with omnibuses running out of the Fitchburg station in Boston, and subsequent printed advertisements referred to the accommodation.

The new road got off to a good start, and hopes were high, at least for the first year. "Wave," writing in the Cambridge Chronicle shortly after the opening, states: "It has already become a popular mode of conveyance between Boston and Cambridge and it must have a tendency to increase the price of real estate in Cambridge and also the comfort, and perhaps the happiness of a large number of our citizens." ²⁵ The correspondent also rejoiced in the prospects of a new hotel and of the completion of the Grand Junction Railway, and concluded his letter with several verses. A Harvard undergraduate of the time, reminiscing later about his college days, writes: "The establishment of this line of conveyance to Boston was a great convenience to students who had previously to depend upon the infrequent four horse omnibus. They were

²³ *This became 601 feet in the 1851 report.*

²⁴ *Edward A. Samuels and Henry H. Kimball, Somerville, Past and Present, Boston, 1897, p. 93.*

²⁵ *Cambridge Chronicle, January 10, 1850.*

often obliged to walk back to Cambridge after theatrical entertainments in town, through storm and darkness."²⁶ However, an expense account of another student shows about equal purchases of railroad tickets (at 10 cents) and omnibus tickets (at 12 1/2 cents) during the first few months of 1851.²⁷ After the road had been in operation for some six months, the Cambridge Chronicle stated: "We are informed that the business on the road, thus far, exceeds the calculations and expectations of its projectors."²⁸

The figures present a less optimistic picture of the first year's operations. From the second annual report, covering 1850, we learn that there was a floating debt of \$6,500 and unliquidated claims estimated at \$6,000. Miles run by passenger trains totaled 14,888, and passengers totaled 100,909. Charges made by the Fitchburg Railroad for operating the road for the year were \$7,244; repairs, paid for by the Harvard Branch, came to \$32; making a total for cost of operation of \$7,276. Income, wholly from passengers, amounted to \$6,610.21, leaving an operating deficit of \$665.79. A statement accompanying a legislative document breaks down the year's figures for six-months periods as follows: December-June, 7,186 miles at a cost of \$3,593; July-December, 7,302 miles at \$3,651.²⁹

Though not unduly worried, the directors still felt that something should be done about the company's debts. President Hubbard and Ward were appointed a committee on ways and means on November 6, and on January 22, 1851, it was recommended that their report be presented to the stockholders. A committee of stockholders was chosen on February 19 and, with the directors, they prepared a report, later printed, which is of considerable interest. First, they took up the costs of construction and the amount of capital subscribed, arriving at a debt of \$4,700, excluding the cost of the track alteration. When this was added, along with the operating deficit of \$665.72,³⁰ they arrived at a total debt of \$6,151.23. Later in the report they listed their liabilities as follows:

²⁶ James C. White (A.B., 1853), "An Undergraduate's Diary," Harvard Graduates' Magazine, March, 1913, p. 425.

²⁷ Joseph A. Holmes (A.B., 1854), manuscript expense book; in the Harvard University Archives.

²⁸ Cambridge Chronicle, June 17, 1850.

²⁹ With docket file, Mass. Laws, 1855, chap. 94, Massachusetts Archives.

³⁰ The figure arrived at from the annual report was \$665.79; there are other discrepancies in figures.

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Harvard College</i> | <i>\$3,839.41</i> |
| <i>Land damages</i> | <i>1,190.00</i> |
| <i>Sundry accounts</i> | <i>about 1,121.82</i> |
| | <i>6,151.23</i> |

They listed receipts of \$6600.17, a slightly different figure from the one in the annual report; and they reduced the operating deficit, in words anyway, to "about Five Hundred Dollars." Perhaps they may be pardoned for making the situation appear somewhat rosier than it was. They stated frankly that: "We believe there were not many of the original Stockholders who expected the Road would pay its expenses for the first one or two years, and in this they have not been disappointed."

Still, they looked hopefully to the future, for in January and February, 1850, the number of passengers carried was 11,573; for the same months in 1851 it was 12,942, an increase of 1,369. This was not far removed from Felton's original estimate of 450 passengers a day. But the committee complained that the fifty cents a mile charged by the Fitchburg Railroad was too much. In this, they followed the directors, who had been trying for some time to obtain more favorable conditions. In view of the fact that the Fitchburg Railroad's costs in 1849 were \$.6597 per mile, their lack of success is not surprising.³¹ But the stockholders' committee proposed an agreement upon some per cent of profit, over the actual cost, the latter to be decided by three impartial referees. And they suggested that, if the Fitchburg Railroad would not cooperate, and if the legislature would not interfere, "we might then procure a single Car, and run with horses to the Junction, and then have the ratio fixed, by Commissioners, at which we should be carried into the City."

To provide for the immediate debt, which would be equal to 30 per cent on each share, they proposed that the road be mortgaged to three trustees, to secure notes or scrip, to an amount not exceeding \$6,000, payable in three equal instalments. The Scrip was to be payable in one year from March 20, 1851, with interest, payable semi-annually. The recommendations of the committee³² were accepted by the stockholders

³¹ *Annual report, Fitchburg Railroad, 1850.*

³² *The committee members were Hubbard, Dana, Oliver Hastings, Whitney, and Ward, directors; and W. G. Stearns, M. Wyman, and Jonas Wyeth, stockholders. Copies of the printed report are in Baker Library, Harvard Business School, Massachusetts State Library, and the Bureau of Railway Economics.*

on March 5 and by the directors on March 8. The latter made provision for the scrip, which was to be limited to a maximum of thirty dollars on each share; and they voted to execute a mortgage of the road to William G. Stearns, Oliver Hastings and Gardiner G. Hubbard.³³ Stearns, who was steward of Harvard College and had been a stockholder member of the committee, declined to serve; his place was taken by James Dana.

We have seen that the directors had already been trying ways of bringing the Fitchburg Railroad to accept their terms, or, failing that, of by-passing that road entirely. On September 24, 1850, Hubbard, Dana, and Howe were made a committee "to make arrangements with the Fitchburg Road in relation to additional trains & investigate and report on the expediency of extending the road." On November 6 they voted to discontinue the train leaving Boston at 7:15 and Cambridge at 7:40 P.M., unless the Fitchburg Railroad would run it both ways for one dollar. On January 22 they voted to petition the legislature for leave to extend the road to Fresh Pond and for the necessary increase of capital, a vote reflecting considerable optimism. In conformance with the stockholders' vote of March 5, Hubbard and Dana were selected to confer with the Fitchburg Railroad as to per cent of profit and cost. At the same meeting (March 8, 1851) it was voted that these two, with Mr. Hastings,³⁴ confer with the Boston and Maine Railroad as to extending the road to their line in Somerville. At the following meeting, on March 13, the sum of fifty dollars was authorized for a survey of such a connection. On May 9, at the same meeting which authorized a mortgage to Harvard of the land purchased of the college for a station house, Messrs. Hubbard, Whitney, and Dana were directed to negotiate with the Fitchburg road in relation to a lease.

For their part, the Fitchburg directors had received a report on costs of operating the Harvard Branch from their superintendent, and they voted: "to propose to Harvard Branch Railroad to operate their road, running not less than seven trains per day, for a compensation of fifty cents per mile, and the President is authorized to make arrangement for a lease of said Harvard Branch Railroad if he shall deem it expedient."³⁵ This was the same arrangement already in effect without a lease, so it is

³³ *Mortgage, March 8, 1851; Middlesex South District Deeds, Book 600, p. 118.*

³⁴ *It is difficult to tell from here on which Hastings is meant; however, the Cambridge Directory for 1851 lists Oliver as a director, not E. T.*

³⁵ *Fitchburg Railroad minutes, March 12, 1851.*

not surprising that nothing came of it. On June 23 the directors of the Harvard Branch asked Mr. Ward to "see what a locomotive and cars can be hired for." Yet they had to come back to the Fitchburg Railroad, and on July 22 voted to present to the stockholders, at their meeting on August 5, the following proposal: "To authorize a lease of the road to the Fitchburg R.R. Company for four years without rent — they keeping the road in repair and running at least five trains a day." We do not know just how the stockholders voted, but on September 11 a committee of directors, consisting of Hubbard, Batchelder,³⁶ and Ward were asked to confer again with the Fitchburg Railroad regarding the running of the road.

Although their efforts to get the road on a sound financial basis were of primary significance to the directors, other aspects of operations during 1850 and 1851 are of interest. Special excursions and trains were run from time to time. On January 19, 1850,

Mr. Whitney was directed to make arrangements for carrying two Sunday schools. And on June 24 it was voted to run six extra trains on July 4, and four extra on commencement and Phi Beta Kappa days. On November 26 it was voted to establish a platform station at Divinity Hall Avenue. Special payments to directors for extra services were also considered from time to time. President Hubbard, on June 24, 1850, was granted \$173.75 for legal services and \$200 for acting as superintendent of construction. Estes Howe agreed to serve for the year 1850-1851 as clerk and treasurer for the balance due on his stock; and he was paid \$150 on February 11, 1852, for his services in distributing the script. The records on occasion contain a clue to holdings of stock; thus on November 6, 1850, a note for \$500 was accepted from W. L. Whitney for one-half his subscription, indicating that he held ten shares.

We have already considered, in connection with the special report of February, 1851, the operating expenses and income for 1850. The third annual report, covering 1851, also showed a deficit. Cumulative debts were as follows: funded debt, evidently represented by the mortgage, \$5,590; floating debt, \$6,500, which was the same as the preceding year. A note stated that there were "several unliquidated claims and

³⁶ *Although one of the early instigators of the road, this was Batchelder's first appearance on the board. He declined to serve, and was replaced on February 11, 1852, by Willard Phillips, who was president of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company. His tax rate in 1851 was \$135.51.*

accounts, the amount of which cannot be accurately stated, say \$1,200." The miles run by passenger trains numbered 2,881, and the total number of passengers carried, 91,672, a reduction of some 9,000 over the previous year. Repairs cost \$107.89, and the contract with the Fitchburg road came to \$6,723, making a total of \$6,830.89. Income from passengers was \$5,853, leaving an operating deficit for the year of \$977.89, or some \$310 more than the preceding year. The six-months figures for 1851 were: for January through June, 7,021 miles at a cost of \$3,510.50; and for July through December, 7,749 miles at a cost of \$3,874.50. Additional capital amounting to \$1, 140 had come in during 1851. The Fitchburg Railroad, in its report covering the year 1851, considered the number of free passes issued, and noted that the Harvard Branch accounted for 1,083. This would seem a rather unnecessary additional burden on the little road.

Failing in their efforts to have the Fitchburg Railroad take over the road, the next expedient the directors tried was a lease. Acting on the advice of the stockholders obtained at their meeting of December 23, 1851, the directors on December 27 leased the road to Herbert H. Stimpson.³⁷ The lease does not appear in the records, but what the arrangement was is shown by a later entry relating to Stimpson. On September 23, 1852, the directors voted: "H. H. Stimpson to give this Corporation for the use of the road & Station house, the surplus proceeds of the fares & freight if any after paying expense of trains, repairs, interest on the debts to the College and to said Stimpson, insurance, advertising, and other expenses — to be applied in discharge of said two debts, Mr. Stimpson to guarantee the Corporation against any claim for the above expenses and interest." Further, the president was authorized "to audit the charges of Mr. Stimpson for payment of the outstanding debts of the Corporation and to give him the obligation of the Corporation to reimburse the same."

And finally, the president was also authorized at this meeting "to contract with the Fitchburg Railroad Company for the transportation of passengers & freight between Cambridge & Boston." Thus, it appears that Stimpson was operating the road as an agent of the company and that he had become a creditor, evidently a result of the December

³⁷ *The writer has not learned whether he was a relative of John Stimpson, the station master. He was a resident of Cambridge, and his 1851 tax was \$149.72. He became a director of the Harvard Branch in July, 1852. With his brother, Frederick, he operated a stove and range business in Boston.*

lease. The reference to freight is also of interest, as is the fact that the Fitchburg Railroad was still actually operating the trains.

A new combined advertisement and timetable, printed by the Cambridge Chronicle, was issued on January 5, 1852, perhaps to signalize the new management of the road. It is headed, "Harvard Branch Railroad for Cambridge Colleges . . . New Arrangement." Season tickets were still six dollars a quarter, and a package of ten tickets cost a dollar. This included the cost of transportation to Dover Street in Boston, or to the New South Boston Bridge, by the Dover Street Omnibus and the South Boston Omnibus. Tickets to and from Cambridge and the Fitchburg Station in Boston cost fifty cents for seven, and single tickets remained at ten cents; these prices did not permit transfer to an omnibus. Passengers leaving the Cambridge station could take omnibuses in the First Ward for three cents. They were to use the order slate at Wood and Halls and at the station. Boston offices were the Lowell Ticket Office and Scollay's Buildings, Court Street, and single tickets could be obtained at Charles Stimpson's, 116 Washington Street. A similar notice appeared on April 5, except that the paragraphs relating to the Cambridge omnibuses and the Boston offices were omitted.³⁸ An additional afternoon train was added each way, making eight round trips a day instead of seven. Such were efforts to make travel on the Harvard Branch more convenient and attractive.

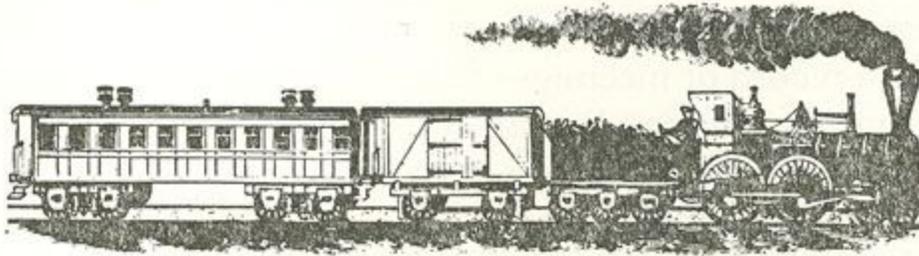
Stimpson continued to operate the road, in accordance with the arrangement of September, 1852, for another year. The fourth and fifth annual reports (for the years 1852 and 1853) do not contain much information, since each includes a note to the effect that the road was being operated by the Fitchburg Railroad and "its doings are returned by the officers of that corporation." However, totals of the funded and floating debts are shown; for 1852 the former \$5,590 and the latter, \$1,200, making a total of \$6,790; and for 1853 the funded debt is shown as \$5,910,³⁹ the floating debt as \$1,502 (an increase of \$302), making a total of \$7,412. The Fitchburg Railroad report for the year 1852 indi-

³⁸ *Photostats of both posters are in the Harvard University Archives; here also is a facsimile of the earlier one. The Railway and Locomotive Historical Society also has a reprint of the January 5 advertisement. A copy of a poster once in the Harvard Club of Boston cannot now (1959) be found there.*

³⁹ *The report is in error in stating the preceding year's funded debt to be \$5,910; it was \$5,590.*

HARVARD BRANCH RAILROAD.

FOR CAMBRIDGE COLLEGES.



ON AND AFTER MONDAY, JAN. 5, 1852,

TRAINS WILL RUN AS FOLLOWS:

**LEAVE CAMBRIDGE,
NEAR THE COLLEGES,**

7.30 A. M.
8.30 "
10.15 "
1.40 P. M.
3.30 "
4.25 "
6.30 "
7.10 "

**LEAVE BOSTON,
AT THE FITCHBURG STATION,**

8.00 A. M.
9.30 "
12.45 P. M.
2.15 "
3.50 "
5.30 "
6.50 "
11.15 "

* Except on Saturdays, when it will leave at 10 P. M.

NEW ARRANGEMENT.

Season Tickets, \$6 per quarter. Package Tickets, ten for a dollar, will convey passengers from and to Cambridge to Dover Street, or to the New South Boston Bridge, by the Dover street Omnibus and the South Boston Omnibus, which leave the Fitchburg Station on the arrival of each train.

Tickets to and from Cambridge to Fitchburg Station at fifty cents for a package of seven. Single Tickets ten cents, for cars only. For sale at the Railroad Stations, and by Charles Stimpson, 105 Washington street, Boston.

Passengers taken to and from the Station in Cambridge to any distance now run by the Cambridge Omnibuses in the First Ward, for three cents. Order slate, at Wood & Hall's and at the Station.

The office in Boston is in the Lowell Ticket Office, Scolley's Buildings, Court street. Passengers called for at this Office.

PRINTED AT THE CAMBRIDGE

cates a balance due from the Harvard Branch of \$1,751.59. It is not surprising, therefore, that the directors of the Fitchburg Railroad became increasingly concerned about the state of the Harvard Branch. On August 10, 1853, they voted to authorize the president to annul the contract if he deemed it advisable. On September 14, he was authorized to purchase a small engine and to operate the branch, "as he may deem for the interests of the Company."

There is no record of meetings of the directors of the Harvard Branch for almost a year following September 23, 1852; but on September 12, 1853 they acted. In an important vote they decided: "That the Fitchburg Railroad Company may have the use of the Harvard Branch Road and Station House, free of rent, upon condition that they keep the same in repair and hold this corporation harmless from damages by their use of the same, for three months from Oct. 1st, 1853, with the right to renew this agreement for one year from January first 1854, if the Fitchburg Railroad Company so elect, provided that the Fitchburg R. R. Company furnish the Clerk with the requisite data so that he may make the returns required by law." Meeting again the next day, they released Stimpson from his obligations. They voted to issue scrip covering the company's indebtedness to him, and they accepted his proposal for discontinuing the running of cars on and after September 30. After that date, the Fitchburg Railroad was to take over operations, in accordance with the preceding agreement.

The beginning of the end is foreshadowed in February, 1854, when the directors voted to petition the legislature for leave to sell and assign the Harvard Branch Railroad and to discontinue the road or any part thereof. The legislature aproved an act, dated April 19, 1854, authorizing the trustees under the mortgage (James Dana, Oliver Hastings, and Gardiner G. Hubbard) to discontinue and sell the road, to apply the purchase money to discharge liens, incumbrances, and debts, and to turn over the balance to stockholders.⁴⁰ However, since there was no buyer, the road continued to run, under the same arrangements; on May 22 a timetable was issued.⁴¹ On August 14 the directors of the Fitchburg Railroad reported receipt of a communication from H. Stimpson relating to fares; it was referred to the president. The sixth annual report, cover-

⁴⁰ *Mass. Laws 1854, chap. 334.*

⁴¹ *The original is in the Harvard University Archives.*

ing the year 1854, records the same total for the funded and floating debts (\$7,412), and notes two mortgages, totaling \$5,910. It ends with the statement: "The road is operated by a lessee, in conjunction with the Fitchburg road, to which corporation reference is made for these returns."⁴²

By the end of the year 1854, the directors were ready to submit to the forthcoming meeting of the stockholders the proposal to sell the road. But they were still also seeking ways of persuading the Fitchburg Railroad to continue to operate the line. They voted, on December 23, to propose to that railroad that "seventy per cent of the gross fares for passengers passing to or from the Harvard Branch Railroad, from or to any station on the Fitchburg Railroad, using horse power or steam power on the Harvard Branch, be retained by the Fitchburg Railroad Company; the Car or Cars used on the Harvard Branch being supplied by the Fitchburg Railroad Company and attached only to the short trains on that road, and that thirty per cent of such gross fares be allowed to the Harvard Branch, the expense of the repairs of the Harvard Branch being borne by the two companies in the same proportion." The reference to horse cars is of interest, for it was the horse car, though not on this line, which finally took over the business of the Harvard Branch. The directors further suggested that they might supply the cars, in which case "twenty per cent per annum on the cost of the cars when new be allowed to the Harvard Branch for the Cars out of the Fitchburg Company's Seventy per cent of gross proceeds of fares." And in case the two companies could not agree, then commissioners were to be requested, so that terms might be worked out.

To further the chance of merging with the Fitchburg Railroad, the directors in January, 1855, asked the legislature for a clarification of the charter. By Act of March 26, it was stated that the purchasers might form a corporation and might transfer to any other railroad corporation, which might own and manage in their own name or in that of the Harvard Branch Railroad. Further, the right to unite with the Fitchburg Railroad Corporation was confirmed, and to "use Fitchburg Railroad Corporation tracks, provided nothing shall require the Fitchburg Rail-

⁴² *The Harvard College Papers 2nd Series, Vol. XX, p. 398, contain a letter from John G. Palfrey to William T. Andrews, dated March 16, 1854, concerning protection of his interests, in case the railroad is allowed to sell. Some of Palfrey's land had been taken by the railroad.*

road to run an extra train or trains for the Harvard Branch Railroad." ⁴³ No agreement with the Fitchburg Railroad could be reached, and on May 29, 1855, the directors of the Harvard Branch voted to apply to the Supreme Court to appoint commissioners to settle the terms on which the Harvard Branch should use the Boston and Fitchburg Railroad. But by then it was much too late to save the Harvard Branch.

One of the difficulties related to fares, and this affected all the railroads out of Boston. The Harvard Branch had struggled to maintain the ten cent fare, and had even increased the value of certain multiple rates by a connection with omnibus lines out of the Fitchburg station⁴⁴ But, as the railroads were meeting increased costs, the movement to increase fares became widespread. It reached its climax in the spring of 1855, when the local railroads agreed to a 25 percent increase. The Fitchburg Railroad, disregarding the agreement, increased its fares 40 per cent, arousing considerable opposition among residents of Somerville and Cambridge. The Boston Journal for March 2 states: "The rate of season ticket fares over the Harvard Branch Railroad has been raised 50 per cent, I learn, and the passengers seem to have generally deserted the cars for the omnibuses. So I infer

from the beggarly account of empty seats in the former, this afternoon." The threat seems to have had an effect, for according to advertisements in the Cambridge Chronicle, starting on April 14, tickets were to be eleven for a dollar and ten cents for a single ticket. The notices recorded the summer schedule, to be in effect on and after April 9, and stated that tickets might be obtained from J. C. Stiles at the station. Despite this optimistic note, the controversy over fares affected the Harvard Branch seriously.

It is of interest also to note the efforts to provide the schedule most attractive to customers. Starting out with six trains each way, the Harvard Branch within a few months had increased the number to seven. In August, 1850, perhaps reflecting the lighter summer traffic, it was voted to discontinue the last trains from Cambridge (7:45 P.M.) and Boston (10:45 P.M.). The late train from Boston, however, proved so popular it was restored within a month. In January, 1851, it was again voted to discontinue the last train each way until March 1. By then, seven trains

⁴³ "Mass. Laws 1855, chap. 94.

⁴⁴ A vote of December 11, 1851, "to reduce the fare to the rates previous to Oct. 1" indicates that they must have been raised; but the October vote was not recorded.

each way were placed in operation, and they continued, though with slightly varying times, until January, 1852, when another round trip was added. This added train ran in mid-afternoon, but it was dropped from the April schedule. In 1853 and 1854 additional trains were added, until they reached the maximum of ten round trips daily. The late train from Boston had, however, been dropped. Finally, in 1855, the schedule reverted to seven round trips a day; the 10 P.M. from Boston was restored, except that on Saturdays it went at 7:30 P.M. Saturday evenings seem not to have been very gala ones in the city, for preceding schedules show an earlier train back to Cambridge that night than others. Although the number of round trips per day never reached the figure Felton had in mind (fifteen), the operators of the Harvard Branch still tried to provide an adequate and well-spaced schedule.⁴⁵

The directors seem to have attended to their duties with reasonable faithfulness. During 1849, while the road was in process of construction, they held fourteen meetings. In 1850 there were nine, and in 1851 eleven. Thereafter, since the road was being operated by an agent, meetings were few: three in 1852, two in 1853, two in 1854, and three in 1855. Of the directors, Hubbard, as president, was the most active, being a member of twenty-one committees and present at thirty-eight meetings. General Dana served on sixteen committees, many of those relating to relations with the Fitchburg Railroad. Howe, as clerk and treasurer, was present at most of the meetings and also served on fourteen committees. Of the two Hastings, Oliver, since he continued longer as a director than Edmund, was the more active, but he seems to have dropped out by the end of 1851. During the last two years of operation, the business was conducted largely by Hubbard, Stimpson, and Phillips, with Dana occasionally in attendance, and with Howe as clerk. In view of the fact that it was the prospect of the horse railroad which spelled the doom of the Harvard Branch, it is ironical that several of these men were later active in the affairs of the

Cambridge Railroad (1853) and the Union Railway (1855). Gardiner G. Hubbard was the principal instigator of the Union Railway, which was to be a horse railway; and among its officers were Estes Howe, clerk and treasurer, H. H. Stimpson,

⁴⁵ *In addition to printed timetables, advertisements, and posters, schedules occasionally appear in the minutes of the directors; they may also be found in the American Railway Guide and ABC Pathfinder.*

president, Willard Phillips, and William A. Saunders. Howe and Hubbard were also concerned in railroad projects outside New England, such as the Mad River and Lake Erie Railroad; this also failed.

An important factor in the failure of the Harvard Branch was the convenience of the omnibus, and later the horse car. The main omnibus line ran to Cambridge Street and Bowdoin Square in Boston, and from there it was but a short distance to the shopping district of that day. Furthermore, the Fitchburg Railroad, far from being interested in maintaining branch lines, was actively opposed to them. In their annual report for 1856, the directors stated that the seven railroads terminating in Boston "would be far better off if every branch was at once discontinued and the iron taken up." The situation was not so different from that of today, when the railroads wish to give up unprofitable commuter lines. The directors of the Harvard Branch, seeing that it was hopeless to think of coming to an agreement with the Fitchburg Railroad for the operation of the road, and faced with continuing deficits, voted on June 14, 1855, that the road be sold at public auction on the sixth of July.

In accordance with the vote of the directors, advertisement of the sale appeared in the Cambridge Chronicle of June 23 and 30. For terms and particulars it directed interested persons to Estes Howe, treasurer, and it was signed, Herbert H. Stimpson, clerk pro tem. The Cambridge Chronicle for July 14 briefly records the event: "The sale of this road took place, as advertised, on Friday, the 6th inst. at the Station House in Old Cambridge. William L. Whitney, Esq., of this City was the purchaser at \$10,500. The original cost of the road, including the station house, was about \$27,000." ⁴⁶ On September 10 the treasurer reported the sale to the directors and told of arrangements for paying off debts. He said that he had paid the mortgage to Harvard College with interest, the debt which Stimpson had paid (also with interest), sundry expenses, and that he had money enough to pay the scrip, again with interest. Some \$1,175 would then remain, enough to give each stockholder about \$5.65 a share, allowing for 208 shares outstanding. The loss was thus \$94.35 a share, a sorry ending to the Harvard Branch. Whitney, as purchaser, did better than the others, as we shall see. As late as 1870, the directors of the Fitchburg Railroad offered to purchase the Harvard Branch fran-

⁴⁶ *The American Railway Times for July 19 has a similar note; however, they state the original cost to have been \$22,000.*

chise from him for \$1,000.⁴⁷ And in 1874 J. A. Holmes sent word to him to call at an office in Boston. A note at the bottom of the sheet states that the call related to the roadbed and charter of the Harvard Branch, and that one-fourth belonged to the estate of E. T. Hastings, and one-half to Whitney.⁴⁸ Thus the Harvard Branch Railroad passes from the record.

We will let literature have the last word. John Holmes⁴⁹ wrote to James Russell Lowell in September, 1855: "Poor little Harvard Branch was sold up about two months since — William L. Whitney bought it, \$10,500, and he has resold it in the most thorough manner — land (most of it), rails, turntable-stones (foundation—underpinning), and hath made a good bargain of it. I should not omit the station house, which was sold in lengths, like tape — and of which the front part was bought by College for the use of the new Professor Huntington."⁵⁰ Referring to the matter again in a letter of November 10, also to Lowell, he wrote: "You know H.B.R.R. has been sold up. Well, College bought the station house, curvature of the spine and all."⁵¹ They have cut off two thirds or more of the rear for a carpenter's shop, and left the front for the new Professor Huntington for moral gymnastics, I don't know exactly what."⁵² The building did not remain for the use of Professor Huntington very long. Dining facilities for the students were at that time very poor, and in 1865 Andrew Preston Peabody, Huntington's successor as Plummer Professor, hired the old station, and, with the assistance of Nathaniel Thayer, fitted it up as a commons. Within a year, the quarters proved too small, and Mr. Thayer, with others, contributed towards an enlargement. But with the building of Memorial Hall in 1874 and the provision of a large dining area there, Thayer Commons was closed. In 1883 it was torn down to make room for Austin Hall, the Harvard Law School building. It was reported in the 1930's that a part of the

⁴⁷ Directors' Minutes, Fitchburg Railroad, May 6, 1870.

⁴⁸ Letter in the Manuscript Division, Baker Library, Harvard.

⁴⁹ Brother of Oliver Wendell Holmes, a lawyer, resident of Cambridge. His home was near the station; acquired by the College in 1871, it was torn down at the same time the former station was, to make room for Austin Hall.

⁵⁰ Frederic Dan Huntington, Plummer Professor of Christian Morals, 1855-1860.

⁵¹ The college repurchased the property from Whitney for \$3,993.44. *College Papers, 2nd Series, Vol. XXII, p. 297.*

⁵² *Letters of John Holmes to James Russell Lowell and Others, ed. by William Roscoe Thayer, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1917, p. 17, 24-25.*

old building was moved and became President Eliot's stables near where the Paine Music Building now is.⁵³

Looking backward, we can assign many reasons for the failure of the Harvard Branch Railroad; several have been mentioned already. There proved to be insufficient clientele in the Harvard Square and Old Cambridge area, and the road made too indirect a run to Boston

to attract all the passengers it should have. In view of the fact that the road never made a profit, we may ask why it was ever constructed at all. Some later observers have said that, had the horse cars been in operation in 1849, the railroad would not have been built.⁵⁴ But allowance must be made for the popular enthusiasm for railroads in the 1840's; it was a matter of pride, even of necessity, for Old Cambridge to be connected to Boston by rail. The instigators were also businessmen, and we must conclude that they guessed wrong. But their failure at least provided Old Cambridge and Harvard with a colorful episode; not until the coming of the rapid transit was Harvard Square to be in such direct and speedy connection with Boston. We can be grateful that the experiment was at least tried, and that the loss was not unduly severe. Each change in the mode of transportation is an occasion of regrets on the part of some; our regrets at the demise of the Harvard Branch can be quite detached. Who can now visualize a railroad running from just in back of the Littauer Building to Somerville? — the effect on present-day Harvard and Cambridge would be drastic.

⁵³ Letter, Charles F. Mason to Anna F. Dakin, Dec. 18, 1937, Harvard University Archives. Pictures of the building may be found in Class Albums preserved in the Harvard University Archives, starting with the Class of 1861; also in *The Harvard Book*, Cambridge, 1875, vol. II, and in Moses King, *Harvard and Its Surroundings...*, Cambridge, 1878, and other editions.

⁵⁴ Thomas F. O'Malley, *op. cit.*; also F. B. Rowell and C. H. Paige. The Union Railway Company began operation on July 14, 1855, according to Paige. A horse railway, the first of its kind, was in operation from Harvard Square to Union Square, Somerville from 1845, according to Paige, to 1856. An old Fitchburg car was used, and it was attached to trains in and out of Boston. It must have provided considerable competition to the Harvard Branch. The Charles River Railway was incorporated in 1881; along with the Cambridge Railway, it became part of the West End system in 1887.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CAMBRIDGE SOCIAL DRAMATIC CLUB

By RICHARD W. HALL

Read January 26, 1960

I*T is altogether fitting that this paper on the Dramatic Club should be given in Craigie House. Some of the earliest plays of which we have a record were presented here and from the beginning, as you will see later on, the Longfellow family was active, first in the private theatricals, then in the plays at the Arsenal, and finally in the Cambridge Social Dramatic*

Club when Miss Anne Thorpe, to whom we are indebted for the use of the house tonight, appeared in several plays.

Probably many of you, certainly some that I recognize here, remember the Golden Jubilee dinner of the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club on October 24, 1939. I accent the word social because that part of the club's name did not come into existence until 1891 though the Cambridge Dramatic Club began its existence in 1876 and the records show that as far back as 1862 amateur theatricals were presented in private houses by actors and actresses who later organized the two more recent clubs. In 1862 a group of Cambridge residents met at Governor Washburn's home in Quincy Street for a performance of Dickens Scenes and A Morning Call for the benefit of the Cambridge branch of the United States Sanitary Commission, which, during the Civil War, corresponded roughly to the Red Cross of today. It is interesting to note that in an old account book of the Sanitary Commission there is an entry under date of December 18, 1862, "Received from Private Theatricals \$125.00." It is a fair assumption that this money came from the performances in Governor Washburn's house, but whether from sale of tickets or from a collection taken at the time I cannot definitely say. However, an entry on February 19, 1863, "Extra Theatrical Ticket, \$1.00," would lead one to believe that the earlier receipts were from sale of tickets.

Undoubtedly there were many such performances in subsequent years, but I have found no record of any until ten years later. In 1872 we find a record of "An Amateur Performance of 'The Rose and the

Ring' at Mr. Greenough's House in Appian Way. Dramatization and management by J. B. Greenough." The cast for this performance included

Miss Longfellow

Mr. Jones

Miss C. Howe

Mr. T. Howe

Miss Hopkinson (later Mrs. Charles W. Eliot)

Mr. Stone

Miss K. Howe (later Mrs. H. N. Wheeler)

Mr. Richards

Mr. W. P. Greenough

Mr. Tilden

Mr. J. B. Greenough

Mr. S. Howe

Mr. Delano

Mr. M. Howe

and as guards and pages Messrs. Dodge, Howe, Elliott, and Greenough.

The performance was very successful and was followed by Mr. Greenough's other play, The Queen of Hearts, given at Craigie House and later published in the Atlantic Monthly. The Queen of Hearts brought into the cast Miss G. Horsford, Miss K. Horsford, Miss Farley, Miss Whitney, Mr. Wetmore and Mr. McMillan. It has been justly stated that these two performances led directly to the establishment of the Cambridge Dramatic Club, which in

turn led to the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club. Most if not all the participants in these two plays subsequently appeared in one capacity or another in the more formal productions that were to follow.

In 1876 the old Cambridge Arsenal on Arsenal Square became available with a stage and a small auditorium. Mr. Samuel Eliot at the Golden Jubilee gave us a first-hand account of the Cambridge Dramatic Club that was so much better than anything I could write that I will quote it.

"The original club was started in the Winter of 1876-77. The old warehouse of the State Arsenal at Garden and Chauncey Streets — where the Continental Hotel now stands — was rented and transformed into a cozy and adequate playhouse. The audience was comfortably seated in folding chairs on a sloping floor with two aisles. The stage had sufficient depth and the dressing and make-up rooms below were plain but convenient enough. Lighting was, of course, not as well understood then as it is now and there were just footlights and, I think, one spotlight.

The Club was composed of Cambridge neighbors and friends with a scattering of college boys. The leading spirits were John P. Hopkinson and Katie Howe, later Mrs. Henry N. Wheeler. They headed an extraordinarily competent group of amateur players. Mr. Hopkinson took the heavy gentlemen parts and Katie Howe, most brilliant and vivacious of the group, was the leading lady.

Alice Longfellow took the parts for older women with rare distinction and one happily recalls her charm and grace and the silvery tones of her voice. Sadie Eustis took the young girl parts and was lovely to look at — lithe, buoyant and capable. The character parts for men were taken by Dr. Norton Folsom, Professors Greenough and Jackson, and an exceedingly clever law student named McMillan. The women's character parts and the soubrettes were in the expert hands of Clara Howe, Kate Horsford and Alice Jones (Aunt of Pauline and Lily Jones). For the Juvenile leads there were Harry Hodges, Arthur Perrin and an incomparable undergraduate John Sidney Webb.

*The club's first performance was given on February 1, 1877, with John Hopkinson, Professor J. B. Greenough, Alice Longfellow and Maidie Devens and a splendid supporting cast playing *The Critic*. That performance was repeated in April 1885 as the last play before the cherished Arsenal Theater was torn down.*

*Of course I cannot catalogue all the plays any more than I can name all the players. I recall *The Rivals* with Mr. Hopkinson as Sir Anthony Absolute and Kate Horsford as an unapproachable Mrs. Malaprop, and *Masks and Faces* with Kate Howe as an enchanting Peg Woffington and Frank Sever as the infant triplet. We even ventured into musical shows — *The Blackbirds*, *The Rose and the Ring*, *Box and Cox*. Grace Hopkinson — until she married President Eliot — the charming songstress, Charlie and Phil Stone, Charlie Reed and Gus Tucker-man the tenors, and Elliott Pendleton and Bert Williams as the basses — a really remarkable array of musical talent.*

*My own first part was in a play called *On Guard* — a servant's part with one speech. [If I may interrupt Mr. Eliot for a moment, I hope he was more successful than I was in the second act of *The Barker* where I had one speech and in three performances forgot to say it. The play went on and no one knew the difference.] Then in my junior year I was given the fat part of a benevolent*

*uncle and then took over the juvenile leads. There were some embarrassments for young lovers on the amateur stage in those days in connection with osculatory incidents. Kissing was forbidden — what unhappy prudes we were — and that prohibitive law was especially annoying when one was playing opposite Alice Grey or with Edith Young in *The Secret Agent*. [Again interrupting Mr. Eliot, I remember one play in later years where the leading man was supposed to kiss the leading lady, not once but several times. Just before the curtain went up on the dress rehearsal she said to him, "Please don't kiss me tonight — my maids are in the audience and I don't want them to think I am promiscuous."] In *She Stoops to Conquer* I played Young Marlowe to Mrs. Wheeler's Kate Hardcastle. Mrs. Wheeler was older than I and our star performer so I held her in some awe. When the stage direction read "He tousles her hair" I needed some encouragement."*

Membership in the Cambridge Dramatic Club was divided into two classes — active and associate. The former members paid annual dues of one dollar and were given certain ticket privileges. In addition they

*could attend rehearsals and take part in many backstage amusements. On the other hand, according to the by-laws it was "the duty of each [active member] to do whatever work may be assigned by proper authority" such as acting, directing, prompting, costumes, properties, etc. As the club did four and sometimes five performances a season this by-law must have been strictly enforced. It is not easy to find fifty or more people to work either on stage or backstage. The associate members were the audience and paid from three to six dollars a year according to whether the club gave two, three, or four performances. Associate membership was originally limited to one hundred but later increased "at the pleasure of the club," meaning of the active members. The normal number of productions in a season was four, but in the very first season five plays were given — *Our Bitterest Foe* by G. C. Herbert, *The Critic* by Sheridan, *London Assurance* by Dion Boucicault, *The Romance of a Poor Young Man from the French* of Octave Feuillet, and Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*. Again, in the season of 1878-79, the club presented five plays including *Joy Is Dangerous*, to the account of which there was a footnote reading "Miss Davis having broken her arm Miss Longfellow took her part to great acceptance, without rehearsal, at one day's notice. Miss K. C. Howe read the part at Dress Rehearsal."*

By 1880 the club was well established with Dr. Norton Folsom as secretary. His notices, written in longhand with purple ink, were short, courteous and to the point, such as "A meeting of the Cambridge Dramatic Club . . . for special business. Prompt attendance and early adjournment are desired." Certainly these were desirable and, I have no doubt, were accomplished, but I remember many a meeting in later years where we had prompt attendance but far from early adjournment.

Another notice from Dr. Folsom reads:

C. D. C. Picnic. On Monday, June 27, weather permitting, the barges will leave the North side of the first Parish Church, Harvard Square, at 3 P.M. and proceed to the Arsenal; thence, leaving at 3-15, to Prof. Longfellow's: and thence, starting at 3-30, to the Riverside Boat House, in about

two hours. The B. & A. R.R. train leaving Boston at 5 P.M. reaches Riverside at 5-28 and the party of thirty persons will then take boats for either Roberts' Mills or Fox Island, sup at 7 o'clock, and take boats again to Waltham, meet the barges there by 9-30 and can get home before 11 o'clock.

For Comm. N. Folsom, June 21, 1881

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Included with this notice was a message —

An (anonymous) communication of some kind, in prose or verse, is earnestly requested from eachmember, to be read at the picnic.

I have not found any record of these anonymous communications, but I imagine they caused a good deal of hilarity. Obviously, because it was a party of only thirty persons, the picnic was for the active members. They worked and worked hard during the season but they had lots of fun.

Unfortunately, the Cambridge Dramatic Club was forced to disband at the end of the season 1884-85 because the Arsenal was to be torn down. For its last production the club gave two performances — A Household Fairy, and, in memory of its first performance in 1876, The Critic. Many of the original cast were still active but much new blood had been added since 1876. Among those who had come to stay and guide the destinies of the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club, as yet unborn, were Miss Alberta Houghton, Miss Kate Noble, who later became Mrs. James J. Greenough, Mr. Thomas Ticknor, for years an actor and director, Mr. James J. Greenough, and Mr. H. N. Wheeler, director, stage manager, secretary, and treasurer, who in 1883 married Miss Kate Howe, who had been from the first the most active of active members. All of these were later to become the nucleus of the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club.

The passing of the Cambridge Dramatic Club was celebrated by a grand farewell dinner at Young's hotel on May 11, 1885, with "sentiments read by N. Folsom, responses called for by J. P. Hopkinson who presided: alternating with songs, solo or quartet, as directed by S. A. Eliot." The Cambridge Dramatic Club was no more.

But the desire for amateur theatricals would not die. In January 1891 the building of Brattle Hall by the Cambridge Social Union provided an excellent place for dramatic performances. Mrs. H. N. Wheeler who, you will recall, was Miss Katie Howe, "most brilliant and vivacious" of the original Arsenal group, and Mrs. James J. Greenough, who was Miss Kate Noble before her marriage, conceived the idea of reviving the Arsenal Players in conjunction with a smaller social club called the Saturday Club. A committee was formed consisting of Messrs. Folsom,

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Wheeler, Greenough, and Agassiz, and Mrs. Wheeler, Miss Eustis, Miss Kate Horsford, and Mrs. Eliot, formerly Miss Grace Hopkinson, the "charming songstress" of Arsenal days. As early as January, 1890, the committee sent out a notice reading "It is proposed to start in Cambridge a new club, which shall be a combination of the old Saturday Night and Cambridge Dramatic Clubs" with meetings to be "held in Brattle Hall on Saturday evenings and some dramatic performance or other entertainment given in the early part of the evening, followed by simple refreshments and — from eleven to twelve o'clock — dancing," but it was not until January, 1891, that the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club came into being as outlined in the earlier notice. The response to the first notice was immediate and voluminous. Almost from the start it was found necessary to establish a waiting list, which existed for many years.

Originally the stage in Brattle Hall was only nineteen feet deep. When scenery was in place the only way one could cross from one side of the stage to the other was to go outdoors, walk across the back of the building, and come in on the other side. I have been told that during one performance an actor did cross outside during a snow storm and, brushing snow off his clothes and hair, walked into a stage garden party on a warm summer afternoon. I remember a much later play where the programme told us that the scene in the second act was a tea party in the garden of an English country house. On Saturday night we discovered too late that the man from whom we had rented the garden scenery had taken it away. Mr. Cogswell, always resourceful and taking advantage of the rainy weather outside, stepped before the curtain and announced that due to the inclement weather the tea party had been moved from the garden into the house.

In 1899 the stage was enlarged to a depth of forty feet and a troublesome chimney was removed. Space was provided for dressing rooms, a scene dock, a property room, and a green room, which was the scene of many meetings and after-the-play suppers. As time went on the green room walls became hung with framed programmes and pictures. When Brattle Hall was finally sold these were removed and stored in the cellar of a member's house. Unfortunately the cellar became flooded and all the programs and pictures were destroyed. However, I have been able to collect some items and they are arranged around the room for those who choose to look at them later.

The first performance of the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club was A Fool for Luck on January 24, 1891, followed by three other performances in rapid succession. The Cambridge Social Dramatic Club had arrived. It was a success from the start. In 1898 it was found necessary to issue a limited number of season tickets to the dress rehearsals in order to take care of some of those desiring to belong. Later on, when the auditorium was extended toward the street and a balcony was added, more members were admitted and still there was a waiting list. Finally, beginning with the season of 1919-20 it was decided to give two regular performances, on Friday and Saturday, as well as the dress rehearsal on Thursday. The regular performances were followed by a supper and by dancing until one o'clock on Friday and until midnight on Saturday. The notice announcing this change again stresses the existence of a long waiting list.

From the beginning the club attracted talented actors and actresses, many of whom went on to become well known on Broadway and in Hollywood. Josephine Sherwood, for years a star on Broadway as Josephine Hull, first played with us in 1895 while a student at Radcliffe and appeared regularly throughout her college days. Harry Woodruff, later the star in Brown of Harvard, played leads for several years. Winthrop Ames and Vinton Freedley became successful New York producers. Eleanor Wesselhoeft went to Hollywood as did Hamilton MacFadden. Dorothy Sands, our director in the early twenties, is well established on Broadway, and T. S. Eliot, who played in The New Lady Bantock, is now famous as a poet, essayist, and playwright. Ed Massey, director and actor, became a director in New York. Francis Cleveland organized the Barnstormers in Tamworth, N.H., in 1930 and is still going strong. Many others went on to summer theaters: Charles S. Howard, Edward P. Goodnow, who also went to Hollywood, Robert Wallston, Irving Locke, Sidney Ball, John Stanley, Amy de G. Hall, Lily Jones, Elizabeth Sever, and Jean Goodale. Eleanor Holmes Hinkley, a club member who wrote two of our plays, was the author of Dear Jane, which was in Eva Le Gallienne's repertoire. There were many others who could have been successes on the professional stage if they had chosen such a career.

On the business end, the C.S.D.C. was from 1890 to 1919 an informal organization conducted by a self-perpetuating executive committee of

thirteen. In 1919 the club was incorporated and Mr. Charles N. Cogswell was elected president, a position he held until his death in 1941. To his tact, humor, unfailing interest and encouragement belong what honor and success the club attained after he took office. And he needed all the tact and humor he possessed. The club was run by a board of seven directors, who were elected by the active committee of twenty-five members elected by the club at large. Previously the active committee was appointed by the executive committee and they were pledged to take part in any performance when called upon by the proper authority. The active committee elected by the club at large was under no such compulsion. Their only official function was to elect the directors and officers, but their unofficial function was to criticize the plays, the casting, the productions, or anything else that came to mind. Also the annual meeting, held in the spring, became more of a social event than a discussion of policy. Attendance was quite punctual but early adjournment, while desirable, was nearly impossible. But if early adjournment of the active committee was difficult, it was even more difficult when the directors met to choose and cast a play. There were two members who would never agree; what one liked the other one disliked. So we would end up discussing half a dozen plays and finally agreeing on a compromise. Then the real discussion commenced — who would be asked to play in it. Sometime after midnight a cast was selected and different individuals were allotted the task of persuading the selected people to play. Invariably, especially if it was a large cast, there would be some refusals and this would entail either much telephoning or another meeting. I can remember occasions when we had to discard one play because we could not cast it and start all over on a second one. Meanwhile time was running out. Once we put on a play with rehearsals every night for two weeks. Somehow the plays went on, some good, some bad, but the majority were pretty good.

In the middle twenties, when Mr. G. P. Baker, one of our earliest actors, went to New Haven to found the Yale School of Drama, we inherited from his 47 Workshop three excellent directors, Dorothy Sands, Edward Massey, and Edward Goodnough, and a number of competent, well-trained actors. The next decade may well be called the Golden Age of the Dramatic Club. Under the stimulus of these directors and with the talent then available we put on at least one ambitious performance a year,

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starting with East is West in 1925. The scene was a loveboat on the Yangtze River which we borrowed from the old St. James Theater — at least we thought we had borrowed it, but when we tried to return it they refused to take it back and we were saddled with a large love-boat that nobody wanted. In 1926 we gave "A gala revival of Fashion — the sensational success of 1845." Then came You and I in 1927, Hay Fever in 1928, The Mask and the Face in 1929. I have in my yard two climbing roses that were stage properties in that show. In 1930 we did Outward Bound, The Purple Mask in 1931 with 37 people in the cast, Gold in the Hills in 1932, The Trial of Mary Dugan and The Barker in the season of 1933-34, and Silas the Chore Boy in 1935.

There were many other excellent performances besides the ones mentioned above but never such a run of spectacular successes. Incidentally a list of all the plays from 1890 to 1951 is in the exhibits.

In The Devil's Host Jack Stanley, who was playing the lead, telephoned me one Monday — the first performance was to be on Thursday — to say he was on his way to the hospital for an appendectomy. We telephoned Francis Cleveland in Tamworth. He arrived on Tuesday and somehow or other learned his lines. He had difficulty learning his business, especially in one scene where he was to hand cocktail glasses to all the people on the stage, and the order in which he did it was very important. As he handed the glass to each person, that one would whisper where to go next. Of course the audience never knew it and the play was a big success.

Not so successful was the time I was pressed into service in The Yeomen of the Guard because I was a quick study and did not have to sing much. A week or two after the play a friend who had been in the audience said to me, "Dick, I will go to see you act any time, but for Heaven's sake don't try to sing." I agreed.

Not all of our difficulties were caused by such emergencies. There was the time in The Mystery Man when someone forgot to take a pair of handcuffs off Jack Howard. In the middle of a scene with him I saw him suddenly hold two manacled wrists up in the air. I don't remember exactly how we got out of that, but someone came on and freed him in time for his next bit of business. We had all kinds of difficulty in that play. We had a new young man playing the lead. In the first act he skipped about ten pages. I picked up the cue he gave me and we went on

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until I realized what had happened and we went back to where he had skipped. He had passed over the first entrance of the leading lady and completely eliminated a small part played by Gushing Toppan. Before we got through that act we had played part of it three times. The third time the audience burst out laughing. It was not funny to us.

In the first act of Silas the Chore Boy Lily Jones had to shoo two hens off the stage. One of the hens got on a fence post and refused to move. Lily had to pick up the bird and throw her off-stage where she was caught by a stage hand. We had a livelier bird the next night that ran all over the stage before Lily finally chased her off.

In Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary Sally Carleton had a very quick change. The scene was laid in the garden of an English country house. When her cue came to enter, Mrs. Carleton did not appear, leaving the Newbegin brothers Edward and Henry stranded. They covered beautifully until Edward went into the house to look for her. He came out again saying, "She'll be right out," just as she appeared coming through the garden. Someone had moved her shoes, which caused her to be late.

There was scarcely a performance when something did not go wrong, usually without the knowledge of the audience. No one knew that the reason the curtain was late in The Trial of Mary Dugan was because one of the men had forgotten to bring down his stage trousers and had to go home for them.

Sometimes our difficulty was with the scenery or the properties. In Sleeping Dogs Edward Newbegin was supposed to pick up a large volume from the piano but someone had carelessly thrown a newspaper over it. He covered up very well and pretended to go upstairs for it. While he was "upstairs" someone else found the book. In The Purple Mask I was supposed to come into a room from a balcony through French windows. The stage crew had put up a pair of French windows that were nailed solidly in place. I finally ran around and came in the door to find Betty Darling standing in the middle of the stage wondering what was going to happen. We were so glad to see each other that we dashed madly into each other's arms with a bump that almost knocked us over.

Some of the plays were quite ambitious, occasionally sensational. In The Admirable Crichton one of our better actresses walked on stage clad in a rather short leopard skin with no shoes or stockings — quite a sensa-

tion in those days and a fine conversation piece for the rest of the season.

In the same play the scene called for a tropical rainstorm just before the end of an act. Mr. Cogswell and Philip Davis sat up all one night driving nail holes in a lead pipe connected by

a hose to a faucet off-stage. When the water was turned on the rain was very realistic — too much so. Several ladies sitting in the front row in their low-cut evening dresses were seen slapping their bare chests and arms. The holes in the pipe were not all straight and the cold water was shooting into the audience.

*Miss Alberta Houghton used to give a tea at her house for the actors and backstage workers with their spouses. At those teas we would go over all the mishaps. After her death in 1931 there was always a cast party at the house of one of the workers. Somewhere we picked up a sort of theme song to which Dudley Clapp would write lyrics, not always complimentary, about the play just finished which we would sing to the theme song. Like the anonymous verses at the old Dramatic Club picnic these songs caused a good deal of hilarity. Unfortunately the verses were too long and topical to include in this paper but a stanza will serve as an example. In *Dear Ruth* a new girl, Gail Whitehead, had to be kissed by one of the boys in the play. Neither of them knew how to do it so that it would look well from the audience. I was directing the play and, as Gail was most attractive, I was glad to coach her. About this Dudley wrote, "Now Gail never knew all the fun she was missing, till Coach gave her ten easy lessons in kissing." You will find several of these poems displayed around the room.*

We were always giving extra performances for some benefit or other. In the spring of 1941 we took Theater to Camp Devens. We were told to get there early as we would have supper there. We were given coffee and doughnuts. The hall was filled with convalescent wounded soldiers. There were no programmes. An officer announced that we would give Theater, a play in three acts. He neglected to say that Acts I and II each had two scenes. At the end of the first scene in Act II, the soldiers, believing the play was over, all left the auditorium and men were sent out to bring them back. The same thing happened at the end of the second scene. After all it was a play in three acts and they had seen the curtain close four times. But the real fun came at the end. The leading lady, Gene Knudsen, was supposed to go off the stage leaving her maid, Amy

Hall, to stay on stage and light a cigarette. Amy was laughing so hard at something she saw in the wings that every time she tried to light a cigarette it would go out. The boys all over the hall began to yell, "Draw in, sister, draw in — don't blow." She finally got it lighted and the curtain came down to roars of laughter and loud applause.

*In 1926 we put on *The Thirteenth Chair* for the benefit of the Cambridge Social Union. The play required that a knife suddenly drop from the ceiling and stick in a table-top. We had rigged an ingenious arrangement that worked perfectly on eight nights. But on the last night the knife came down, struck the table and glanced off, headed for the people in the front row of the audience. Fortunately it landed in the footlight trough.*

*As you know, we had a golden anniversary dinner to start our fiftieth year in 1939 followed by a short one-act play in which one of the parts was played by Hope Faxon, the great granddaughter of the J. B. Greenough who started the original amateur dramatics — four generations of one family. For our first play that year we gave *Trelawney of the Wells*, a revival of a play given in 1901. It was a most successful production followed by a supper*

and birthday cake in Mifflin Hall, at which many of the original cast were present. Our last production that season was Our Town, probably the best performance we ever gave.

Meanwhile in 1929 the depression had occurred, fortunately after most of our membership dues had been paid for the season, so we were still fairly prosperous. But beginning in the fall of 1930 the membership fell off to such an extent that there was a grave question of our ability to continue. We did want to complete our fifty years and adopted all sorts of measures to keep going. To economize, we changed our programmes to a single sheet and cut out our suppers. Mrs. Munroe Day and Mrs. Charles Bolster formed membership committees that were very successful in getting new members. We had teas for new members and tryouts for actors in Brattle Hall. But a combination of events made our efforts futile. Of course, the subway which opened in 1911 had made access to Boston theaters very easy. The Harvard Dramatic Club and the Radcliffe Idler took the time of many of the undergraduates on whom we had relied for juvenile and ingenue parts. The tax commissioner insisted we pay an admission tax. Financial troubles forced the Social Union first to rent and finally to sell Brattle Hall. We had no home, no place to rehearse,

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to store our properties and costumes, to put on our plays. We became nomadic. I had succeeded Mr. Cogswell as president of the club and found it increasingly difficult to find people to take the place of all the old stand-bys who had left or retired.

In 1949 we played Dear Brutus in the Agassiz Theater at Radcliffe, followed by Miranda on the stage of the Longfellow School. In the spring of 1950 we put on our play in the Belmont Town Hall — The Winslow Boy, starring Alec Robey who had succeeded me as president. We ought to have stopped then and there after such a great success and we seriously discussed such a move, but we did want to finish sixty years. We started our sixtieth season with Pygmalion in the Belmont Town Hall, followed by Ladies in Retirement and Two Blind Mice, both in the Masonic Temple on Massachusetts Avenue. By that time it was obvious that no one, neither actors nor audience, liked to go jumping about from one place to another. It had become more and more difficult to get new members or even to keep the ones we had, and also to get new blood for the acting force. We missed the old familiar advantages and disadvantages of Brattle Hall with its memories and traditions, we missed the musty smell of grease-paint and dust. More than anything we missed the audiences. At the meeting of the active committee in the spring of 1949 Sidney Ball, for years one of our most competent and enjoyable actors, had been elected president.

I am sorry that it is impossible to mention all the people who contributed so much to the success of the club. They all worked hard and willingly with no thought of reward except the fun they got out of it. But some great plays and players stick in my memory — The Adventure of Lady Ursula with Sally Schaff as an ideal Lady Ursula; Charles Cogswell, that incomparable pantomimist, as the Eyesore in Pomander Walk; Captain Applejack with Arthur Howard; Amy Hall in Outward Bound, a fine production of a fine play; The Guardsman with Emily Hale; The Trial of Mary Dugan with Charles Howard and Corlis Wilbur; Henry Newbegin in The Barker; Jean Goodale in Stage Door; Our Town with Irving Locke as the commentator; Elinor Hopkinson in Papa Is All; and Alec Robey in Death Takes

a Holiday, and in The Winslow Boy. And don't forget the secretaries, those unsung heroes and heroines without whose constant labors the club could not have lasted sixty years. I hope the audiences got as much pleasure out of watching our plays as we did in

presenting them and as I have had going through the old records and programs.

The end was inevitable. In October 1950 the active committee rather reluctantly voted to discontinue activities. At the ripe old age of sixty the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club, one of the three oldest dramatic clubs in the country, quietly faded away.

LIST OF PLAYS BY SEASONS

| | |
|--|---|
| 1890-1891 | Esmeralda |
| A Fool for Luck | Trial by Jury |
| My Lady's Jester | |
| The Open Gate <i>and</i> | 1895-1896 |
| Allow me, Madam | The Schoolmistress |
| Old Love Letters | The Sorcerer |
| <i>and</i> Tears | Gringoire |
| | The Ladies' Battle |
| 1891-1892 | |
| None so Deaf as Those Who Won't | 1896-1897 |
| Hear <i>and</i> Two Strings to Her | David Garrick |
| Bow | The Gondoliers |
| Les Petits Oiseaux | The Belle's Stratagem |
| Our Regiment | Man Proposes <i>and</i> Cicely's Cavalier |
| Courtship of Miles Standish <i>and</i> | |
| A Sheep in Wolf's Clothing | 1897-1898 |
| | The Shaugraun |
| 1892-1893 | Les Mousquetaires |
| Honor Bound <i>and</i> Second Thoughts | The Provoked Husband |
| Our Boys | A Night Off |
| Lady Bountiful | |
| Box and Cox <i>and</i> Faint Heart Never | 1898-1899 |
| Won Fair Lady | Engaged |
| | My Lord in Livery <i>and</i> |
| 1893-1894 | The Loan of a Lover |
| The Parvenu | Diplomacy |
| An Offering to Folly | Our Regiment |
| The Abbe Constantin | |
| A Slap in the Dark | 1899-1900 |
| | Rosedale |
| 1894-1895 | Dandy Dick |
| She Stoops To Conquer | The Lancers |
| On Guard | The Romancers |

HALL: THE CAMBRIDGE SOCIAL DRAMATIC CLUB

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1900-1901

The Amazons
 The Jilt
 Nance Oldfield *and*
 Office Hours 1 to 3
 The Gray Mare

1901-1902

Trelawny of the Wells
 The Rivals
 The Spark *and* Lend Me
 Five Shillings
 Love on Crutches

1902-1903

Dan'l Druce
 The Merry Wives of Winsor
 (50th performance)
 The Saffron Trunk
 Nancy and Company

1903-1904

The Importance of Being Earnest
 The Railroad of Love
 The Romance of a Poor Young Man
 Miss Hobbs

1904-1905

The Story of Bella
 Liberty Hall
 Jim, the Penman
 Pensioner Scholler

1905-1906

Because She Loved Him So
 The Passing Regiment

1906-1907

The Hobby Horse
 The Tyranny of Tears
 The Court of Love

1907-1908

The Heir at Law
 Mollentrave on Women
 At The White Horse Tavern

1908-1909

Miss Elizabeth's Prisoner
 You Never Can Tell
 My Lord in Livery *and*
 The Land of Heart's Desire

1909-1910

Alice Sit-by-the-Fire
 She Stoops to Conquer
 (75th performance)
 The Little Minister

1910-1911

Arms and the Man
 The Admirable Crichton
 The Professor's Love Story

1911-1912

The Second in Command
 The Maneuvers of Jane
 The Adventure of Lady Ursula

1912-1913

The House Next Door
 Merely Mary Ann
 The New Lady Bantock or Fanny
 and the Servant Problem

1913-1914

Jack Straw
 A Single Man
 The Workhouse Ward *and* Between
 the Soup and the Savory *and*
 Press Cuttings

1914-1915

Her Husband's Wife
 Green Stockings
 The Gondoliers

1915-1916

The Importance of Being Earnest
 The Perplexed Husband
 The Man on the Box

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1916-1917 | 1925-1926 |
| Seven Days | Minick |
| Mrs. Temple's Telegram | The Thirteenth Chair |
| Pomander Walk | Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary |
| 1917-1918 | 1926-1927 |
| Eliza Comes to Stay <i>and</i> | Fashion |
| Joint Owners in Spain | Lilies of the Field |
| Between the Lines | Sleeping Dogs (125th performance) |
| 1918-1919 | 1927-1928 |
| Officer 666 | White Wings |
| (100th performance) | The Bride |
| What Every Woman Knows | You and I |
| 1919-1920 | 1928-1929 |
| The Black Feather | The Dover Road |
| The Climax | Hay Fever |
| Bunty Pulls the Strings | The Mask and the Face |
| 1920-1921 | 1929-1930 |
| It Pays to Advertise | The Mystery Man |
| The Lucky One | On Approval |
| Spreading the News | Outward Bound |
| 1921-1922 | 1930-1931 |
| Seven Keys to Baldpate | The Fourth Wall |
| The Red Feathers <i>and</i> | The Guardsman |
| Magic | The Purple Mask |
| Tea for Three | 1931-1932 |
| 1922-1923 | The Cat and the Canary |
| Rollo's Wild Oat | The First Year |
| The Duke of Killicrankie | Gold in the Hills |
| The Successful Calamity | 1932-1933 |
| 1923-1924 | Bird in Hand |
| The Boomerang | Love at Second Sight |
| Mr. Pim Passes By | The Climbers |
| Captain Applejack | 1933-1934 |
| 1924-1925 | The Trial of Mary Dugan |
| The Torchbearers | Tons of Money |
| Little Mary | The Barker |
| East is West | |

HALL: THE CAMBRIDGE SOCIAL DRAMATIC CLUB

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1934-1935

Berkeley Square
The Devil's Host
Silas, the Choreboy

1935-1936

The Yeoman of the Guard
(150th performance)
Payment Deferred
Petticoat Fever

1936-1937

The Misleading Lady
Whistling in the Dark
The Circle

1937-1938

The Crooked Billet
Her Master's Voice
Stage Door

1938-1939

Laburnam Grove
Call it a Day
Personal Appearance

1939-1940

Trelawney of the Wells
Three Men on a Horse
Our Town

1940-1941

Love From a Stranger
Accent on Youth
Tovarich

1941-1942

George Washington Slept Here
The First Mrs. Fraser
Return Engagement

1942-1943

Lady in Waiting
The Ghost Train
Theater

1943-1944

Ten Minute Alibi
Ring Around Elizabeth
(200th performance)

1944-1945

The Man Who Changed His Name
Death Takes a Holiday
The Constant Wife

1945-1946

Papa Is All
Claudia
The Lady Has a Heart

1946-1947

The Hasty Heart
Arsenic and Old Lace
No Time for Comedy

1947-1948

Dear Ruth
Blithe Spirit
State of The Union
(Last performance in Brattle Hall)

1948-1949

Dear Brutus
Miranda
The Winslow Boy

1949-1950

Pygmalion
Ladies in Retirement
Two Blind Mice

1788-1842

By JEANNETTE E. GRAUSTEIN

Read April 26, 1960

SCIENCE and its technological offspring so dominate today's scene that it is difficult to grasp how relatively young they are as parts of the college curriculum — excepting, of course, mathematics. Before the Revolution the only scientific subject taught at Harvard besides mathematics was natural philosophy, which consisted mainly of astronomy and physics. The Hollis Professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, founded in 1727, was held for forty-one years in the mid-eighteenth century (1737-1779) by John Winthrop, Harvard's earliest productive scientist.

When, near the close of the Revolution, a medical school was started at Harvard, instruction in chemistry became as essential as anatomy and medicine. A course in *Materia Medica*, formed a minor part of medical training: since the chief medicinal materials at that time were plants with real or reputed physiological effects, it was desirable for the doctor-in-training to learn to recognize such plants. Thus it came about that many of the early students of plants were physicians and that the first undergraduate instruction in botany was given by a member of the medical faculty. Botany, starting as the handmaid of medicine, eventually grew to the stature of a science. It did not at first usually form a separate course, but at most American colleges was coupled with zoology and sometimes also with geology and mineralogy, to make a course called natural history.

The Medical School of Pennsylvania and that of King's College (Columbia) were begun in colonial times, but the latter conferred no degrees and did not survive the Revolution. Although instruction in medicine at Harvard had been anticipated as early as President Dunster's day, the first move toward instrumenting this ambition was delayed until the time of President Willard. A detailed plan for the first of Harvard's graduate schools, "The Medical Institution of Harvard University," was approved by the Corporation in 1782. Within a few months a faculty of

three professors was appointed: Dr. John Warren, H.C. 1771, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery; Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse (1754-1846), whose medical degree was received at the University of Leyden in 1780, Professor of Theory and Practice of Physic; Dr. Aaron Dexter, H.C. 1766, Professor of Chemistry and *Materia Medica*. Holden Chapel, which the student body had outgrown, was modified to provide lecture space for the Medical School. The course was for three years with lectures starting each November and continuing for a period of fourteen weeks. The growth of the school at first was very slow; the first degrees in medicine, two in number, were not conferred until 1788, and for the first fifteen years the graduates averaged two and a third a year.

The Corporation felt financially able to start the Medical School, having received a bequest therefor from Dr. Ezekial Hersey, H.C. 1728, and his widow. In a few years a bequest from Dr. Abner Hersey, brother of Ezekial, permitted the establishment of the anatomy and

physic Professorships as Hersey Professorships, and William Erving, H.C. 1753, who died in 1791, endowed the Erving Professorship of Chemistry and Materia Medica.

In the earliest years no salary seems to have been paid and although each professor received his students' fees there were few students. The situation probably presented no difficulties to Dr. Warren and Dr. Dexter, successfully established in private practice in Boston, but Dr. Waterhouse faced financial problems in moving from Rhode Island to Cambridge, a small village already supplied with the services of two physicians, Dr. William Gamage and Dr. Timothy L. Jennison. So it is hardly surprising that, having received no salary in three years, Dr. Waterhouse sent in his resignation on September 6, 1786. It was not accepted because the Corporation observed that he remained in Cambridge. About a year later they voted that the medical professors were to receive "a moiety of the income" – presumably of the Hersey Fund.

For Dr. Waterhouse an additional source of income was found. In the spring of 1788 the Corporation voted that Dr. Waterhouse was to deliver annually a course of lectures upon natural history, an elective for seniors who presented written parental permission and paid a guinea fee to the lecturer. At the same time a loan of £20 was voted to Waterhouse, evidently to pay for printing a synopsis of the course, for he was to repay the amount, with interest, from the sale of such a pamphlet.

This was not a new field to Dr. Waterhouse, as he had been appointed Professor of Natural History at Rhode Island College (Brown University) in 1784, and his name remained on the faculty list there into 1791. He evidently gave courses in natural history at least twice, the first series delivered in the state house at Providence. It has been claimed that this was the first course in natural history ever given in the United States. This activity of Dr. Waterhouse doubtless led to Professor Wigglesworth's suggestion that he be appointed to give a similar course to Harvard undergraduates.

The new talent available at the Medical School made feasible also the addition to the undergraduate curriculum of a course of lectures in chemistry by Dr. Dexter. Probably Dexter's most productive pupil was Parker Cleaveland, H.C. 1797, later Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Bowdoin College, who developed into a world-renowned mineralogist through the publication in 1816 of a sound and enlightened text on mineralogy and geology. Evidently Cleaveland did not take Waterhouse's course in natural history, for he once stated that when he went to Bowdoin he did not know that there was more than one kind of rock in the world. In 1820 when the Harvard Corporation was planning to add mineralogy to the college curriculum as a separate course, the position of instructor was offered to Cleaveland; after mulling over the matter for more than eight months he decided to remain at Bowdoin. It is not apparent that any of Waterhouse's pupils embraced any phase of natural history as a vocation or an avocation.

Dr. Waterhouse's course in natural history was offered annually for twenty-two consecutive years. The first course of twelve lectures, held in the autumn of 1788, was given gratis. The next year five seniors took the course, and by 1795 forty-one were enrolled. Since the graduating classes of this period occasionally numbered one or two less than thirty and only three times were above fifty, the number of elections was presumably gratifying. In 1805 Waterhouse attempted to increase the fee from a guinea to ten dollars but was balked

by the Corporation. A pamphlet printed in 1810 by Hilliard & Metcalf outlines the content of the course in its final form of twenty-five lectures. The first lecture was introductory, the second discussed opinions concerning the creation of the world, the next four were about simple matter, "efficient cause," divisions of science, and the transfer of inert to organized matter. The

*seventh through the tenth meetings were devoted to botany. Topics discussed were the parts of a seed plant, Linnaeus and his system of classification of plants, agriculture, and directions for forming a Hortus siccus (an herbarium). The next nine lectures covered the animal kingdom, the last three dealing with man. Four periods were allotted to geology and mineralogy. The last lectures were entitled: "On the Art of reading the Great Volume of Nature," "The French System de la Nature," and "Deity." Except for the mineralogical aspects and the finale the outline is not dissimilar to that of a biology course of the present day. Theodore Hornberger, writing in 1945 on *Scientific Thought in the American Colleges, 1638–1800*, found Waterhouse's work "remarkable for its broad, philosophical approach." The lectures were very popular. Being lively, full of anecdote and humor, and perhaps spiced with vituperative phrases, they were entertaining to the students. At least Sidney Willard, the president's son, found them so.*

The course, however, was a source of perennial annoyance to Samuel Webber, the Hollis Professor of Natural Philosophy, whose philosophy chamber, well supplied with its own experimental apparatus, was invaded by stuffed birds, animals in preserving fluid, dried plants, the bulky mineral cabinet, and endless other paraphernalia of natural history. The college librarian, housed across the hallway, finally made a formal objection. To this Waterhouse entered a detailed written defense describing his perfect classroom etiquette: he was always the first in and last out of the room, turned the carpet up and never lectured in rainy weather, and used the room only eighteen hours during a year. In spite of his tale of exemplary care, Waterhouse was evicted from the philosophy chamber in 1800 "without a hearing." He lectured thereafter in Holden, the quarters assigned to the Medical School. This necessitated transferring the course from the autumn to the spring term, another grievance to the doctor, whose thrift was amazing. He calculated that the students were less inclined to add electives to their programs in the spring and that he was therefore out of pocket about 50 per cent by the change.

The repetition of a public lecture of Waterhouse was periodically requested by the students. (A public lecture was one open to all students of the University.) It was printed with one of those cumbersome titles which are characteristic of the leisurely past: "Cautions to young persons concerning health, in a public lecture delivered at the close of the medi-

cal course in the chapel at Cambridge, . . . containing the general doctrine of dyspepsia and chronic diseases; shewing the evil tendency of a use of tobacco upon young persons; most especially the pernicious effects of smoking cigars. With observation on the use of ardent

and vinous spirits." It seems probable that the request for the lecture was one of those perennial undergraduate jokes a mere reference to which convulses the community. One would like to know what the students called this popular production. At least five editions of it were printed. Dr. Waterhouse sent copies "to most of the colleges in the Union" and to Dr. Benjamin Rush, John Adams, and other distinguished friends, who praised the lecture warmly. During the four academic years that Waterhouse was a medical student at the University of Leyden he lived with the family of John Adams, who was then minister at the Hague; the friendships formed then never waned.

Apart from the small unpleasantnesses rising from Dr. Waterhouse's persistence in holding his natural history class in the philosophy chamber until he was finally routed in 1800, his relations with the administration were equable. In 1793 the Corporation made financially possible his ultimate purchase of the old property on the north side of the Common which he already occupied. His six children were born there. The title passed into his hands early in 1809. The great success of his bold introduction in 1800 of Dr. Jenner's method of vaccination with cow-pox, using it on all members of his household, dramatically increased his prestige through the country. Some say that this master stroke rendered Waterhouse insufferable; he certainly was provocatively positive at all times, and inclined to be illiberal in his judgments. However, he always attributed the quarrels in which he became increasingly involved to resentment over his political convictions, very unwelcome in a community of Federalists.

Dr. Waterhouse recorded that he began collecting minerals in 1790, evidently to use to illustrate his lectures on natural history. He wrote of this activity to his friend Dr. John Coakley Lettsom in London, who encouraged the effort by sending over "a small box of minerals," which was followed by larger quantities of specimens and a donation of ten guineas for the promotion of natural history. Dr. Lettsom, born in the West Indies, was an enthusiastic admirer of the United States, which had "seen a Printer's boy become the political arbiter of Europe and America"

and "a planter rise to the head of the first empire in the world." He wrote to the corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture in 1794:

I am truly happy to see a spirit of enquiry after manly and rational objects, so prevalent among you. By diversifying useful pursuits, the mind acquires increased energy, and gradually opens an infinity of new enjoyments and pleasures that improve and dignify character.

A group of polished marbles which Mr. Bowdoin was unwilling to give to the college was begged by Waterhouse for the cabinet. He solicited a collection of salts from England, and his uncle, Dr. Peter Oliver, donated fossils. "The old French Consul" in Boston, M. le Tombe, saw the collection of perhaps five hundred specimens at Waterhouse's house, and after he returned to France interested himself in having the Agency of Mines of the French Republic send minerals for the cabinet. The addition of these specimens in 1795 to those already amassed made the Harvard cabinet "the richest and most extensive collection of minerals in the United States." Waterhouse regarded himself as its creator and Dr. Lettsom as its greatest benefactor.

At this time the Corporation voted that Dr. Waterhouse be authorized and desired to take charge of the cabinet of minerals; that he arrange it and attend all persons who might wish to visit it. He was allowed a compensation of \$40 yearly as Keeper of the Cabinet.

Dissatisfaction over the performance of Waterhouse's duties arose twice — first in 1801 under President Willard, and again six years later when President Webber was in office. The earlier difficulty seemed to be in justifying the expense of his services as curator, for in his reply Waterhouse enumerated his time-consuming efforts in adding to the collection, and the many visitors who spent hours or all day examining the specimens. Timothy Dwight, President of Yale, studied the collection closely in 1797. It was indubitably growing, for by mid-1860 it contained 1600 specimens. Toward the end of that year President Webber and Judge Davis, appointed by the Corporation to investigate the care given to the cabinet, failed to find many of the specimens, noted that some lacked labels and that all of the specimens were not in arrangement. The last two complaints seem hardly avoidable in view of the youthfulness of mineralogy and Dr. Waterhouse's limited knowledge of a rapidly

expanding subject. On this occasion also it was discovered that one of the required letters of parental permission for the course in natural history was not on file.

In 1809 Waterhouse's services as custodian of the cabinet were dispensed with, and the ruling of 1788 that he was to deliver annually a course in natural history was rescinded. Both these steps were incidental to an enthusiastic effort to broaden and improve undergraduate instruction at Harvard and to bring the courses offered into line with trends of the times.

Early in 1805 subscriptions of \$31,333.33 had been secured under the auspices of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture to endow a professorship of natural history at Harvard and to create a botanic garden. The chief donors intended the appointment to go to the man whom they regarded as the most eminent in the field — William Dandridge Peck (1763-1822), H.C. 1782, who is credited as being the first American to make a formal contribution to systematic zoology. When Waterhouse, always alert to news and rumors, heard of the project he promptly addressed a "Memorial" to the Corporation setting forth his vested interest in the subject that he had been developing and fostering at Harvard for seventeen years. As the new professorship was in control of the donors, all that the Corporation could do was to accept it as outlined or refuse it, which was unthinkable. However, there was a reprieve for Waterhouse, in that Peck, sent to Europe in preparation for his new position, remained there for three years, returning too late in the spring of 1808 to take over the course in natural history. In 1809 the agile and experienced teacher got the jump on Peck by meeting the class as usual. Under the circumstances the best the Corporation could manage was to revoke their ruling of 1788 for the future. So for five years longer than he might have expected, Waterhouse continued to give his pet course, which yielded amenities for his family's comfort.

Events painful to Waterhouse marred 1810. In addition to the loss of his undergraduate course, his life was further upset by the moving of the lectures of the Medical School to Boston with the requirement that he reside there. However, the latter situation turned out to be not a prolonged trial, for on May 14, 1812, following a hearing, Waterhouse was

dismissed from the Medical Faculty. He always claimed that he was "set adrift" because of his political faith -- he was a militant Whig among

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determined Federalists — but to the writer the fault seems rather to have been Waterhouse's complete lack of esprit de corps. He even assisted a group attempting to establish a competing medical school! In addition, he had a mischievous spirit — a daemon seemed to drive him to irritate others, especially associates, for the amusement it afforded him.

He lived at his "handsome seat" on the Common for thirty-four years after all connections with Harvard were severed — he stated that he was not allowed to consult the mineralogical cabinet nor the library — and here he busied himself happily with his correspondence and in his garden, going hither and yon, keeping up with events, never abashed, always eager. During part of this time he held a federal appointment as hospital surgeon of local military establishments, a sinecure bestowed on him by President Jefferson in recognition of the inestimable value of his introduction of vaccination and continued by President Madison.

He lived to be over ninety and, of course, was known to everyone in the village. Some of the gifted children who grew up there — James Russell Lowell, Charles Eliot Norton, Thomas Wentworth Higginson and the Holmeses — recalled him as an entertaining citizen who made a sharp impression. Oliver Wendell Holmes described him as

... A brisk, dapper old gentleman, with hair tied in a ribbon behind and I think powdered, marching smartly about with his gold-headed cane, with a look of questioning sagacity, and an utterance of oracular gravity, — the good people of Cambridge listened to his learned talk when they were well, and sent for one of the other two doctors when they were sick.

The Visitors of the Massachusetts Professorship of Natural History were full of enthusiasm for the new foundation and greatly pleased by Peck's ultimate acceptance of the chair, for he had been loathe to leave the seclusion of his pleasant home on the Artichoke River in Newbury. He was widely known in New England for his paper on four new species of fishes, read to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1794, and for his pioneer work in entomology, especially for a paper on the Canker-Worm which won a gold medal in 1795 from the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture. His ability and good sense inspired confidence, and his modest, amiable nature made everyone his friend. The Pecks were an old Boston family of shipbuilders, and Peck's mother was a Jackson. Peck suited the community to which he was called.

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It is noteworthy as being characteristic of the period that Peck, like Parker Cleaveland, and like Thomas Nuttall, who was to succeed him, was completely self-taught in his chosen field. Peck's interest in animals and plants had a most unusual beginning in an imperfect

copy of Linnaeus's Systema Naturae which he found washed up at Kittery from a wrecked ship.

The establishment of the new professorship was the occasion for a realignment of subjects in the field of natural history. The Massachusetts Professor was to cover zoology and botany. Mineralogy, which involved chemical analysis, was now delegated to the Professor of Chemistry.

The visitors of the new professorship wanted Peck to go abroad for a year to study the botanic gardens of Europe, to find a gardener, and to get seeds, plants, books, and equipment. After the induction ceremonies Peck sailed promptly on the Galen, which carried also a son of Benjamin Vaughan, whose relatives in London immediately brought Peck into acquaintance with the leading naturalists of England — Sir Joseph Banks, Sir James Edward Smith, and William Jackson Hooker. Peck also carried a bundle of letters of introduction to important Europeans from cosmopolitan Bostonians. In Sweden, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, and France he made warm friends of the same caliber as those he made in England. Because of illness his intended year extended to two, and then somehow or other ran on to three. Peck was receiving his salary of \$1200 annually and expenses, but this was a good investment in intangibles, because the impression Peck made on the scientists of Europe resulted in wide recognition of Harvard as a leading center of natural history in America — rather it would have been a good investment if the endowment had been greater.

After the plans for laying out the garden were formulated, and effected, William Carter, the Yorkshire gardener whom Peck engaged in England, superintended the routine work. A conservatory was built in 1810-11 at the same time the Garden House was built for Peck and his bride, Harriet Hilliard, daughter of Timothy Hilliard, Abiel Holmes's predecessor at the First Church. The architect and builder of both buildings was young Ithiel Town (1784-1844), later famous for his beautiful Greek Revival structures. What "artist" it was who designed and built the Garden House had been forgotten until the receipted bill was

recently discovered in the files of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture. I am indebted to Mrs. Louise Emerson Carlisle for information concerning its existence. Heretofore Town's earliest known work was the "Center Church on the Green" at New Haven, which is dated 1812-14.

In 1818 at the request of the visitors Peck prepared a catalogue of the plants growing in the botanic garden. He also wrote several brief papers on the life-histories of insects which attack plants of economic importance such as oaks, locust, white pine, pear, and plum.

The course in natural history, an elective for upperclassmen, continued to be held in the spring. Peck had several students who later became important contributors to the field. We know that he taught Dr. Thaddeus William Harris, H.C. 1815, George Barrell Emerson, H.C. 1817, and William Oakes, H.C. 1820. It is more than likely that he had in his classes Francis Boott, H.C. 1810, Benjamin D. Greene, H.C. 1812, Ralph Waldo Emerson, H.C. 1821, and Charles Pickering, H.C. 1823, as well as many lesser future teachers or dabblers in natural science. Harris wrote to Thomas Say, who like himself was an early student of the insects, "Professor Peck taught me to define the species in Latin & I have generally adhered to his

*advice though it savours somewhat of pedantry." Contact with Peck's knowledge was keenly anticipated by freshman George B. Emerson, who was later to write *Trees of Massachusetts for the State Geological Report*. He recorded "The first visit I made, after being established in college, was to the Botanic Garden, to learn from Prof. Peck the names of the plants I had examined in Wells [Maine] for which I had found no name. He recognized them instantly from my description." Although Oakes did not live to write his *Flora of New England*, no name was so firmly associated with the plants of the region throughout the nineteenth century as his. Boott published a magnificent monograph on *Carex*, a highly technical genus of the sedges. Pickering, the best all-round American biologist of his generation, was naturalist of the Wilkes Expedition, but his modesty was so extreme that he has received inadequate recognition.*

A signal event in Peck's life was his expedition up Mount Washington in 1804 with Dr. Manasseh Cutler, pastor at Hamilton, New England's earliest botanist. Twenty years before, in 1784, Dr. Cutler and Dr. Belknap, the historian of New Hampshire, had organized the first

*scientific ascent in the White Mountains. Cutler wanted to return, but for many years had been too occupied by his many duties as congressman and as a sponsor of the first settlement in the Ohio Territory. The party that made the 1784 ascent of the highest peak had reached the "Eastern Notch" on horseback; Peck and Cutler went as far as Lower Bartlett in the latter's chaise. Two "collegians" and a number of guides accompanied them up the mountain, following up Cutler River as did the earlier group. Other companions, including Nathaniel Bowditch, started the climb but turned back when they neared tree limit. On both ascents great care was taken to get readings for ascertaining the altitude of the summit. Peck got a fair collection of plants, although he always mourned some which he lost in descending a gully. Ten years later a German botanist, Frederick Pursh, who called on Peck at the garden, published the alpine species he had then been shown, naming one *Geum Peckii* for the collector. This beautiful little plant with large yellow flowers blossoms in late June and July in boggy spots on the Mount Washington range, where it was long considered to be endemic.*

*A rare fish which Peck described in 1794 was named by Dr. Storer about forty-five years later *Syngnathus Peckianus*, or Peck's Pipefish. Peck's most unique find, a minute insect parasitic on a wasp, determined by Kirby the great English entomologist as being the only species of a genus that is the only genus of its order, was named *Xenos Peckii*. A flowering plant of very limited distribution, an odd-looking fish, and a strange little insect perpetuate Peck's name as a naturalist.*

Peck drew the illustrations for his papers with an artistic hand. He also had a mechanical flair and he built his own microscope. After suffering a stroke, he designed an invalid's wheelchair which he could propel — evidently a novelty, for it was exhibited after his death at the Boston Museum. Peck did not recover from his third stroke, which occurred late in the summer of 1822 when he was fifty-nine years old.

Some of Peck's friends suggested that his lectures be published, probably with the thought of assisting his widow financially, but the committee which examined the lectures reported that they did not seem of sufficient interest. A hundred years or so later Dr. Thomas Barbour collected all the facts he could find about Peck and the early garden with the idea

of writing a biographical sketch, but the dearth of high adventure in the records caused him to drop the idea. He deposited the papers in

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the Harvard Archives. Since then another would-be biographer, primarily interested in John Peck the ship architect, father of the naturalist, making an exhaustive search for material, accumulated a surprising amount of information concerning the family, which has also come to rest unused in the Archives.

*After Peck's death it became very clear that the funds of the professorship had so decreased that they would not support a new incumbent. To preserve the garden the visitors decided to use the available funds for a curator who would be able to give lectures in natural history at the college. Such a person was found in Thomas Nuttall (1786-1859), at thirty-six years of age the first-ranking botanist in the United States and one with great interest in gardening. Nuttall was an Englishman who, after finishing an apprenticeship in his uncle's printing shop in Liverpool, washed his hands of commerce and prosperity in favor of the charms of the flora of the new world. This was a bitter disappointment to his uncle, who had been cherishing his own dreams — prompt retirement to enjoy his considerable wealth while Thomas took over some part of the management of the business. A compromise of some sort enabled Thomas to embark in 1808 for Philadelphia where, relying on his trade for support for the first two years, he quickly gained knowledge of local American plants. His industrious pursuit of botany won him opportunities to reach remote regions. In 1810 he was in the wilderness about Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan and the upper Mississippi River. In 1811 with the Astoria party he went 1600 miles up the Missouri River and spent the three summer months collecting there. In 1819 he was in imminent danger of leaving his bones on a tributary of the Arkansas River beyond army and trading posts. Before going to the Arkansas he had walked through large parts of Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, Georgia, northern and southern Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, had crossed the Appalachians in different areas; and had botanized on two occasions in North and South Carolina. His publication of the botanical observations he had made by the end of 1817, *Genera of North American Plants*, was the most important contribution of the period to American botany and gave Nuttall an international reputation. The unremitting industry attendant on this accomplishment is amazing, especially when one realized that at the time of the War of 1812 he was back in England for three and a half years. Such concentration of effort was characteristic of him.*

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Despite his scientific prestige Nuttall was poor. He lived precariously by selling seeds and plants to nurserymen in America and England and by giving courses of public lectures. (After the first two years in America he was not employed as a printer.) He was completely absorbed in his scientific interests — mineralogy and geology as well as botany. Although he was Spartan in his habits, the normal expenses of living were always with him. It must have been a financial relief to him to receive the regular salary of \$500 annually as curator of the garden and the \$100 allowed him by Harvard College for each course he gave in natural history. In addition he had the use of two rooms in the Garden House, a study on

the ground floor and a bedroom above it, and he evidently received the students' fees for the course in botany which he offered.

When Nuttall took over his duties at Cambridge in March, 1823, he was full of enthusiasm and evidently found his contacts with impressionable and eager young minds stimulating. In the spring term he had large courses in both natural history, which at this time was largely zoology, and in botany. During the spring vacation he took some students from South Carolina on a botanizing tour, during which they evidently climbed Mounts Monadnock and Ascutney. Shortly before commencement he went on a very successful prospecting trip for minerals in Worcester County with a young freshman, George Putnam. But routine and the confined circle of his daily round, as well as personal problems, soon reduced his high spirits and he seemed to lose some of his first enthusiasm for teaching the young.

*The teaching must have become a considerable burden. As the recitation system was still used at Harvard, the course in natural history supposedly consisted of quizzing the students on textbook assignments. A textbook written by a Scot, William Smellie's *Philosophy of Natural History*, was then universally used at the academies and colleges in the United States. The students called the course simply "Smellie." However, Nuttall, who had had dramatic views of the unique fauna of the western plains — villages of prairie-dogs; herds of thousands of buffalo, caribou, and antelopes; grizzlies, rattlers, eagles, and trumpeter swans — and who had acquaintance with milder animals in the southwest, doubtless alleviated the dullness of recitations by tall tales, or small ones, of animals unknown to Smellie. He would not have been a conventional teacher.*

The course in botany presented no challenge, because Nuttall had been giving public courses in botany for some years and must have had a synopsis well worked out. In 1827 he published a botanical textbook for the use of his students and a second, revised edition in 1830. A calf-bound copy with hand-colored plates which Nuttall presented to John Lowell, who with Peter Chardon Brooks and himself formed the Garden Committee, is now in Houghton Library. It bears Amy Lowell's bookplate.

Some recent writers have stated that Nuttall exhibited marked shyness, especially in the lecture room, picturing him as an extreme eccentric. There seem to have been no such contemporary views in Cambridge or Harvard. Even the students did not consider him singular except in his achievements. The seed from which the current extravagant stories of Nuttall's shyness have grown was probably sown by Asa Gray. When he took over the Garden House as his residence in 1844, he wrote to John Torrey:

...Mr. Nuttall...left some curious traces behind him. He was very shy of intercourse with his fellows, and having for his study the southeast room, and the one above for his bedroom, put in a trap-door in the floor of an upper connecting closet, and so by a ladder could pass between his rooms without the chance of being met in the passage or on the stairs. A flap hinged and buttoned in the door between the lower closet and the kitchen allowed his meals to be sent in on a tray without the chance of his being seen. A window he cut down into an outer door, and with a small gate in the board fence surrounding the garden, of which he alone had the key, he could pass in and out safe from encountering any human being.

The simple structural changes in the house had been made twenty years before, not for the reason Gray put forward but because the erstwhile pleasant domicile was being used as a boarding house. Even the Board of Visitors became entangled with one aggressive boarder. As Nuttall was a prodigious worker and usually absorbed in study, his need of protection from the forward, pretentious, and garrulous was readily appreciated by the Board of Visitors, who authorized the small expense involved. Gray evidently knew nothing of the circumstances and his hasty interpretation has had unfortunate results. Nuttall was aloof and taciturn when confronted with those whom he did not like, he was naturally modest and reserved, even retiring, but there is no evidence that he was

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genuinely shy. He himself believed that he was "very unhappy without society."

*He quickly became acquainted with and favorably known to his colleagues and to the naturalists of the region: Jacob Bigelow, Benjamin D. Greene, George B. Emerson, and William Oakes, botanists; Thaddeus William Harris and Nicholas M. Hentz, entomologists; John White Webster, Francis Alger, and Charles T. Jackson, mineralogists. He also made some good friends among the students and the townspeople. Charles Pickering, a senior when Nuttall arrived at Harvard and a student in the Medical School during the next three years, became a lifelong friend. Joseph E. Worcester, the lexicographer, found Nuttall companionable and a gratifying source of information concerning the West. Nuttall was evidently a favorite of Elizabeth Craigie, a nature enthusiast who loved plants, subscribed for Audubon's Folio Edition of *The Birds of America*, had a fine collection of shells which she left to Harvard College, and maintained an astonishing tolerance of insects, freely allowing them to defoliate annually her magnificent elms. At the sale of her personal property young Edward Tuckerman purchased a large oil painting of Nuttall done at her commission, which he presented later to the Gray Herbarium. It still hangs there, and near it stands a bust of Nuttall constructed from a life mask. The bust was presumably made by Susan Austin who, living with her mother at the Cooper-Austin House, was one of Nuttall's neighbors and evidently a good friend. The bust was discovered in the coach-house about 1918 and was secured for the Herbarium by its devoted librarian, Mary Day. Both painting and bust show a sensitive face marked by firmness.*

Nuttall was on good terms with his nearest neighbor, Job Wyeth, whose farm lay to the north of the garden; they discussed agricultural matters. The horticulturists of the area — Hovey of Cambridge, Winthrop of Brighton, and Kendrick of Newton — enjoyed his acquaintance. Hovey followed his later hybridizing work with rhododendrons with great interest. Nuttall's best friend in Cambridge was James Brown, clerk in the University Bookstore of William Hilliard, and later partner of Charles C. Little in the publishing firm of Little, Brown and Company. James Brown, Charles Pickering, and George Barrell Emerson visited Nuttall in England at Nutgrove, the country estate in Lancashire left to him by his uncle, where he spent his last years. His acquaintance through-

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out the Boston region was enlarged through his membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Boston Society of Natural History.

During his first year at Harvard he clashed with Dr. John White Webster, then a practicing physician in Boston. They both sought the lectureship in mineralogy which became vacant; Nuttall negotiated for it openly with Webster's encouragement, although Webster was secretly working to obtain it for himself. When Nuttall discovered the situation he wrote to a friend:

Who would have thought that my seeming friend Dr. Webster would have moved so far out of the honourable track as to endeavour to snatch from me this little additional employment and emolument, yet nothing is more certain than the fact of his endeavours to serve me, after all my confidence in him — this unexpected 'ill-turn?

He felt strongly that Webster's position was unpardonable, but within a year or so he contributed a series of papers to a journal of which Webster was an editor and owner.

At the garden he continuously made every effort to increase the number of species growing out of doors and in the greenhouse, and he published a few short botanical papers. Any comprehensive taxonomic work was impossible because an adequate botanical library and herbarium were not available in Cambridge. He probably had not anticipated the lack of these necessary tools and became dissatisfied under the handicaps of his situation. James Brown, who sympathized with his frustrations, suggested that he write a handbook of the American birds, moderately priced, something which had not been done. This was an interesting and stimulating undertaking which absorbed him for some years. The necessary observations were challenging and took him to enjoyable spots new to him. Numerous captive pets also instructed and entertained him during the years his attention centered on the birds. The finished work of two volumes was an important contribution to ornithology, useful for over seventy years. An enlarged edition was prepared in 1840 when Nuttall came to Boston to give the third series of Lowell Institute Lectures. The Nuttall Ornithological Club of Cambridge, the first such organization in the United States, was named in his honor forty years after his text was published.

Nuttall, consciously or subconsciously, was dedicated to the expansion

of knowledge — to finding and describing unknown species of plants that grew abundantly beyond the frontiers, and incidently to collecting new minerals, fossils, Mollusca, Crustacea, insects, fishes, reptiles, birds, and mammals for other specialists to study and name. It was he, to use a more or less local illustration, who collected the first specimen of the now famous White Mountain Butterfly, which perhaps lives within the most circumscribed area of any butterfly. He had remarkably keen powers of observation of both eye and ear which peculiarly fitted him for the work that insisently claimed him.

Nuttall grew increasingly restive and complained that he was accomplishing nothing for science and was only vegetating in Cambridge. To keep him at Harvard, the Corporation made special concessions of leaves of absence during the winter months when the garden was dormant. Thus he was able to make a 1200 mile pedestrian tour through South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and West Florida and see species of birds and plants he had not

before met with in the wild, to prospect for minerals and fossils on the North Carolina coast, to go to the Azores, and to make three trips to England, where he kept informed concerning the exotic plants pouring in from all parts of the Empire, and secured suitable ones for the garden. This was all gratifying, but the gleanings were not abundant enough to satisfy a man who had collected hundreds of new species on the Missouri and in the Arkansas Territory and who knew that there must be thousands more in the unbotanized areas of the West.

*Finally the crowning opportunity of his life came through a Cantabrigian — the chance to botanize across the country to the Pacific at latitudes never visited by a botanist. He did not hesitate to resign his post at Harvard and join Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth's 1834 expedition over the Oregon Trail to the mouth of the Columbia River. This was before the time of pioneering settlers; only fur-trappers, traders, and Indians roamed the area with the buffalo and the grizzlies. From the Columbia he visited the Sandwich Islands twice and before his return to the Atlantic Coast he visited the ports of California. Richard Henry Dana in *Two Years before the Mast* graphically described the appearance of his "old professor" as he collected shells on the beach at San Diego in 1836. Dana and Nuttall returned around the Horn in the *Alert*, Nuttall with bales of thousands of rare specimens of the three kingdoms.*

After Nuttall left Harvard, William Carter the gardener was given

*full charge of the garden. The course in natural history was usually given by the college Librarian, Dr. Thaddeus William Harris, an able entomologist well equipped for the work. Harris was paid for each course as Nuttall had been. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, H.C. 1841, wrote of Harris: "I was fortunate enough to be among his pupils. There were exercises twice a week, which included recitations in Smellie's *Philosophy of Natural History*, with occasional elucidations and familiar lectures by Dr. Harris. There were also special lectures on Botany." He goes on to say that this was a voluntary lecture course with no marks for attendance, no demerits for absence, and thus, to a merely ambitious student, a waste of time so far as college rank was concerned.*

Meantime prospects for natural history at Harvard were looking up. The will of Dr. Joshua Fisher of Beverly, probated in May, 1833, gave Harvard College \$20,000, the income to be used for a professorship in natural history or any of its fields. With this gift the Corporation planned to again maintain a professor. About the end of 1834 the Fisher Professorship of Natural History was offered to Dr. Francis Boott, a Bostonian who had chosen self-exile in England. He carried on a medical practice in London and was an excellent botanist by avocation and officer of the Linnaean Society. As he was excessively sensitive and conscientious, the proposition he received from his alma mater filled him with horror. He wrote to Sir William Jackson Hooker, Director of the Kew Gardens, long his confidant: "The professorship at Harvard was far too complicated ... I was required to give Lectures in all the branches of Science in the An[imal] veg[etable] and mineral Kingdoms — to abandon Physic and preside over the destinies of Horticulture ... I did not hesitate therefore to reject the proposal. There are no modern books of Science — no museum and no funds to buy with, my life would have been one of hopeless anxiety." Through these negotiations the Corporation learned that "natural history" in a few decades had become too cramping a framework for the knowledge which was mushrooming in both botany and zoology, that

one man could no longer successfully spread his efforts over such an extent of knowledge. Natural history was outgrown. When Asa Gray accepted the Fisher Professorship of Natural History in 1842, he undertook botanical work only. The development of a Zoological Department awaited the advent of Louis Agassiz.

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THE REVEREND JOSE GLOVER AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CAMBRIDGE PRESS

By JOHN A. HARRER

Read May 24, 1960

T*HE most famous antiquarian sale of books America has known was held in the year 1879. None other has equaled it in the eighty years that have passed since then. The great collection of books, on display for the occasion of the sale in the auction rooms of Messrs. George A. Leavitt & Co., New York, and gathered through the lifetime of a collector's experience, had been the property of Mr. George Brinley of Hartford, Connecticut. A printed catalogue listing and describing each book could be purchased in advance. A few of these had been printed on special high grade paper. The catalogue itself, expanded with subsequent sales, continues to be of importance to collectors. On page 95 of Part I those who attended found two copies of one book described. The first sold for \$150.00 and is now safely lodged in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The second was purchased for the Congregational Library at a price of \$50.00 and, since the book, *A Platform of Church Discipline*, is the basic authority for Congregational church government, it is more appropriately at home in its location than any other of the nine copies in existence.*

This book is not just one of the rare books of early days. It is a fundamental colonial document. At the time of its three-hundredth anniversary Dr. Henry Wilder Foote wrote concerning its origin, contents, and meaning as they relate both to religion and to American history. His final point shows the Platform to be "the seed-bed from which those doctrines had sprouted" leading to the Revolution. And for free church government it is the carefully prepared statement produced by learned and determined men who had tested their beliefs with Biblical teachings and were convinced that God had guided them. During three hundred years there have been thirty-five editions.

We can thus understand that of all the books that came from the Cambridge press this one is among the few to be regarded as most precious. That it is the cornerstone of American Congregationalism has

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led me to a study of the Cambridge press and its origin. As a result I soon found myself in the middle of Massachusetts colonial affairs during the era in which the first settlers were establishing themselves, building churches, schools, and government. Most characters in

the story soon became real people. There were those who originated ideas to foster the press. Others wrote the books, sermons, and pamphlets printed by it.

A Ph.D. dissertation on the history of the Cambridge press by Dr. Lawrence G. Starkey is comprehensive and detailed. It is the most recent of a number of studies dealing with this theme. Anyone who wishes to see the true picture will also read the earlier writers, some of whom are listed in our short bibliography. The single most important book is that of George Parker Winship, former Harvard librarian, whose narrative of the press can be read rapidly. Students will do well to place the volume within easy reach to reread its detailed sections.

*One section of Winship's book relating to the Platform of Church Discipline caught my attention. I thought I might have found a mistake in the story of its printing. After examining the original, and after writing to libraries and individuals who have copies of the Platform, my suspicions were confirmed. A little later, however, I came upon Dr. Starkey's article in *Studies in Bibliography*, "The Printing by the Cambridge Press of A Platform of Church Discipline, 1649." My interest in having discovered Winship's error was dampened. Starkey's study had already demonstrated the same facts. I was about to give up when I came upon a note of correction in a later copy of the same periodical stating that Dr. Starkey had also arrived at a wrong conclusion in regard to one phase of the printing. So I resumed my efforts, expanding the original plan to include additional categories. The bibliographical details do not need to be repeated; the reader may consult the article. However, one section of this present paper supplements what is there explained. A number of the points are here described in nontechnical language. To the title of this paper we might well have prefixed the words, "Footnote to the story of." A slightly different slant is given to Matthew Day's last work and the taking over of the press by Samuel Green. The indication of the present location of the nine copies of the Cambridge Platform, and the fact that each owner can find his Platform within one of four variant states, will also have an interest for some.*

The reason for "Reverend Jose Glover" in the title of this paper is

to draw attention to a more or less forgotten name, and to recognize him as the founder. There is no card for his name in the catalogue of many libraries where one might expect to find it. In 1810 Isaiah Thomas said of him, "Although he was one of the best, and firmest friends to Newengland, his name has not been handed down to us with so much publicity as were those of other distinguished characters, who were his contemporaries." This continues to be true. None but antiquarians would recognize his name today. Having read a number of accounts which give the biographical facts concerning Jose Glover, I have told the story in as free a style as I could manage. Others have quoted from Governor Winthrop and Hugh Peter and from several other available contemporary writings, all of which are brief. Most of the facts about the Glover family I obtained from Winship and from Isaiah Thomas. A search in Sutton, Surrey, and in the libraries of England would no doubt yield additional material and provide data for a biography.

Printing in the United States dates back to early colonial days. Boston was settled in 1630. The year 1638 brought the printing press to Cambridge fifty years in advance of its appearance in any other colonial settlement. New York's first press began operation in 1693, Philadelphia's in 1685. The General Court of the Bay Colony permitted the

establishment of no other press within its jurisdiction for nearly forty years. Marmaduke Johnson moved his press from Cambridge to Boston in 1674. Having, therefore, a monopoly during more than half of its life span, the Cambridge press was in business from 1638 to 1692. Every item printed then has become a rarity, a valued possession of any individual collector or library. Such early examples of the printing craft are sometimes called American incunabula, that is, the babyhood of American printing. Of three thousand who sailed for New England in the summer of 1638 one man, a Puritan clergyman, was interested in printing and had done something about it. New York, despite its early founding, long remained without a press. This could have been true for Massachusetts. The initial printing enterprise might have been delayed for decades. This is the reason Mr. Glover deserves the highest credit. Since he is the prime figure of all personalities we shall meet in our narrative, it is desirable to become acquainted with him and his family.

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II

In the year 1624 Rev. Jose Glover came to his first church in the village of Sutton in Surrey, about fifteen miles south of London. Shortly before this he had married Miss Sarah Owfield, who brought with her a generous dowry. The young clergyman, himself from a very prosperous family, was the son who had chosen the church for his portion in life. His father was generous, providing him with ample resources. The free parsonage, the stipend, and their own fortunes allowed the couple to furnish their house with every comfort. If they could not have a washing machine they did have servants who achieved equally good results. No doubt a coach and horses carried the young parson on his pastoral rounds and him and his wife to social engagements. One of the main commercial enterprises of his father and brothers was shipping. Their argosies returned with profits as a result of successful trading in the West Indies. Later, when the largest number of Puritans crossed the Atlantic to New England, the Glover ships transported many people and their goods.

Despite the favorable beginnings of the marriage, which in due time brought three children to the couple, the story is punctuated with tragedy. Young Mrs. Glover died after only four years of life in the Sutton parsonage. Before long Glover became acquainted with and married Miss Elizabeth Harris, the daughter of a near-by clergyman. She brought with her no money, but she filled her new position within the busy household in a most creditable manner. Another son and another daughter resulted from this marriage. Father and mother, two boys, and three girls, with several servants, now made up the menage. The family might have lived happily ever after in their pleasant abode if Mr. Glover had not been a Puritan. Acquainted with the Winthrops, a connection of Roger Williams, his thoughts turned more and more toward New England. Transportation was no problem. When the time came he embarked in a Glover sailing vessel. His Puritanism was, possibly, not of the most vigorous type. Sabbath observance, however, had become an issue. The Puritans were determined. The purity of the church was at stake. A little slower than some of his brother ministers to raise points of disagreement with the established church, the Sutton clergyman now took his stand. He refused to obey instructions to read the Book of Sports in the church service.

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Some years before, the King had signed a Declaration to allow pleasurable recreation on Sunday afternoon. This regulation which was called the Book of Sports, was required to be read from the pulpit. It might have been set aside and forgotten because of Puritan opposition. But Bishop Laud had come into power. Here were means at hand for him to carry out his purposes to separate sheep from goats, the nonconformist Puritans from those who were obedient to the Church of England. He engaged in vigorous and successful persecution, searching out, in their hiding places, all enemies of the church. He found many. Rev. Jose Glover was forced to give up his charge in the year 1636. His social position and the prominence of his family, no doubt, protected him. He was not harried out of the land. Preparations for departure were made without haste. No difficulty arose when the time came to leave England.

The years from 1630 to 1640 were the period of the Great Migration, beginning and ending quite abruptly. Nearly twenty thousand settlers came from old to New England, entering Boston harbor to settle in Salem, Rowley, Cambridge, Boston, Dorchester, and Dedham. Of all these thousands only one man, Rev. Jose Glover, had an idea different from any one else, namely to bring a printing press. He sailed in 1638. The little ship was made ready in the Thames at London in mid-summer. Mr. Glover, his wife, and five children were on board. So were furniture, linen, silver, clothing, horses, coach, wagon, men servants, maid servants, and some cattle. Stowed away in the hold were the printing press, type, many reams of paper, type cases, ink, and printers' tools. Not one necessary item was omitted. As the waters of the high tide began to flow, the boat moved along the estuary into the deep ocean.

Two or three years had passed since Glover had decided to cross the Atlantic to New England. His active mind had mapped out a future that demonstrated his resourcefulness and his realization of two areas of growth in the new world to which he expected to give most of his attention, the college and the printing enterprise. He might become president of the one and owner of the other. The ministry was his calling. Unfolding events would determine whether teaching or preaching or both would receive chief emphasis. He had already invested quite substantially in New England real estate, which would also require a portion of his time. Finally, church people in England for some years had felt a compulsion to save the souls of American Indians. Every one of these fields of endeavor was upon his mind as he speculated on the variety of possi-

bilities for the employment of his printing press. He probably did not anticipate that a Psalm Book would be its first production. He did not know that the language of the Indians would make demands on his press beyond anything else. Sermons, college theses, commencement programs, text books, laws of the colony, new polity for churches — these he was ready to print, and he may have anticipated all of these needs.

In midocean Glover contracted a fatal illness. It was probably smallpox. Since Puritan clergymen saw all happenings in the language of the Bible, it is not unlikely that, thinking of Moses, he besought the Lord that he might be spared to go into the Promised Land, and feared also the answer, "Thou shalt not pass over this Jordan." He was buried at sea. With

forethought he had prepared for others to care for his printing press and to give the new enterprise its start. They did not fail him.

The small boat with his wife and children sailed on and at last glided slowly into Massachusetts Bay. Watchers from the shore had sighted an unusual number of sails that year. As the "John of London" gently advanced through the waters of the bay, five Glover children gazed toward the shore. Which one would be first to see an Indian? As they stood in a row lined up by age, fifteen, thirteen, eleven, seven, and five, it was to be noted that the youngest and oldest were boys. Two of the three girls later married Adam and Dean Winthrop, sons of the Governor.

The little vessel sailed on past the Boston wharf to Charlestown where the horses were taken from their cramped quarters, harnessed, and hitched to the coach which carried the family along five miles of flat roadway to Cambridge. The mansion house of Governor Haynes had already been purchased. Fireplaces were soon ablaze and the chill of fall air was driven out. The children ran through the empty rooms, looked out of the windows, still hoping for the first Indian. They saw other buildings on their land as they stood looking from the back windows. Some have thought the printing press was first established in one of these structures. There seems little doubt, however, that the Day home was the first location.

III

Before leaving England Mr. Glover and Steven Day, with the latter's son, had entered into an agreement which has been studied and described so many times that we here state only that the father, a versatile crafts-

man, worked at and supervised the assembling and setting up of the printing press in its new home. Steven Day also continued as proprietor of the enterprise for a few years. Since Matthew Day, the son, had more business ability than his father, he no doubt was soon guiding affairs on the spot. Mrs. Glover purchased a house for the Day family in Crooked Street, now Holyoke Street. It is probable that the press was placed in one of the rooms of this house, where it remained for five years (1638-1643). The Bay Psalm Book, the first book to be printed, had its origin at this first location, and for it part of Mr. Glover's supply of paper was used. The press was then moved to the newly erected president's house in the Harvard yard just inside the gate opposite the Unitarian Church, where it remained from 1643 to 1655. Here the laws of the colony were printed in 1648, and the Cambridge Platform in 1649. The final location of the press was the first floor of the Indian College on a rise of ground, now somewhat leveled off, approximately where Houghton Library now stands.

The ship which brought Henry Dunster, first president of Harvard, arrived in 1640. An eligible bachelor, he soon met and married Mrs. Glover. They lived in the Glover home only two years before she died, leaving in his care five children, the affairs of the estate, and the proprietorship of the printing press. Mr. Dunster soon married again, which necessitated the winding up of the estate to protect the inheritance of the children. A house was then built for Harvard's president in the college yard, and, as indicated, the printing press was placed in one of its rooms. The press now became an appurtenance of the college, its

ownership somewhat confused, although Matthew Day managed it under Mr. Dunster's direction. This arrangement continued until Matthew Day died at the age of thirty, in the year 1649. While our present interests do not reach beyond this date, it is well to state that events of the year 1655 brought a new president to Harvard and the removal of the press to the Indian College, where it continued to operate until 1692, a span of thirty-seven years.

IV

Since our subject is that of a publishing establishment, we shall examine the actual printing of one of the most remarkable books of the press, the Cambridge Platform. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth

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centuries any copy of the Cambridge Platform, 1649, has been an object to be coveted. Only a few collectors were fortunate enough to secure one. Early, possibly in the middle of the nineteenth century, two variant states were recognized within the edition of approximately 500, the difference due to changes in the title page after perhaps one hundred copies had been printed. No satisfactory study of the composition and presswork was attempted until George Parker Winship's remarkable book in 1945 provided a comprehensive history of the Cambridge press. In it he drew attention to an error on page 9 of the Preface, the significance of which rested on the fact that this page was printed on the same sheet with the title page. As already noted, Dr. Lawrence G. Starkey's article corrected errors in Winship's presentation, though he himself was mistaken in regard to one operation of the printing, his theory concerning cut-sheet printing being changed in a later note of correction.¹ The article, with its correction note, is the only scholarly, bibliographical study of the printing of the Cambridge Platform and should be read by all students interested in this theme.

The General Court of Massachusetts had invited the churches of New England to meet in September, 1646, to discuss and clear up questions of church government and discipline which they judged agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. At this Synod Richard Mather, John Cotton, and Ralph Partridge were appointed, each to write his own report for presentation at the Synod on June 8 a year later. Because of an epidemic of illness this second Synod adjourned after ten days of discussion to meet in the late summer of 1648. When at last messengers and clergy met, only two weeks were needed to study and compare the three documents. That of Richard Mather was chosen. John Cotton provided a preface, which was probably one section lifted from his manuscript. The manuscript of the platform prepared by Ralph Partridge of Duxbury has been preserved along with that of Richard Mather. Both are in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. The plan presented by John Cotton has been lost.

Printing of the small book was completed about a year later. Approved by the Synod in the late summer of 1648, it came from the press in the late summer of 1649. Winship states, "Widespread public interest would have urged speedy publication." What then could have delayed its

printing an entire year? There are several answers. An accurate, readable copy had to be made for the printer. The editorial tasks may not have been taken care of promptly. Finally, the printer, Matthew Day, became ill and died May 10, 1649. His illness was, quite likely, the culminating reason why publication was held up. Whatever the causes of delay its printing needed to be completed before the meeting of the General Court in the fall of 1649. The statement on the title page can be accepted at its face value. The printing was finished "The Eight Moneth Anno 1649." This date has also been considered a mistake that should have read 1648, the date when the document was completed and approved by the Synod.

Only one product of the press, the almanac for 1647, has the name Matthew Day in an imprint. Either he was very modest and slow to assert his rights or Mr. Dunster may have interfered. As printer in charge of the press for twelve years, Day certainly looked forward to the printing of the important Platform of Church Discipline. He had just completed The Book of the General Laws, 1648. Since there were months of time following the completion of this official assignment of the General Court, it is very likely that he promptly began the work of preparation of the Platform, which was also the concern of the lawmaking body. There can be little doubt, it seems to me, that he designed and composed the title page and started his plans for the book itself. Williston Walker ² plainly sets forth the time of printing, showing that the book had been completed and was presented to the General Court in October.

Curiously, those who have described the book differ in their opinions, some considering it poorly printed, or the title page too crowded. Others declare it remarkably well done, too nicely arranged for a novice such as Samuel Green. To me the title page, at least, is something of a work of art. That there is reason to declare Matthew Day to be its compositor rests on three facts. The first is that he could hardly have failed to turn over in his mind exactly what he would do to attain the best possible result. He knew that it would be examined immediately by clergy and lawmakers. The title page offered the best chance to display his skill. The second fact is the practice of preparing the title page first. By some who have examined the printing of this book it is taken for granted that the title page of this particular book was prepared and printed last.

² *Creeds and Platforms, 186.*

Winship ³ states it was "the last to go to press." This differs from the following by Charles Evans ⁴: "the practice customary with the early printers, of printing the title page first."

In the case of books with no preface or preliminary introductory material, the title page would normally be printed first as part of the initial gathering. In this book, however, there is a preface, and its signatures are differentiated from the main body of the Platform. It is

always assumed that in such a case the title page was printed last. Even though the title page was printed last, however, I think it had been composed by Matthew Day and left standing. Accustomed to prepare the title page first for some books, Day would have found this one of such importance as to excite his interest and encourage him to design the title page early.

The third point is this. George Parker Winship interpreted the action of the General Court taken in the fall of 1649 to mean that the book was printed subsequent to that meeting. Since there is very little doubt that this is a mistaken conclusion and that the printed Platform was in the hands of its members at this time and was then simply recommended to the churches, the date of printing is moved back a considerable space of time and the start of its composition almost certainly reaches back several months. It is my theory that the book was planned and partly composed by Matthew Day. Errors which remained uncorrected were due to his illness which put an end to all work. Nevertheless, preparatory efforts were soon turned over to Samuel Green. However, much of the work had been done before he took over, the book was now his. He was now proprietor of the press, a position he held for forty-three years.

Antiquarians, of course, make mention of the Platform as Samuel Green's first book. But it is well established that he took over because of an emergency and so found himself in the middle of whatever items of work were in process, whether nearly completed, half finished, or just started. The likelihood is that the Platform had been given a good start and may have been half way along.

We are not here attempting to ascribe the Platform to Matthew Day as his last book. The meticulous, almost errorless work on the Laws was his final monument. But we are setting forth a fairly obvious theory that

³ *The Cambridge Press, 113.*

⁴ *American Bibliography, I, 210.*

he designed the Cambridge Platform and composed some of it. Littlefield states, "He literally died in harness." Eight pounds were due him for printing, part of which was probably for the hours spent at the work we have just described. It is thus a reasonable theory that Samuel Green was the fortunate inheritor of a well-composed title page plus additional pages to launch him in his first effort, the printing of the Cambridge Platform.

V

The newly appointed printer, Samuel Green, having had no experience in his new trade, was at once confronted with the work of producing a small book that involved some problems not easily solved by a novice. The Platform itself required four gatherings of eight pages each. The Preface was too long to be contained within one such gathering. An additional fold containing four pages was therefore placed on the outside of the eight pages to result in a twelve-page gathering. The finished book thus was made up of one twelve and four eights, or forty-four pages in all. Consider now the additional fold mentioned above, the first page of which was the title page. The second is its verso, which is blank. The third and fourth are pages 9 and 10 of the Preface. The title page and its verso are not numbered, hence the paging which follows is from 1 to 10, making twelve pages in all.

Samuel Green figured and refigured as to just what his method of printing was to be. Our problem is to determine what he actually did. The eight-page gatherings of the Platform itself had been quite simple. In each case four pages were printed on white sheets. Then the pile was turned over and four more were printed on the reverse side. The sheet was then folded twice to form an eight-page gathering. But, the question is, how did he print the four outside pages of the twelve-page Preface? He may have cut sheets of paper in half and printed two pages on one side, turned the pile over, and printed the other side, requiring five hundred impressions for each side. Or, he may have printed all four pages on one side (250 impressions), turned the pile over and printed the same four pages on the other side, after which the sheets were cut in half. This latter is called half-sheet imposition, and it was the method employed by Samuel Green. Figure 1 shows the imposition of the first side, Figure 2 of the second side.

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As was noted earlier, nine copies of A Platform of Church Discipline are known to exist today. These represent, by slight differences, four stages in the printing of the four-page fold comprising title page and pages 9 and 10. The differences or variants may be described briefly.

State 1. About 50 sheets were printed on the first side before any alterations were made in the type.

State 2. The lower border is straightened (only to become out of alignment again in the next two states). In "Psal: 84 1" the period after "84" has dropped out. About 50 sheets were printed thus.

State 3. The "G" in "Gathered" (line 3 from the top) has been changed to a "swash" G. In the center of the page, "Eight" appears without its final h. In the first line of Bible quotations, "Tabernacles" replaces "Tabernacle." "Printed by S.G. at Cambridge in New England" replaces "Printed at Cambridge by S.G. in New England." On page 9, "in" is corrected from "im". About 150 impressions were made thus before the sheets were turned over; about 50 additional impressions were then made before one final alteration.

State 4. On page 9, "contribute" was corrected from "crntrbute." The present ownership of the nine known existing copies and the states which they represent are as follows:

STATE 1

John Carter Brown Library

STATE 2

Mr. Thomas W. Streeter

STATE 3

Henry E. Huntington Library

Mr. William H. Scheide

University of Virginia Library

STATE 4

American Antiquarian Society

William L. Clements Library

Congregational Library

New York Public Library

Anyone who has seen the book has been apt to inquire about other



copies, how many there are, where they are located, what happened to them during three hundred years. Book collectors have a nice word for this, provenance. Most of the nine copies had found their way to England. Henry Stevens, the London book dealer, was the instrument by which they were returned to America. Copies on this side of the Atlantic experienced steady usage and were discarded in favor of new editions. Whatever other causes of disappearance of the five hundred originally printed only these few are left until

another is rescued from some unexpected lodging place. The following paragraphs tell the story of each one with as complete data as we have discovered.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY COPY

Owned by Isaiah Thomas this copy has his bookplate on a blank page facing the title page. "I. Mather" was inscribed on the title page by Increase Mather. There is little doubt but that Isaiah Thomas purchased the Platform "in 1814 when he acquired what he termed the remains of the old library of the Mathers which had belonged to Drs. Increase and Samuel Mather." (Cannon p. 55) This copy has been removed from a pamphlet volume and is kept in a protecting case. It is about as near to original condition as one might hope to find. The binding edge contains the usual evidences of the pamphlet volume from which it was taken. The paper, tanned by age, seems rougher and thicker than that of other copies examined. One page has a small hole which takes away parts of a few words, the sole blemish. The margins are wide. Quite possibly it is in its original state, the pamphlets possibly having been bound without trimming. There is a probability that this was the the author's copy and that Increase Mather received it as an inheritance from his father, Richard Mather.

JOHN CARTER BROWN COPY

This copy was purchased in the year 1846 and was among the first group of books acquired from Henry Stevens of London, having earlier been in the Henri Ternaux-Compans collection. Since it is not listed in the Ternaux catalogue of 1837, it was thus quite probably acquired by him subsequent to that date. More than likely it was among

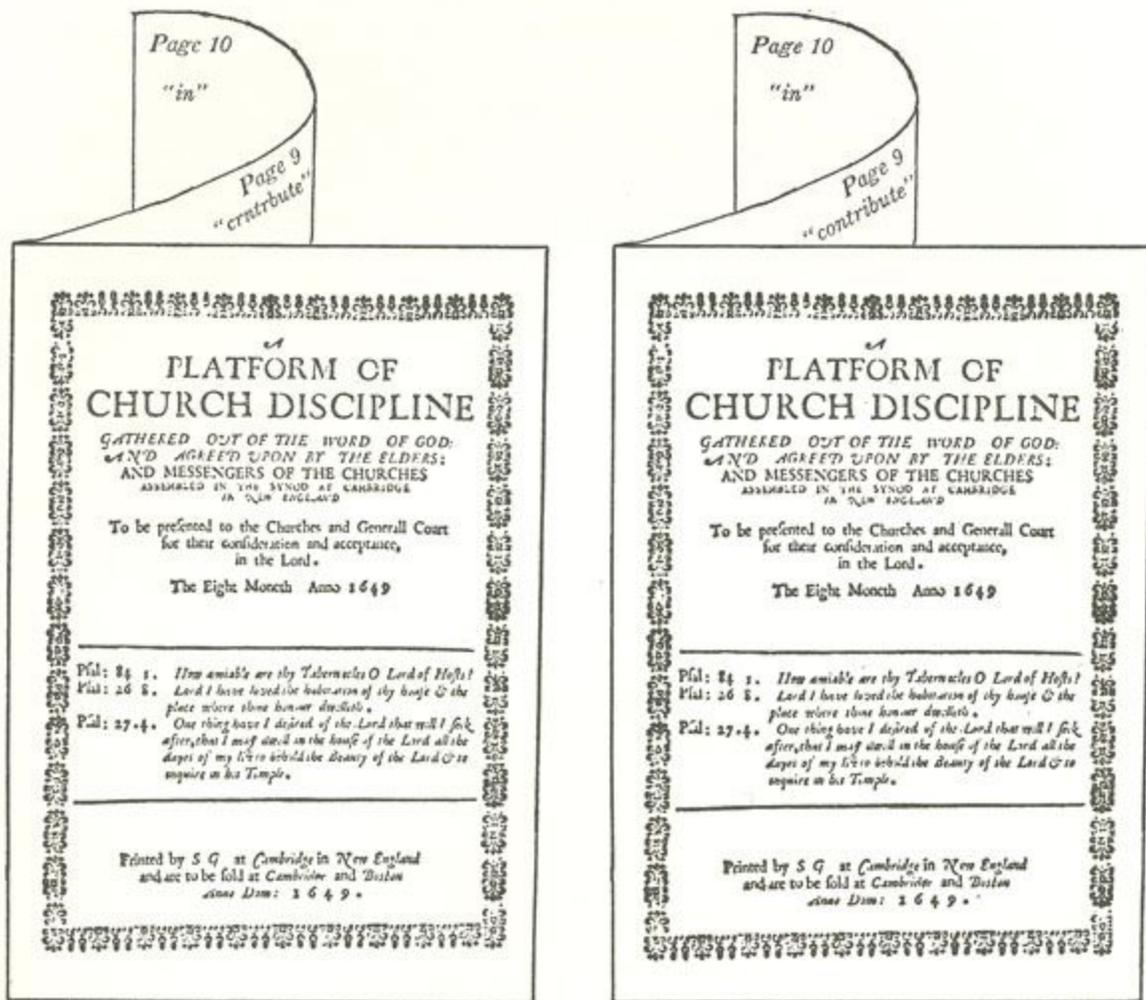


FIGURE 4. Distinguishing marks of the third and fourth states of the *Platform*.

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the books sold in 1844 when a large part of the Henri Ternaux library was bought by Obadiah Rich, who then sold the books to Henry Stevens. The title page has been trimmed to the ornamental border and mounted. Because of the imprint and other factors described elsewhere this copy is one of two having title pages that differ from the other seven. The book has marble end leaves, the bookplate and autograph of John Carter Brown. The binding is of dark tan calf on the spine of which is printed, "Platform of Church Discipline. Camb. N.E. 1649." On the front and back cover is a gold stamped ram's head crest under which are the two initials "H.T.," a description that fits many other volumes of the Ternaux library.

WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS LIBRARY COPY

"Small quarto; elegantly bound in grossgrained green levant morocco superextra, gilt back and edges, paneled, ornamented sides, inside gilt borders, by W. Pratt. A beautiful copy of the first edition with wide margins." "Laid in is an attachment warrant in the autograph of Samuel Green, with his signature dated March 7, 1664." These quotations have been taken from the Brayton Ives sale catalogue of 1891. The attachment warrant containing Samuel Green's signature is no longer with this copy. It is now in the possession of Mr. Thomas W. Streeter. Provenance dates back to the Brinley sale in 1879, when the book was sold to Mr. Brayton Ives for \$155. Twelve years later it was purchased by Sumner Hollingsworth who paid \$210. Later the Hollingsworth collection became the property of Goodspeed's Book Shop, Boston. The next sale did not occur until 1927, when Thomas W. Streeter purchased it for \$7500. In 1933 it was sold to Lathrop C. Harper and then to Tracy W. McGregor, who presented it to Clements Library in September, 1938. This final sale was for \$11,500. In these changes of ownership two developments are to be noted, the increase in values in the twentieth century and the realization of the historic importance of the Cambridge Platform.

CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY COPY

Dr. Isaac Langworthy, Librarian of the Congregational Library, purchased this copy at the Brinley sale. It is bound in red levant morocco,

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full gilt back, sides filleted, and inside borders. Some repairs were made with great skill, particularly to the title page. The edges have been trimmed, narrowing the margins. It is the second of the two Brinley copies. Since A Platform of Church Discipline is the fundamental document of Congregational polity, it is regarded as the most precious possession in the collection of the Congregational Library. The marbled end leaves are of a predominantly red color harmonizing with the cover. Stamped in the lower inside border is the binder's mark "Bound by W. Pratt for H. Stevens, 1860," which was just one hundred years ago. This indicates that several copies had passed through the hands of Henry Stevens. John Carter Brown and James Lenox were given opportunity to buy from him before others. Brinley also had an agreement with Stevens. Since in 1860 both Brown and Lenox possessed copies, there is little doubt but that Brinley obtained this copy from Stevens. The inside cover has a small blue label reading "Brinley. 734." Laid in on the first binder's page verso also is a printed bibliographical description taken from a Dodd, Mead and Company catalogue of April, 1908, advertising a similar copy of the Platform for \$1000. This refers, probably, to the Scheide copy. A binder's page at the back has a notation in ink "cost Cong'l Library \$52.50 Mch 20/79."

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY COPY

This book came to the Huntington Library in the famous sale of the entire E. D. Church collection. It was bound by F. Bedford in blue crushed levant morocco, and is an immaculate copy. It has the Church ex libris, number 491. The paper is smooth and fairly thin, probably washed at the time of binding. The paper of signature D is slightly heavier. The inking was not well applied for some pages, but all are quite readable; for most the printing is remarkably sharp. Two small holes in the last leaf have been mended. The name "Wh. Kennett" is written on the title page at the right side of the center. This is, no doubt, the signature of Bishop White Kennett (1660-1728). Except for the copy of the American Antiquarian Society this one has an older history of ownership than any other. While a

succession of owners is missing in our data, it is probable that a London bookseller obtained it from the Kennett collection and sold it to Mr. Church. The Dictionary of

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National Biography states, "In order to advance the interests of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Kennett made a collection of books, charts, maps, and documents, with the intention of composing a 'History of the Propagation of Christianity in the English-American Colonies,' and on the relinquishment of that project he presented his collections to the corporation, and printed a catalogue entitled 'Bibliothecae Americanae Primordia,' London, 1713." In the Kennett catalogue the Platform is listed on page 97. In the Church catalogue the abbreviation "Wh." for "White" is mistakenly transcribed as "Ioh."

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY COPY

Bound in levant green morocco the cover is plain with a simple gold border, the binding by F. Bedford for H. Stevens. The inside cover has the small Lenox Library bookplate, the book having been one of the collection of Mr. James Lenox. The paper of the Platform is characteristically smooth and fairly thin. As it was run through the press the type was well inked so that this copy is darker and more clearly printed than any other examined. The leaves are in mint condition as if the book had never been used. It is strange, therefore, that the last leaf containing the "Contents" is lacking, replaced, however, with a positive photostat from the JCB copy. The binder's blank page opposite the inside front cover has a notation entered by Mr. Lenox referring to the 1846 prospectus for Obadiah Rich's unpublished catalogue Bibliotheca Americana Vetus, which lists a copy of the Cambridge Platform. While he does not state that he purchased it, there is no doubt that the Lenox copy was obtained in London from Henry Stevens, who had many dealings with Obadiah Rich. In his annotated copy of Henri Ternaux's Bibliotheque Americaine, 1873, there is a pasted-in slip of paper in the handwriting of Mr. Lenox giving a bibliographical description of the Cambridge Platform and containing an additional mention of an Obadiah Rich copy.

WILLIAM H. SCHEIDE COPY

This copy is located in the Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey. The binding is probably early or middle nineteenth century, being half

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calf with marbled paper boards, the spine tooled in gold "A PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE (sic) (N.E.) 1649." Of the leaves of the book there are some with brown stains on the upper part of the outer margins, but the pages are in clean, crisp condition. The paper is smooth and thin, having a watermark similar to No. 471 in Churchill Watermarks in Paper. It is a perfect copy. It is to be noted that this is one of two copies owned by individuals. Mr. Scheide's father, John Hinsdale Scheide, purchased it in 1911 from Dodd and Livingston for \$900. There is also a pencil notation in the upper right hand corner of the title page: "Sharp Coll: 42" and above that, in ink in an early hand: "Elk: Wales from Rich: Jackson of (—)." The last word has been torn away. At the time of purchase Mr. Livingston

stated that the copy had come from the John Boyd Thacher collection. The book plate discloses another owner, Edward Hailstone. The succession of ownership, therefore, would seem to have been Richard Jackson, Elkanah Wales, Sharp, Hailstone, Thacher, Dodd and Livingston, J. H. Scheide, W. H. Scheide. The Hailstone purchase was made in 1891 from Sotheby's for £21.

THOMAS W. STREETER COPY

Bound in very dark green crushed levant morocco the cover is handsomely tooled with a gold border design at the four corners. Centered within the ornate corner decorations is the title and imprint in plain gold lettering. The paper on which the Platform is printed is fairly smooth and quite thin, as is true of most copies. In aging it has become slightly tanned in color. Less ink was used as the pages of this copy were printed, so that the appearance is a little lighter in color than is true of some other copies. The edges of leaves, slightly serrated, indicate that it has had some use during its active lifetime. The copy is perfect, lacking no words or parts of pages. The Streeter copy is unique. It has usually been mentioned with that of John Carter Brown, since the title pages are nearly identical and different from the other seven. It is like the JCB copy with these differences. The lower border is straight and parallel with the upper border, where as the JCB lower border slants upward. The period after "Psal: 84" is missing, having apparently been pulled out when the border was tightened. The word "contribute,"

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page 9, is correctly spelled, whereas the JCB copy has it incorrectly spelled. The Streeter and JCB copies have an imprint different from the other copies. It reads "Printed at Cambridge by SG in New England. Because of this these two copies have usually been characterized as, "first issue." Listed in the Mrs. L. D. Alexander sale catalogue of February, 1913, Anderson Galleries, this copy was sold to Mr. Theodore Newton Vail for \$3,425 and sold again May, 1922, to W. D. Breaker for \$5,700. At the same galleries in April, 1937, it was purchased by Lathrop C. Harper who sold it to Thomas W. Streeter after the sale. Mr Harper paid \$3,500. Mr. Streeter does not recall the inconsiderable additional amount he paid to Mr. Harper.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA COPY

Since the author of the Platform was Richard Mather it is of interest that a descendant, William Gwinn Mather, became a collector of all Mather books and succeeded so well in his project that he gathered the largest of the twenty great collections of Increase Mather books, 85 in number, and third largest of Cotton Mather, 247, as shown in the Thomas W. Holmes bibliography. This copy is usually listed as the Mather-McGregor or McG-WGM copy. The first record of ownership in our search was the S. L. M. Barlow sale, February, 1890. No. 438, \$215. The description given was, "Quarto half Russia." When sold later, Book Prices Current listed it, "Hf. cf. (Barlow) Feb. 6, '20 (51) \$6750." This would appear to be the Mather purchase. The Mather Collection was then sold to T. W. McGregor, who presented it to the University of Virginia.

Which copy is the finest? Collectors of rare books set great store by "firsts" or "unique" copies. It will be seen at once that the Brown copy has the title page that was first to go through the press, and it is a unique copy. None other is exactly the same. The Streeter

copy has the identical imprint and is a unique copy. (See Figure 3 on page 101 above.) But it is also true that the Huntington, Scheide, and Virginia copies, printed on the other half of the same sheet (the other two pages of the form) could have been printed as early in the operation as the Brown copy. Indeed these three could have been the first three sheets through

the press and, when backed up, the first three perfected, and the Brown copy could have been the 50th sheet printed and the 50th perfected. So far as first through the press is concerned, these three copies have every right to be considered as firsts (unless it is necessary to consider only title pages). On the other hand both the Brown and the Streeter copies may have been printed and perfected before they were. Furthermore, the other four copies have a distinction. All corrections we have noted had been made. They are in the category of being the best of Samuel Green's product. They were as he wanted all to be. And he must have given some of these sheets to his binder saying, "We want to deliver a few bound copies as quickly as possible to Reverend Richard Mather and Reverend John Cotton, the authors, and to the members of the Synod and to the General Court." Finally, however, we shall have to say that antiquarians enjoy deviations and emphasize unique characteristics. The Brown and Streeter copies, therefore, are more to their liking. The American Antiquarian Society copy could also be chosen for first place. It is nearest to the original state, unbound, perhaps untrimmed, and it has the signature of the author's son.

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THE EVOLUTION OF CAMBRIDGE HEIGHTS

By LAURA DUDLEY SAUNDERSON

Read October 25, 1960

THE background of my earliest recollections is the very neighborhood which has been my home since I was less than five years old, and I have seen it change from a semi-rural community to a busy city.

The first settlers in Cambridge built their homes between what is now Harvard Square and the Charles River, but the boundaries of Cambridge extended far to the north, and ways were opened to give access to them. So there was the "Highway to Menotomy," later called "North Avenue." In 1894 the name was changed to "Massachusetts Avenue." There was the "Highway to Fresh Pond" and the "Highway to the Great Swamp," both starting with Garden

Street and extending in a northerly direction. Early maps show a few buildings on these highways at a distance from the center of the town.

Linnaean Street lies at the foot of a hill. When the Cooper-Frost-Austin house, the oldest house in Cambridge, was built in 1657, facing south, as was customary in the early days, there was no street there. The house was at the northern end of the Cow Common, of which all that remains today is our Cambridge Common. Later a way was opened and called "Love Lane." A street was laid out in 1724 and named "Linnaean Street" for the botanist Linnaeus, because the Botanic Garden was located at the corner of that street and Garden Street. The latter was so named because of the garden.

When I was a child there were only a few houses on Linnaean Street. On the north side of the street were the house still standing on the corner of Raymond Street, greatly changed in appearance from the house as I knew it first, the three houses from the corner of Avon Hill Street, the Cooper-Frost-Austin house, and one other on that side of the street, facing the street. Then there was one on the corner of Massachusetts Avenue, facing the Avenue. This last, by the way, was the home of David Ellis, whose daughter, Mary Ellis, was very actively interested in the Avon Home, and whose son, Harry Ellis, had a group of boys go to his house in the evening when he taught them to use tools. This instruc-

tion led, I believe, to the founding of the Manual Training School, now the Rindge Technical School.

On the south side of Linnaean Street was the house still standing on the corner of Garden Street, a house where the Peabody School playground was, the house now called Gray Gables on the corner of Gray Street, the two houses on the southwest corner of Bowdoin Street, and two like them on the corner of Avon Street, where an apartment house now stands. The Potter house, now on the corner of Potter Park, stood farther back from the road, facing Massachusetts Avenue, with a fine lawn in front. The house on the corner of Garden Street is now the property of Radcliffe College. It is one of the college's cooperative houses; twenty-six girls live there.

The Peabody School, with the date 1882 over the door, was built on the corner of Linnaean Street and Avon Street on what had been a vacant lot. It was named in honor of Dr. Andrew Preston Peabody, well known and dearly loved by all Cambridge people. He was very much interested in the school, often visited it, and was known by all the children. Last summer the building was torn down, and a new building is being constructed to take its place. In addition to the ground occupied by the old building and playground, the new structure, with accompanying playground, will cover two houselots on Avon Street and two on Walker Street.

Linnaean Street, once a quiet country road, is now a busy thoroughfare. With cars parked on both sides of the street, and cars dashing by in both directions, crossing the street is something of a hazard, and one is indeed fortunate if that crossing comes when children are going to school or going home, for then small boys, properly equipped to show their

authority, direct traffic, and enable not only the children but other pedestrians to cross in safety.

Avon Street, running south from Linnaean Street, was laid out in 1845. I have been unable to learn what lover of the English bard named the street for his river. The reason for the name Avon Hill is obvious, for it is practically an extension of Avon Street and runs up the hill. It was formerly called Jarvis Court, and is said to have been named Avon Hill by the surveyor, Mr. Mason, who laid it out. Avon Place, off of Avon Hill Street, was often referred to in my childhood as "the court." The name Avon Hill is attractive and appropriate, but too many Avons have

sometimes caused difficulty. All went well when all mail was delivered from the post office in Harvard Square, but when a post office was opened in North Cambridge and Linnaean Street was made the dividing line, trouble began. Those living north of Linnaean Street were not known at the Harvard Square office, and if a writer omitted the "Hill" from the street name, the mail went to the Harvard Square office and might or might not reach the person to whom it was addressed.

A most amusing case occurred years ago when I was at the Fogg Museum. A student, visiting Mrs. Kingsley Porter in Ireland, wrote me a letter on stationery bearing her Ireland address. It was addressed to me at the Fogg Museum. I was away on vacation. The one who usually took charge of the mail was away also, and his substitute forwarded the letter to me, omitting the "Hill" from the address. I was not known on Avon Street, so the letter was returned to the address in Ireland. In the meantime Mrs. Porter had returned to Cambridge and the letter was forwarded to Cambridge with her mail. She forwarded it to me, using the correct address, and I received it with my Christmas mail after it had crossed the Atlantic Ocean three times.

On the east side of Avon Hill Street were the three houses still standing from the corner of Linnaean Street, including the one on the corner, facing Linnaean Street, the one on the further corner of Avon Place, formerly the Avon Home, a double house further up the street, and a small house still further up, which was moved. On the other side of the street there was not a building. A field occupied the whole area bounded by Linnaean, Avon Hill, Raymond Street, and extending to the north boundary of the house-lots on the north side of Bates Street, with the exception of the estate on the corner of Linnaean Street and Raymond Street. This land was controlled by Charles W. Cook, but cared for by Mr. Ewell, who lived on the corner of Linnaean Street and Avon Hill, so to us children it was "Ewell's field." In the spring it was gay with dandelions; later the blue and pink flowers of the chicory made it a veritable flower garden. A group of apple trees was opposite my home. In the spring, when the leaves unrolled, the place was a paradise for birds, and warblers frequented the orchard. Every year a pair of kingbirds built a nest in the top of one of the trees, and when the young ones were old enough to add their voices to the unmusical notes of their parents, it was noisy indeed. There was a hole in another tree which the screech-owls

appropriated. I shall never forget a row of baby owls lined up on a telegraph wire. One night my mother, startled by an unfamiliar sound very close at hand, called and wakened me, and asked, with much concern, "What's that?" It was only a screech-owl just outside her window.

Beyond this large field was a smaller one where a tennis court had been laid out. Here the children of the neighborhood learned to play tennis. Beyond, a fenced-in area, we learned by looking through cracks and knot-holes in the high board fence, was a vegetable garden, owned by Mr. Withey, which he often visited. His open wagon was drawn by a horse with a peculiar gait which we recognized as far as we could hear it. For years there were no buildings on the west side of Avon Hill Street.

On the other side of the street, at the very top of the hill, was a sandbank which had particular attraction for us children. In the summer we dug huge holes which we called our houses. In the spring water gathered there and we named it "Pollywog Pond," for it was there that we went for pollywogs, which we kept in glass jars, watching them turn into little frogs.

Avon Hill Street came to an end about where Bellevue Avenue crosses the street now, and a flagpole was erected there. A fence across the street prevented teams from going further, but when pedestrians had occasion to go beyond, they climbed some fences and crawled under others, as we always did on our way to Fresh Pond, where skating was allowed, or to Artificial Pond, on the opposite side of Concord Avenue, known to us as "Arti."

Avon Hill Street was a great coast in those days and attracted children from far and near. The best coasting was usually about Washington's birthday. Then it was the fathers got out with the children to enjoy the sport. There were sleds, but the double-runners, made of two sleds with a board connecting them, was the favorite because it accommodated a number of persons and on account of that weight went the furthest.

The fastest double-runner on the coast was the "Molly Stark," belonging to Will Stark, a neighbor of mine. It was beautifully made with graceful lines, the handiwork of his father, who was a very skillful craftsman. I was a passenger when it made its record run. Starting at the very top of the hill, we coasted the whole length of Avon Hill Street, crossed Linnaean Street, continued the length of Avon Street, turned the corner on Shepard Street, and came to a stop only when we had nearly reached

what is now Walker Street. Every year the children carried a petition to every householder on the street for his or her approval of coasting on the street. One family was not in favor and placed ashes across the street, which the children removed promptly. It is needless to

say there had never been any children in that household. In those days a policeman was stationed at the crossing of Linnaean Street to stop traffic when coasters were coming. As far as I know there was never a serious accident on that coast. With the streets cleared for automobiles there is little chance for such sport today.

That the street offers opportunity for coasting even in summer has been discovered by a group of boys. By attaching a board to two pairs of wheels, with a pole or rope to pull by, and a board or old chair-back as a back-rest, a boy has a conveyance which will carry him down the hill with no effort on his part. In spite of cars parked on both sides of the street, and cars going in both directions, some half-dozen boys are often seen enjoying the coast.

In the course of years houses were built on all the lots on the east side of Avon Hill Street, and on the west side above the present Bates Street. Bates Street, laid out from Avon Hill Street, starting north of Avon Place, to Raymond Street, was accepted by the city in 1887, and named for a former owner by Charles W. Cook. This opened up a large tract of land. In spite of "for sale" signs, those aspiring to make their homes there discovered that building lots could not be purchased. In the course of time two houses were built on the north side of the street, but they remained vacant. Mr. Cook was frequently seen sitting on the porch of one. Both of these houses were finally sold. Mr. Cook disappeared from a Bangor boat on August 12, 1916. The whole tract of land was then offered for sale. The first building to be erected was the easterly section of the apartment house on the corner of Linnaean Street and Avon Hill Street. Then other lots were sold, and houses were built until every lot was occupied by a home.

Running east from Avon Hill Street, part way up the hill, is Hillside Avenue, formerly called Foxcroft Street. This was originally called Paper Street. In a letter to the city engineer, Mr. Hastings, dated December 25, 1902, Mr. Frank Foxcroft, who lived on the north side of the street, wrote, "There is a tradition, I believe, that the original owner of the abutting land, having been unfortunate in some speculations, sought

to commemorate that fact in the name of the street. This name 'Foxcroft Street' was bestowed on it, not in my honor, but in that of my ancestors, Judge Francis Foxcroft, father and son. ... I found it inconvenient to try to pronounce the name twice over — once being more than many were equal to — and I got the signature of the abutters to a petition asking the city fathers to call it Hillside Street. They went me one better — if I know what that means — and called it Hillside Avenue, which is perhaps unnecessarily imposing for so short a thoroughfare."

In my childhood there were only two houses on the north side of the street, facing the street. On the other side was a field extending from Avon Hill Street to the Austin estate. In the corner was a group of pines which are still standing. They furnished exercise for us children. We called them our "houses." My "house" still stands in the very corner. In those days the shops where we could trade most conveniently were near the Cambridge railroad station. Our short cut was over the hill, and one day, as I came to that corner, I saw an

unfamiliar bird in my tree. It was a cardinal, the first I had ever seen, but it was unmistakable.

When I first knew Raymond Street there were few houses on the street. There was the one in the Botanic Garden, occupied by the man in charge of the garden, the Dresser estate beyond, and on the other side of the street the house opposite the end of Huron Avenue, occupied for many years by Dr. Edmund H. Stevens, well known and dearly beloved by so many Cambridge people. Further up the street was the home of the surveyor Mr. Mason. Later, other houses were built on the west side and at the top of the hill. When Gray Gardens East was laid out in the Dresser estate and houses were built there, many families were able to enjoy that very pleasant and attractive neighborhood. The greatest change came when streets were laid out in the Botanic Garden, often called "Gray's Garden," because years ago Professor Asa Gray lived in the house which was moved from the garden, across Garden Street, and which now stands on the corner of Madison Street. This house stood where the brick building, the Harvard University Press, now stands and faced Linnaean Street. The Botanic Garden gave great pleasure, not only to botanists, but to lovers and students of nature. Since trees, shrubs, and plants were labeled, we knew just what we were seeing. In the spring the lover of birds often met congenial friends there in the early morning, for the great variety of growing things offered food for cater-

pillars and bugs of various kinds, and the lily pond, which furnished water, attracted birds on their migration north. Long before the starlings had become as numerous as they are today I had a splendid opportunity to study the characteristics of the species. A group of starlings took possession of a woodpecker's hole in a tree overhanging the lily pond. English sparrows aspired to appropriate it, but the starlings would not be ousted, and the English sparrows discovered that they had found a real competitor in the bird world. The land sloped toward Linnaean Street, and at the foot of a banking near Raymond Street water collected in winter after a thaw and, when it froze, furnished a perfectly safe place for children to skate. It was there that I first learned to skate. Raymond Street was named by Mr. Mason in honor of Zebina L. Raymond, a mayor of Cambridge.

Austin's field, as it was familiarly known, offered attractions. This belonged to Mrs. Sarah Austin, who lived in the Cooper-Frost-Austin house on Linnaean Street, now the property of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. I remember Mrs. Austin, who was a picturesque figure in her hoopskirt, red shawl, and little black bonnet. She married the Reverend Reuben Siders, but instead of taking his name, required him to take hers. He became Reverend Richard Thomas Austin. I am told that the Austins used to entertain visiting Unitarian ministers. One who knew the house intimately said, "It must have been awfully hot and uncomfortable for those ministers in the little rooms under the roof."

Mrs. Holden, and her son, Dr. Austin Holden, lived with Mrs. Austin, and continued to live in the house years after Mrs. Austin's death.

The field extended from Linnaean Street to Hillside Avenue, and from the rear of the houselots in Avon Place and the field at the north to about what is now Agassiz Street. A neighbor pastured his cows there, and they sometimes interfered with the childrens' plans.

There was one, a Jersey, with a crumpled horn that we were careful to avoid. A high board fence on Linnaean Street was not as perfect a barrier as one might suppose, for, if one knew how to do it, it was not difficult for even a small girl to climb that fence. There was an orchard at that end of the field, and the trees provided amusement and exercise for a group of children. A depression, about where Washington Avenue now is, we called "the valley." In the winter, when there had been snow, then rain, then a freeze, the valley offered a popular coasting place. Earlier in the winter

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a steeper part of the hill, west of the valley, was our coast. This part was attractive after a big thaw, because the water ran down in streams. Wearing my rubber boots, I spent one whole forenoon wading in the water and slush, making dams and directing streams. This next few days I spent in bed. I wondered how my mother could be so calm and untroubled when wild creatures were rushing about. The doctor said I was threatened with rheumatic fever.

Flowers grew in the field in great profusion; buttercups and daisies made it a veritable flower garden in early summer.

Mrs. Austin had a man, Freeman Tuttle, working on the place. He was no friend of the children, who called him "Screaman Turtle." There were times when we were particularly afraid of him. At the time of his death there was an obituary in one of the papers in which he was described as a "landscape gardener."

After Mrs. Austin's death the property went to a group of heirs who were not near relatives. Then it was that Washington Avenue, which up to that time extended from Upland Road, then called Lambert Avenue, to Hillside Avenue, was continued down the hill to Linnaean Street, and Lancaster Street, at first Lancaster Avenue, was continued up the hill to meet Washington Avenue. That part which had run down the hill to Linnaean Street was renamed Humboldt Street. Austin's field was cut up into house-lots. The first house to be built was on the southeast corner of Washington Avenue and Lancaster Street. Then Henry D. Yerxa built on the opposite corner facing Lancaster Street. Stillman Kelley built on the northwest corner of Washington Avenue and Hillside Avenue, facing Washington Avenue, James Mellen on Washington Avenue south of Mr. Kelley. Later, David A. Ritchie built on the east side of the street, and John Brown on the west; an apartment house was built on the west corner of Washington Avenue and Linnaean Street. Finally an apartment house was built on the opposite corner. For some years this last corner lot was vacant, and Mrs. Holden very kindly allowed my brother and me to use it for a tennis court. We and our friends spent many happy hours there.

The part of Washington Avenue between Hillside Avenue and Upland Road has seen some changes. New houses have been built on the Niles estate and on the northern slope of the hill, but many of the houses have seen little change.

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When the Brooks estate on the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Lancaster Street, including land toward the west, was cut up and houses were built there, our open spaces in the neighborhood were gone.

With the development of the Dresser estate and the building in the Botanic Garden, Garden Street has seen the same kind of change that came to Raymond Street, but in addition Gray Gardens West was laid out in that part of the Dresser estate west of Garden Street. Other houses were built on both sides of the street and in Garden Terrace just beyond the grounds of the Harvard Observatory. At the present time the "Space Science Building" is in the process of construction on the Observatory grounds.

The latest building created on Concord Avenue is St. Peter's High School in connection with St. Peter's church and its attendant buildings. Old maps show that there were some houses on both sides of those streets in early days, but it was only in later years that the streets were so completely built up. With the opening of many new streets on the north slope of the hill during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a great many new houses were built, many to accommodate two or more families. Such an increase in population called for shops, so that now families living in that neighborhood can be supplied with many of the chief necessities of life without going far from home.

Massachusetts Avenue, from which Linnaean, Lancaster, Arlington, and Mt. Vernon Streets, and Upland Road start, looks very different from the street I knew in my childhood. Then there were some vacant lots, and the houses were mostly large and dignified houses, with well-kept lawns, the street shaded by stately elms. More than sixty years ago my father told my mother that she would live to see the Avenue lined with little stores. His prophecy has certainly been fulfilled, but in addition there are great apartment houses, and we have lost the trees.

Mt. Vernon Street, running west up the hill from Massachusetts Avenue, and turning north to Upland Road, appears on maps of the 1860's. There still remain some of the earlier houses built there, but many are of a later date, and the parking lots on both corners of the street and Massachusetts Avenue make it practically unrecognizable to one who knew it years ago.

Arlington Street, running up the hill from Massachusetts Avenue to Washington Avenue, in proportion to its length, has, within my memory,

changed less than any other street in the neighborhood. It was originally called Chapel Street, because of the Holmes Chapel which was at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue. This wooden building was moved down the Avenue, became the Methodist Church, and was replaced later by the present Epworth Church. The name Arlington is said to have been given to the street by Mr. Mason because of the nearness of the street to Mt. Vernon Street.

With the exception of the apartment houses on the corners of the street and Massachusetts Avenue, and some major changes between Walnut Avenue and Massachusetts Avenue, the only changes have been minor ones, as the addition of porches. But the street looks very different from the one I knew as a child, for the trees which were then but small, giving little shade, are now great shade trees.

Walnut Avenue, between Arlington Street and Upland Road, has received some additional houses, but the character of the street has changed but little.

Between Arlington Street and Lancaster Street there is a short passageway leading to a dead end. This is Stone Court, all that is left of the way to the so-called "Gallows Lot," which was on the slope of the hill, that part of which was called "Jones Hill." Here it was that executions took place in the early days until trials, imprisonments, and executions were held in East Cambridge.

Upland Road, formerly Lambert Avenue, on the northern slope of the hill, running up the hill from Massachusetts Avenue, has changed greatly during the years. Now it is a very busy thoroughfare, and houses, often built to accommodate two or more families, line the street on both sides.

With the increase of building and the loss of open spaces, we have lost our wildflowers and our birds. Years ago the Baltimore orioles built their hanging nests every year in the elms in my yard, the hermit thrushes sang there every spring on their way to their nesting grounds further north, and at dusk the nighthawks were seen and heard. At one time the Audubon Bulletin reported that a member of the Society had had two white-throated sparrows at her feeder the previous winter. I had had six all winter long. Now a robin is seen only occasionally and is seldom heard. English sparrows descend in flocks, and starlings in large numbers waddle about the yard in search of food. The bluejay, once completely barred from my feeder, is now really a welcome sight in his beautiful colors.

THE AVON HOME

By EILEEN G. MEANY

Read October 25, 1960

THE Avon Home opened its doors May 30, 1874, to receive the first of the long line of Cambridge children who have sought its sheltering arms. We might say that the Avon Home was founded the day James Huntington, Harvard Square jeweler, was stirred by the plight of a few Cambridge children whom he knew to be living in bitter poverty, homeless and parentless. Out of Mr. Huntington's pity came a resolution to do something for these little ones, and the action he took resulted in the opening on Avon Place of a small house bearing

the name the Orphans' Home for Cambridge Children, a name soon changed to the Avon Place Home, further shortened in 1891 to The Avon Home. Equipped to care for ten children and staffed by its first matron, Sophia Larkin, the home admitted five children that May 30th in 1874. Soon there were ten, and then children were being turned away, although report has it that for one brief period the walls fairly bulged with fourteen residents. This showed Mr. Huntington he had touched only the surface of the city's need. Just at that moment Mr. Huntington suffered a severe financial setback, and he knew he would have to seek help if the Avon Home was to continue. Once again he acted, this time by calling together nine friends and business associates, listed in early records as

Rev. A.P. Peabody

Mrs. Prof. Lovering

Rev. D.O. Mears

Mrs. I.F. Sanger

Mr. B.F. Wyeth

Mrs. W.T. Richardson

Mrs. H.W. Paine

Mrs. Col. Tyler

Mrs. Henry Thayer

These men and women accepted the challenge and became the first board of trustees when, in November, 1874, the Avon Home was incorporated under the laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. They chose as their officers Mrs. H.W. Paine, President, Miss I.F. Sanger, Secretary, Mrs. J.M. Tyler, Treasurer.

Those first board members proved themselves exceptionally valiant

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men and women as they shared the tasks of administering the home, tasks that ran the gamut from fund raising, policy making, and serving on the committee for the acceptance of children to such ordinary chores as tending furnaces, shoveling snow, or cutting grass when the handyman failed to appear, and to the womanly tasks of sewing and cooking when a household crisis arose. If ever trustees knew they were needed, those trustees did.

The fledgling institution grew and became a popular Cambridge charity. Old records show long lists of donations of money, food, clothing, household furnishings, books, and toys by Cambridge families, and accounts of parties or outings given the children by individuals and groups. In 1877 the Holly Tree Inn purchased and gave to the home an adjoining lot of land on Avon Hill Street to enlarge the playspace. In 1879 the Cambridge Horticultural Society gave a gift of \$300 which became the basis for the Avon Home's permanent fund, a fund which, added to steadily by further gifts, legacies, and sound investment, has grown through the years.

In that same year of 1879 a three-story wing containing a playroom and bedrooms was added to the home. This meant that twenty-five children could be accepted. More funds were needed. Board members, church groups, and individual Cantabrigians rallied to the

cause, and in 1880 the first May Fair was held. I am certain that many of you here tonight remember those May Fairs, remember them because you worked for them, or, as excited boys and girls, attended them.

One might well ask who were the children for whom admission to the home was sought eighty-six years ago, why they needed care, and which children the home accepted. There are striking contrasts between that long-ago yesterday and today. For example, in Cambridge in 1874 there were apple orchards in Porter Square, horse-drawn vehicles lumbered through Harvard Square, and Harvard had an enrollment of 1167. How different from the clogged Porter Square, the bumper-to-bumper traffic in Harvard Square, and the Harvard University enrollment of 11,600 we know. Similar contrasts can be made in the field of social welfare.

In 1874 there was a city Welfare Department giving basic financial assistance to the desperately poor. Expenditures that year totaled \$70,536; expenditures in 1959 totaled \$3,516,037.

In 1874 limited private funds were available through such groups as the Cambridge Humane Society, the Howard Benevolent Society, the East Cambridge Female Charitable Society, and the Ladies' Samaritan Society. The Associated Charities, now the Cambridge Family Society, did not appear until 1878. When in those days the death, desertion, or serious illness of one or both parents or culpable neglect of children by alcoholic, immoral, and irresponsible parents meant the break-up of a home, it was customary for relatives to take the children. For some this was a good solution. For others it was no solution at all; the children were not wanted, were an encumbrance. There were also parents who, widowed or deserted and having to work to support their families, were forced to leave children unattended.

It was for children such as these the Avon Home was founded, but with only ten beds in 1874 and twenty-five in 1879 decisions had to be made as to which children could be accepted. Quickly there emerged the following regulations: "Preference shall be given to orphans and foundlings; Secondly, to those whose parents or guardians surrender them to the Trustees for the purpose of adoption, or during minority; and Thirdly, to those not so surrendered. Boys over seven and girls over twelve shall not be admitted, and if practicable, boys over nine and girls over twelve shall not remain in the Home."

The Avon Home at that time was a counterpart of other similar homes throughout the country — a reasonably small house directed by its board of trustees under whom there was a matron, under whom in turn were various other helpers. The children lived together in as nearly a family setting as could be achieved, attended the Peabody School, and went to Sunday school. Medical care was given free by local physicians, among them Drs. Nichols, Vaughan, Stevens, Hildreth, Walcott, Taylor, and McIntire.

The children stayed in the Avon Home for varying periods of time. Some as they grew older left to go to families to live and earn their way, others returned to their own families, and a few went to adoptive homes.

The busy years sped by swiftly. By 1889 the question of the day became Shall we erect a new institution to house thirty-five or forty children? The answer was a clearcut Yes. Chamberlin and Austin drew up plans. The first location considered was a little north of the old home, about opposite the end of Bates Street, but final decision favored purchase

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of land at 309 Mount Auburn Street, opposite the Cambridge Hospital, now called the Mount Auburn Hospital. It was with genuine regret the move was made from the warm, friendly neighborhood of Avon Place, but the new building, substantial and spacious, did indeed have a fine setting, and during the next twenty-two years many children spent many happy hours under its roof. The day's routines and the problems the new home faced were pretty much the same as those of the Avon Place years, but there were changes ahead.

These changes had their root in a new social philosophy that asked whether children might be better served if placed to board in families, given a chance to live within a family group. Eager to provide well for its children and stimulated by this new thinking, the Avon Home began as early as 1902 to use a few trial foster homes, although still continuing the institutional program.

Another milestone was passed in 1909, for in that year the board created the position of general secretary — recognition that the home had prospered to the point where its operation demanded the full-time service of one person.

Emma O. Stannard, who was to remain with the Avon Home until her death twenty-four years later, became the first general secretary, and with her coming the office staff was moved from the institution on Mount Auburn Street to rented offices in the Harvard Trust building in Central Square. Miss Stannard continued the dual program of operating both an institution and a foster home program, but the latter demonstrated its worth so clearly that in February, 1913, it was voted to close the institution and transfer all Avon Home children to foster homes. The Avon Home then became what was known as a child-placing agency, and began its march toward becoming what it is today, a case-work agency in the field of child care. The old institution lay idle for several years. The trustees hoped they might obtain funds to operate a small children's hospital, but this never came about and the vacant building burned in 1918.

One other hoped-for project had been the establishment of a farm home for older boys. This hope had been born when in 1892 Mr. Huntington gave to the home Elmwood, a 128-acre farm in Concord. There was never sufficient money for this project, and in 1903 the property was sold.

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What did this new program of foster home care mean to the Avon Home? Under its original institutional organization the home had just so many beds into which just so many children could fit. The institution had to limit itself to children within a specific age range and to children whose problems could be handled in congregate living. By using foster homes the home could enlarge its program to include children not previously served. There would be foster parents eager to take the newborn infant; others were willing to open their doors to the toddler or the child of grammar school age. There were those who would reach out to accept the adolescent, even those who might help the disturbed, the delinquent child. Thus the new program meant that many roofs could be placed over many heads. But there was need to ask such questions as: How many children can we help? What are the strengths and weaknesses of foster homes? What skills will a staff need to supervise a foster home program?

Undaunted as their predecessors who had sewed and cooked on Avon Place, the board members and general secretary of 1909 took up their tasks. They and their successors learned by "doing" the answers to their questions, and the foster home program was strengthened and expanded. It is still a major function of the Avon Home although other services were added in time.

The first of these came in 1912 when Cambridge Country Week asked that the Avon Home assume responsibility for placing in country boarding homes 127 needy children, children chosen by Cambridge Country Week for short summer vacations. This arrangement continued until 1920, when Cambridge Country Week, in line with the trends of that time, began sending its children to camps rather than to country homes.

The next two ventures into services other than foster home placement were made possible when the Avon Home in 1917 moved from the Central Square offices to the rambling old Houghton house at 1000 Massachusetts Avenue. Rooms were rented there at first, but the building was purchased by the home in 1923. The first of these two ventures came in the spring of 1918 when, after the well-remembered infantile paralysis epidemic, the Harvard Infantile Paralysis Commission asked the Avon Home to help in giving "after care" to afflicted Cambridge children. This resulted in the establishment of an Infantile Clinic to which Cam-

bridge children could come for physiotherapy, the treatment given by a nurse provided by the Harvard Infantile Paralysis Commission. Avon Home board members generously took on the responsibility of transporting children to and from the clinic, while staff members gave any needed casework service. This too became a thing of the past when in 1940 Mount Auburn Hospital established a polio clinic. A need had been seen, a service given, but it was wiser to relinquish the program to more suitable community auspices.

The opening of the Avon Home Community Center came as a natural outgrowth of the agency's own program. Miss Stannard's 1919 report read in part: "All the children who have been in our care and have been returned to their own homes are placed on our follow-up list and are visited more or less frequently as the case requires. This work meets a great need and is a means of cementing much more closely our relation with our children and their families. In the spring of this year we opened, in connection with our office at 1000 Massachusetts Avenue, two new rooms to be used as play and reading rooms for our follow-up children, mainly those living in the immediate neighborhood. These rooms are a great joy to the children, and so was the land at the back of the building, for as soon as the weather was warm enough the boys were given small plots for vegetable gardens and the girls for flower gardens. The yard was furnished with swings, tilts, and a sandbox, most of these being brought down from our old Home on Mount Auburn Street." This work grew — garden plots, swings, and tilts gave way to Scout Troops, handwork classes, dancing, and music lessons; but when in 1943 the city set up nearby a supervised playground, and Scout troops were overlapping, the Avon Home decided another service should end, and the center was closed.

In 1934 the Avon Home welcomed its second general secretary, Esther J. Stuart, who remained until her retirement in 1956. It was during her first years with the agency that the Infantile Clinic was transferred to Mount Auburn Hospital and the Community Center closed. She strengthened foster care services and led the Avon Home into membership in the Child Welfare League of America, the Cambridge Community Federation (now Cambridge Community Services), the Greater Boston Community Fund (now United Fund). She saw, too, that the agency participated actively in state and national societies, such as the

Massachusetts Conference of Social Work and the National Conference of Social Welfare.

Now the years between 1909, when Emma O. Stannard became general secretary of the Avon Home, and 1934, when Esther Stuart succeeded her, brought further great changes in the social work scene mainly because of two developments: first, the strengthening and enlargement of public welfare programs; and second, the emergence of social work as a profession. The former brought about both a change in the reasons why children needed foster care and a shifting of responsibility for care of certain children by private agencies such as the Avon Home to public agencies. For example, by 1934 children of widowed or deserted mothers could remain in their own homes with the local Board of Public Welfare given financial assistance, while the totally dependent child, the child of neglectful, irresponsible parents, the child orphaned or deserted, could be absorbed in state foster care programs. Thus agencies such as the Avon Home were able to expand their work to include acceptance of the delinquent child who could benefit from intensive case work and to accept in greater numbers children who could be released for adoption, a then rapidly growing and specialized field of social work.

Serving the delinquent child has been both discouraging and rewarding, for the delinquent's problems are deep-seated, often hard to reach. Time and experience has shown that almost none of these boys and girls can be helped by placement in foster homes; rather they need

placement in specialized institutions and small group homes, placements that offer, in addition to general care, psychiatric evaluation and therapy. The cost of this is high, but who can put a price upon the life of a child? The Avon Home has placed a limited number of children in these programs. Finances did not permit more.

And now for the adoption story. The Avon Home first placed a child for adoption in 1878, and from that time to 1934 twenty-three children went to adoptive parents. Since 1934, two hundred and eighteen children have been placed in adoptive homes, twelve of them Negro children.

In 1940 there was an exciting deviation. Those were the dark days when it seemed that England might be invaded by her enemies, days in which families here offered refuge to English children. The relaxation of immigration laws made it possible for large groups of these children to enter this country, but because the United States was responsible to the

British Crown for their welfare, a few children's agencies were selected to carry the responsibility of supervising these youngsters in their American homes. The Avon Home was one of these agencies. The transplanting of these English children seemed a tremendous task. There were ups and downs, joys and heartaches, but the scales tipped in favor of happy endings, and eventually all these youngsters returned to their homes.

In 1945 the Avon Home sold the big building at 1000 Massachusetts Avenue, and moved to an office setting of four rooms in the Cambridge Community Services building at 53 Church Street. Out of the fifteen years already spent at this address has come today's five-fold program: consultation for parents or adults who need advice in dealing with a child-centered problem; placement of children in foster homes or specialized programs; casework service to unmarried mothers; adoption; and work with children in their own homes.

As of this morning the Avon Home family was made up of seventy-two boys and girls, all Cambridge children of all races and creeds, aged five days to seventeen years. Some of these children are illegitimate, some are from homes broken by illness, divorce, or separation, and some are delinquent adolescents. Each boy or girl will be served for as brief or as long a period as need requires. For each there will be an individual plan, one that could take the child into a foster home as far north as Billerica, as far south as Plymouth, as far west as Natick, or to a school or institution in Vermont, Rhode Island, New York, or Connecticut, or to an adoptive home even farther afield.

And while we work with and for these boys and girls, we work also with their parents. Usually the parents who turn to the Avon Home have experienced breakdowns in family life, may have erred or failed, may need as much help as their child or children. The unmarried mother needs guidance to reach a decision as to whether to surrender or keep her baby, an ill parent needs encouragement and support. The parents of a delinquent teen-ager need a different type of counseling.

Time does not permit that I share with you even a few stories of Avon Home children. If it did, I could tell you of a stalwart, twenty-four-year-old paratrooper who, when he came to the Avon Home as a ten-month-old baby, had congenital club feet. I could tell you of Evelyn, now wife, mother, and community leader, who at thirteen was a truant and a runaway. There would be George, who at ten was so disturbed by

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his family situation — a deserting father, an alcoholic mother, and home conditions of utter filth and squalor — that he needed an extended period of therapy in a hospital setting, but who today is a college graduate, a trained dairy farmer.

You may ask how the Avon Home has been and is financed. The answer is by private contributions large and small, by legacies, by May Fairs, by careful investment of those contributions and earnings, and in recent times by allocations from the United Fund. The parents of Avon Home children contribute what they can toward the cost of their children's care, but very few can meet anywhere near full cost. Most can do little, a few nothing.

Compressing the Avon Home story into less than a half hour necessarily leaves much unsaid, much to be read between the lines. As a matter of fact, the full story can never be told, for there is no way of determining the number of children who since 1874 have knocked on the agency door. Neither is there any way of measuring the service each received, nor of computing the number of persons who as devoted board members, dedicated staff workers, loving foster parents, and interested friends have made that service possible.

In closing, I should like to list the names of the presidents who have led the Avon Home down the years. These were:

Mrs. Henry W. Paine 1874 to 1887

Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D. 1887 to 1893

William Taggard Piper 1893 to 1911

William W. Dallinger 1913 to 1924

Charles H. Montague 1925 to 1930

Clinton P. Biddle 1930 to 1939

John C. Baker 1939 to 1945

Hans L. Carstensen 1945 to 1957

Today's President, Stanley H. Lawton, has served since 1957.

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BREMER WHIDDEN POND

By LOIS LILLEY HOWE

Read October 27, 1959

BREMER Whidden Pond, former Secretary of the Cambridge Historical Society, died September 2, 1959, in Hanover, New Hampshire. Born in Boston in 1884, Bremer Pond graduated from Dartmouth College in 1906, and then came to Harvard, where he became Master of Landscape Architecture in 1906. Later he served as secretary to the distinguished landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead. In 1915 he opened his own office in Boston. For many years before his retirement in 1950, he served as Charles Eliot Professor of Landscape Architecture and Chairman of the Department of Landscape Architecture in the Harvard Graduate School of Design.

Among Mr. Pond's work were the years for Colby Junior College, Southern Methodist University, the University of New Hampshire, and the Tuck Drive at Hanover, New Hampshire. Members of the society remember with affection and gratitude his years of service as their secretary.

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ANNUAL REPORTS

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1959

The fifty-fourth annual meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society was held on Tuesday, January 27, at the Radcliffe Graduate Center. Mr. John W. Wood, the first vice-president, presided. The annual reports of the secretary and treasurer were accepted as read. Mr. Sterling Dow gave the first annual report of the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar.

Mr. Arthur Sutherland read a biography of David T. Pottinger, president of this Society from 1955 until his death in November 1958. This memorial was published in Volume 37 of the Society's Proceedings.

Mr. Dows Dunham presented the report of the nominating committee. The report was accepted and the secretary cast one vote in favor of the slate.

The speaker of the evening was Mr. Charles P. Whitlock, Assistant to the President of Harvard University. His title was "Harvard Plans for the Future." He emphasized two facts which have influenced these plans: (1) that Cambridge has become a city with big city problems; (2) that the university land holdings have not been greatly increased since the

time of President Eliot, and so require replanning for maximum use. Mr. Whitlock showed drawings, photographs, and maps of new plans and of buildings to be remodeled.

The spring meeting was held on Tuesday, April 28, at the Lee-Nichols House. Mrs. George W. Howe, the president, presided. The series of changes in the charter and the by-laws to conform with the new

responsibilities due to the gift of the Lee-Nichols House was finally completed by vote. The speaker was Miss Margery S. Foster, Assistant to the President of Mount Holyoke College and Lecturer in Economics. She spoke on the "Cost of a Harvard Education in the Puritan Period." Her statistics brought out the fact that a college education has been an expensive item in every generation.

The garden party meeting was held at four o'clock on Tuesday, May 26, at the Lee-Nichols House. A paper was given on the "Harvard Branch Railroad" by Mr. Robert W. Lovett of the Baker Library, Harvard Business School. The Harvard Branch was three-quarters of a mile long, a single track with sidings, running from the main line of the Fitchburg Railroad in Somerville to the Cambridge Common. Built by a group of civic-minded citizens, the line was operated for six years, 1849—1855, and then was sold at auction because of financial difficulties.

The autumn meeting was held on Tuesday, October 27, at the Lee-Nichols House. The president read an obituary written by Miss Lois Lilley Howe in honor of Bremer Whidden Pond, who died in September. Mr. Pond was a distinguished landscape architect and a former secretary of this Society, 1944-1947. He named the Cambridge Historical Society as one of the residuary legatees in his will and left silver and furniture from his Cambridge apartment for use in the Lee-Nichols House. The speaker was Mrs. John H. Williams of Cambridge who read a paper on Margaret Fuller entitled "A Life of Storms." Mrs. Williams sketched the historical background of the writers and philosophers of the early nineteenth century in Cambridge and Concord, and gave a sympathetic account of this remarkable young Cambridge woman of letters while in this country and later in Europe.

The Council held five meetings during the year, and by its vote the Lee-Nichols House has been open to visitors every Thursday afternoon except on holidays.

Mrs. Howe appointed a committee with Miss Mabel Colgate as chairman to select the gift made by friends of Mr. Pottinger. A silver teapot and sugar and creamer made in Boston by Bigelow Brothers before 1840 was purchased.

In June, Widener Library needed for expansion of its archives the storage space in its basement generously loaned to this Society for many years. A committee of the Council with Mr. Sterling Dow made basic

recommendations for future care of our collection of books, pictures, and historic materials. A full report on the collection will be ready at a later date.

We have received gifts of plant material and many hours of labor in the garden from members of the Cambridge Garden Club.

The Council adopted plans for further restoration of the Lee-Nichols House. For these we are indebted to Mrs. Ross and Mr. Abbott Cummings of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities for their advice. We are grateful to Mr. William Young of the Museum of Fine Arts for his continued help in the problem of preservation of the French wallpapers. Mr. Robert Henderson, chairman of restoration and repairs; Mr. William Payson, our legal advisor; Mrs. George Roorbach's house committee; Mrs. Sterling Dow's committee on gifts and the Thursday afternoon hostesses organized by Miss Noyes and Miss Almy have given generously of their time. And lastly to Mrs. George W. Howe, who served as our interim president so ably, so tactfully, and so graciously, we owe our deepest gratitude.

Respectfully submitted

ANNA D. HOLLAND

Secretary

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1960

THE FIFTY-FIFTH annual meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society was held on Tuesday, January 26, 1960, at quarter past eight o'clock in the Longfellow House. Mrs. Howe, the president, presided. The secretary's report and that of the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar, Mr. Sterling Dow, were read and accepted. The treasurer's report was placed on file. The report of the nominating committee was read by Mr. Evarts, and after the secretary had cast a vote in its favor, Mr. William L. Payson became our seventh president and was presented to the Society.

Mr. Richard W. Hall read a lighthearted paper, though a bit nostalgic, entitled "Recollections of the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club." Its forerunner, the Dramatic Club, started in 1876, had to disband in 1885. It was revived with a new name under favorable circumstances in 1891 and carried on brilliantly for a while until changing times caused it to dissolve again in 1950. Even so, it was one of the three oldest dramatic societies in the country.

The spring meeting was held on April 26 at the Lee-Nichols House, at which Miss Jeannette E. Graustein, Professor Emeritus of Biological Sciences at the University of Delaware, spoke on "Natural History at Harvard, 1788-1842." The study of natural history was one result of the beginning of instruction in medicine at the college, as plants were the chief source of medicine, or as it was then called, physic. Miss Graustein carried the story from the

beginning under Dr. Waterhouse through Professor William D. Peck and Thomas Nuttall up to the appointment of Asa Gray.

The May 24 meeting at the Lee-Nichols House was well attended in spite of the rain. The Reverend John A. Harrer, Librarian of the Congregational Library, spoke on "Jose Glover and the Beginnings of the Cambridge Press." The wealthy Mr. Glover bought a printing press, engaged the Days, father and son, to run it, and accompanied by them and his family sailed from England for Boston in 1638. Unfortunately he died on the trip, but the Days carried on. The second part of Mr. Harrer's paper dealt with the method of printing and with some of the famous books printed on the press.

The October 25 meeting was held at the Lee-Nichols House. Mrs.

Henry H. Saunderson, a member of long standing, read a delightful paper on her childhood in the Avon Hill district, then called the "Cambridge Heights." This was followed by an interesting and informative paper on the "Story of the Avon Home" by Miss Eileen G. Meany, General Secretary of the Home.

The Council met three times during the year, in February, June, and October. At the first meeting, the president announced the membership of the standing committees, and the programs for the year were settled. At the later meetings what had been accomplished was summed up and new steps were decided on.

The restoration of the front hall and stairs under the supervision of Mrs. J. Clifford Ross and Mr. Abbott L. Cummings, started in the fall of 1959, was completed in January and gave a brighter welcome to all who entered the house. Another restoration, exhibited at the October meeting, was of the portrait of Washington Allston by Chester Harding which had been bequeathed to the Society by Mrs. Gozzaldi. Portraits by Chester Harding are now held in high esteem, and we are fortunate to have this one.

On January 19, Mrs. Howe, Miss Noyes, and Mrs. Holland gave a tea party for the forty-odd members who had served as hostesses on the Thursday afternoons during the summer and the fall when the house was open. The silver tea set given in memory of Mr. Pottinger, used for the first time, drew much admiration, as also did the grandfather clock bequeathed by Mr. Pond. This was a friendly affair, and we became better acquainted with one another.

On March 31 the Council held a small tea party for Mrs. Harold Pulsifer of New York, born Susan Nichols. She is a descendant of the George Nichols from whom our House received the second half of its name. Her father as a little boy listened to his father's bed-time stories, a collection of which Miss Lois Lilley Howe gave us a copy. Mrs. Pulsifer was very much interested in the house and read to us from some of the family diaries. We hope to have her come again and tell us more.

We are grateful to our officers and committee members for guiding us through this successful year, to our hosts and hostesses for making our meetings so pleasant, and to our Thursday afternoon hostesses for giving so generously of their time.

Respectfully submitted,

ANNA D. HOLLAND

Secretary

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REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1959

Statement of Income and Expenses
Year Ended December 31, 1959

| | | | |
|---|------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Income:</i> | | | |
| <i>Investments:</i> | | | |
| Savings bank interest | \$ 388.93 | | |
| Bond interest | 836.02 | | |
| Dividends on common stocks | 1,392.96 | \$2,617.91 | |
| <i>Operations:</i> | | | |
| Membership dues | \$1,259.00 | | |
| Guest and admission fees | 85.50 | | |
| Sale of publications | 6.50 | | |
| Miscellaneous sales | 227.16 | | |
| Voluntary donations | 645.00 | | |
| Contributions in memory of David T. Pottinger | 35.00 | | |
| Special donations | 2,750.00 | | |
| Transferred from general fund | 1,000.00 | 6,008.16 | |
| | | <u>\$8,626.07</u> | |
| <i>Operating expense:</i> | | | |
| <i>Operations:</i> | | | |
| Meetings | \$ 412.05 | | |
| Clerical and postage | 268.65 | | |
| Printing and stationery | 120.00 | | |
| Proceedings | 1,257.93 | | |
| Miscellaneous | 487.89 | \$2,546.52 | |
| <i>Real estate, 159 Brattle Street:</i> | | | |
| Repairs and maintenance | \$4,186.28 | | |
| Insurance | 257.40 | | |
| Acquisitions | 282.87 | 4,726.55 | 7,273.07 |
| <i>Net income for the year</i> | | | <u>\$1,353.00</u> |
| <i>Deduct:</i> | | | |
| Addition to structural repair fund | | 2,000.00 | |
| <i>Excess of expense over income for the year</i> | | <u>\$ 647.00</u> | |

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Statement of Changes in Funds
Year Ended December 31, 1959

| | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| <i>Permanent Fund</i> | | |
| Balance, January 1, 1959 | | \$54,831.23 |
| No change | | |
| Balance, December 31, 1959 | | <u>\$54,831.23</u> |
| <i>General Fund</i> | | |
| Balance, January 1, 1959 | | \$10,718.18 |
| Deductions: | | |
| Excess of expense over income | | |
| for the year | \$ 647.00 | |
| Transferred to income | 1,000.00 | 1,647.00 |
| Balance, December 31, 1959 | | <u>\$ 9,071.18</u> |
| <i>Plant Fund</i> | | |
| Balance, January 1, 1959 | | \$ 1,004.00 |
| Addition: | | |
| Appropriation from net income | | |
| to Structural Repair Fund | | 2,000.00 |
| Balance, December 31, 1959 | | <u>\$ 3,004.00</u> |
| <i>Total Funds</i> | | |
| Balance, January 1, 1959 | | \$66,553.41 |
| Net addition | | <u>353.00</u> |
| Balance, December 31, 1959 | | <u>\$66,906.41</u> |

Statement of Assets and Funds
December 31, 1959

| Assets | | | Funds | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Permanent Fund Assets:</i> | | | <i>Permanent Funds:</i> | |
| Savings account | \$ 1,220.59 | | Restricted principal: | |
| | | | Cook bequest | \$ 1,006.67 |
| | | | Emerson bequest | 20,000.00 |
| | | | Life membership fund ... | <u>1,325.00</u> |
| | | | | \$22,331.67 |
| Bonds, at cost, | | | Unrestricted principal: | |
| Market value \$23,074 | 24,162.54 | | Bequests and donations ... | \$19,319.89 |
| Stocks, at cost, | | | Unexpended income | <u>10,722.04</u> |
| Market value \$41,281 | <u>29,448.10</u> | \$54,831.23 | Capital gains | <u>2,457.63</u> |
| | | | | \$54,831.23 |
| <i>General Fund Assets:</i> | | | <i>General Fund:</i> | |
| Savings account | \$ 3,956.76 | | General fund | 9,071.18 |
| Bonds, at cost, | | | | |
| Market value \$3,063 .. | 3,067.50 | | | |
| Cash in checking ac- | | | | |
| count | <u>2,046.92</u> | 9,071.18 | | |
| | | | | |
| <i>Plant Fund Assets:</i> | | | <i>Plant Fund:</i> | |
| (Non-cash items at | | | Structural repair fund | \$ 3,000.00 |
| nominal values for | | | Emerson bequest | 2.00 |
| record purposes) | | | Plant fund | <u>2.00</u> |
| Savings account | \$ 3,000.00 | | | 3,004.00 |
| Land | 1.00 | | | <u>\$66,906.41</u> |
| Buildings | 1.00 | | | |
| Furniture and fixtures .. | 1.00 | | | |
| Collections et cetera | 1.00 | 3,004.00 | | |
| | | <u>\$66,906.41</u> | | |

Oakes I. Ames, *Treasurer*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1960

Statement of Income and Expenses
Year Ended December 31, 1960

| | | |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Income:</i> | | |
| Investments: | | |
| Savings bank interest | \$ 314.47 | \$ |
| Bond interest | 1,088.75 | |
| Dividends on common stocks | 1,528.43 | 2,931.65 |
| | <u> </u> | |
| Deduct — Bond premiums written off | | 255.99 |
| Net Income from investments | | <u>2,675.66</u> |
| Operations: | | |
| Member dues | 1,237.00 | |
| Guest and admission fees | 86.49 | |
| Sale of publications | 363.07 | |
| Miscellaneous sales | 2.55 | |
| Voluntary donations | 655.00 | |
| Special donations | 2,185.13 | 4,529.24 |
| | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| Total Income | | \$7,204.90 |
| <i>Operating expense:</i> | | |
| Operations: | | |
| Meetings | \$ 427.56 | |
| Clerical and postage | 216.24 | |
| Printing and stationery | 140.45 | |
| Proceedings — Index | 220.00 | |
| Miscellaneous | 416.97 | 1,421.22 |
| | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| Real estate — 159 Brattle Street: | | |
| Repairs and maintenance | 1,471.43 | |
| Insurance | 441.85 | |
| Miscellaneous | 7.16 | 1,920.44 |
| | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| Total operating expense | | \$3,341.66 |
| Net income for the year | | \$3,863.24 |
| Deduct: | | |
| Addition to structural repair fund | | 1,500.00 |
| Balance of income for the year | | <u>\$2,363.24</u> |

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Statement of Changes in Funds
Year Ended December 31, 1960

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| <i>Permanent Fund</i> | |
| Balance, January 1, 1960 | \$54,831.23 |
| Addition: | |
| Capital gains | 1,335.07 |
| Balance, December 31, 1960 | <u>\$56,166.30</u> |
| <i>General Fund</i> | |
| Balance, January 1, 1960 | \$ 9,071.18 |
| Addition: | |
| Excess of income over expense for the year | 2,363.24 |
| Balance, December 31, 1960 | <u>\$11,434.42</u> |
| <i>Plant Fund</i> | |
| Balance, January 1, 1960 | \$ 3,004.00 |
| Addition: | |
| Appropriation from net income to structural repair fund | 1,500.00 |
| Balance, December 31, 1960 | <u>\$ 4,504.00</u> |
| <i>Total Funds</i> | |
| Balance, January 1, 1960 | \$66,906.41 |
| Net addition | 5,198.31 |
| Balance, December 31, 1960 | <u>\$72,104.72</u> |

December 31, 1960
Statement of Assets and Funds

| <i>Assets</i> | | | <i>Funds</i> |
|--|-------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Permanent Fund Assets:</i> | | | |
| Savings Account | \$ 1,632.25 | | <i>Permanent Funds:</i> |
| Bonds, at lower of cost or par (Market value \$23,970) | 23,974.05 | | Restricted principal: |
| Common stocks, at cost (Market value \$42,833) | 30,560.00 | \$56,166.30 | Cook bequest |
| | | | Emerson bequest |
| | | | Life membership fund |
| | | | \$22,331.67 |
| | | | <i>Unrestricted principal:</i> |
| | | | Bequests and donations |
| | | | Unexpended income |
| | | | Capital gains |
| | | | 30,041.93 |
| | | | 3,792.70 |
| | | | \$56,166.30 |
| <i>General Fund Assets:</i> | | | |
| Savings account | 6,024.26 | | <i>General Fund:</i> |
| Bonds, at lower of cost or par (Market value \$3,195) | 3,000.00 | | General fund |
| Cash in checking ac- count | 2,410.16 | 11,434.42 | |
| | | | 11,434.42 |
| <i>Plant Fund Assets:</i> (Non-cash items at nominal value for record purposes) | | | |
| Savings account | 4,500.00 | | <i>Plant Fund:</i> |
| Land | 1.00 | | Structural repair fund |
| Buildings | 1.00 | | Emerson bequest |
| Furniture and fixtures .. | 1.00 | | Plant fund |
| Collections, et cetera | 1.00 | 4,504.00 | |
| | | | 4,500.00 |
| | | | 2.00 |
| | | | 2.00 |
| | | | 4,504.00 |
| | | | \$72,104.72 |
| | | \$72,104.72 | |

Oakes I. Ames, Treasurer

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE

CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS:

I have examined the statement of assets and funds of the Cambridge Historical Society as of December 31, 1959, and the related statements of income and expense, and changes in funds for the year then ended. My examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as I considered necessary in the circumstances.

In my opinion, the accompanying statement of assets and funds and related statements of income and expense and changes in funds present fairly the financial condition of the Cambridge Historical Society at December 31, 1959, and the results of its operations for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

ROBERT A. CUSHMAN

Certified Public Accountant

Cambridge, Massachusetts

January 75, 1960

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE

CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS:

I have examined the statement of assets and funds of the Cambridge Historical Society as of December 31, 1960, and the related statements of income and expense and changes in funds for the year then ended. My examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as I considered necessary in the circumstances.

In my opinion, the accompanying statement of assets and funds and the related statements of income and expense and changes in funds present fairly the financial conditions of the Cambridge Historical Society at December 31, 1960, and the results of its operations for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year, except for the write-off of bond premiums against income, which has my approval.

ROBERT A. CUSHMAN

Certified Public Accountant

Cambridge, Massachusetts

January 21, 1961

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LIST OF MEMBERS, 1959, 1960

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>Caroline Elizabeth Ayer (Mrs. R.W.) Albright</i> | <i>Mary MacArthur (Mrs. K.) Bryan</i> |
| <i>Raymond Wolf Albright</i> | <i>McGeorge Bundy</i> |
| <i>Margaret Wilder (Mrs. P.F.) Alles</i> | <i>Mary Lothrop (Mrs. McG.) Bundy</i> |
| <i>Paul Frost Alles</i> | <i>Eleanor Sheridan (Mrs. D.E.) Burr</i> |
| <i>Elizabeth Gardner (Mrs. C.) Almy</i> | <i>Douglas Bush</i> |
| <i>Mary Almy</i> | <i>Hazel Cleaver (Mrs. D.) Bush</i> |
| <i>Harriet Hastings (Mrs. O.I.) Ames</i> | <i>Bernice Cannon</i> |
| <i>James Barr Ames</i> | <i>Paul DeWitt Caskey</i> |
| <i>Mary Ogden (Mrs. J.B.) Ames</i> | <i>Ruth Blackman (Mrs. P.D.) Caskey</i> |
| <i>Oakes Ingalls Ames</i> | <i>Alice Channing</i> |
| <i>John Bradshaw Atkinson</i> | <i>Louise Fletcher (Mrs. C.L.) Chase</i> |
| <i>Louise Marie (Mrs. J.B.) Atkinson</i> | <i>Dudley Clapp</i> |
| <i>*Catherine Smith (Mrs. D.W.) Bailey</i> | <i>Helen Sheldon (Mrs. D.) Clapp</i> |
| <i>David Washburn Bailey</i> | <i>(A) Roger Saunders Clapp</i> |
| <i>Ellen Nealley (Mrs. G.) Bailey</i> | <i>(A) Winifred Irwin (Mrs. R.S.) Clapp</i> |
| <i>Gage Bailey</i> | <i>Arthur Harrison Cole</i> |
| <i>Helen Diman (Mrs. I.W.) Bailey</i> | <i>Anna Stechel (Mrs. A.H.) Cole</i> |
| <i>Frances Josephine Baker</i> | <i>(L) Mabel Hall Colgate</i> |
| <i>Alethea Pew (Mrs. E.J.) Barnard</i> | <i>Mary Conlan</i> |
| <i>Edmund Johnson Barnard</i> | <i>John Phillips Collidge</i> |
| <i>Ruth Richards (Mrs. A.) Beane</i> | <i>Mary Elizabeth Welch (Mrs. J.P.) Coolidge</i> |
| <i>Ralph Beatley</i> | <i>Theresa Reynolds (Mrs. J.L.) Coolidge</i> |
| <i>Pierre Belliveau</i> | <i>Phyllis Byrne (Mrs. G.) Cox</i> |
| <i>Frank Aloysius Kenney Boland</i> | <i>Katharine Foster Crothers</i> |
| <i>Velma Louise Gibson (Mrs. F.A.K.) Boland</i> | <i>Esther Lanman (Mrs. R.A.) Cushman</i> |
| <i>Charles Stephen Bolster</i> | <i>Robert Adams Cushman</i> |

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>Elizabeth Winthrop (Mrs. C.S.) Bolster</i> | <i>Sally Adams (Mrs. C.F.) Cushman</i> |
| <i>Sylvia Church (Mrs. I.) Bowditch</i> | <i>Richard Ammi Cutter</i> |
| <i>Florence Royer (Mrs. W.H.) Bradley</i> | <i>Ruth Dexter Grew (Mrs. R.A.) Cutter</i> |
| <i>Laura Post (Mrs. S.A.) Breed</i> | <i>John Francis Davis</i> |
| | <i>Margaret Finck (Mrs. J.F.) Davis</i> |

****Died***

(A) Associate Member

*****Resigned***

(L) Life member

Gardiner Mumford Day

Cecil Thayer Derry

Thomas Henri De Valcourt

Arthur Stone Dewing

Frances H. Rousmanier (Mrs. A.S.) Dewing

Frank Currier Doble

Helen Dadmun (Mrs. F.C.) Doble

Frances Cooper-Marshall (Mrs. J.) Donovan

James Donovan

Elizabeth Flagg (Mrs. S.) Dow

Ethel Dora Appleton (Mrs. G.L.) Dow

George Lincoln Dow

Sterling Dow

Arthur Drinkwater

Dows Dunham

Marion Jessie (Mrs. D.) Dunham

James Morse Dunning

Mae Bradford (Mrs. J.M.) Dunning

Aldrich Durant

(L) Ethel Harding (Mrs. F.C.) Durant

Faith Lanman (Mrs. A.) Durant

Eleanor Clark (Mrs. O.) Earle

Osborne Earle

Charles William Eliot, 2nd

Regina Dodge (Mrs. C.W.) Eliot

Mary Fife (Mrs. L.E.) Emerson

Hollis Guptill Gerrish

Henry Lathrop Gilbert

Priscilla Brown (Mrs. H.L.) Gilbert

Roger Gilman

Robert Lincoln Goodale

Susan Sturgis (Mrs. R.L.) Goodale

Charles Chauncey Gray

Pauline De Friez (Mrs. C.C.) Gray

Dusser de Barenne (Mrs. J.D.) Greene

**Jerome Davis Greene*

(L) Helen McQuesten (Mrs. P.) Gring

Addison Gulick

Margaret Buckingham (Mrs. A.) Gulick

Lillian Helen (Mrs. T.) Hadley

Edward Everett Hale

Helen Holmes (Mrs. E.E.) Hale

Rufus Frost Hale

Tacie Belle Houston (Mrs. R.F.) Hale

Constance Huntington Hall

Richard Walworth Hall

Amy deGozzaldi (Mrs. R.W.) Hall

**Franklin Tweed Hammond*

**Charles Lane Hanson*

**Mary Caroline Hardy*

Mary Louise Perry (Mrs. R.W.) Harwood

Christina Doyle (Mrs. R.H.) Haynes

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| <i>Mary Lillian (Mrs. R.C.) Evarts</i> | <i>Robert Hammond Haynes</i> |
| <i>Richard Conover Evarts</i> | <i>Florence Wilhelmina (Mrs. N.) Heard</i> |
| <i>Pearl Brock Fahrney</i> | <i>Lucy Gregory (Mrs. R.G.) Henderson</i> |
| <i>Marian Carter Thomson (Mrs. R.M.) Faulkner</i> | <i>Robert Graham Henderson</i> |
| <i>Richard Manning Faulkner</i> | <i>Albert Frederick Hill</i> |
| <i>Hester Lawrence (Mrs. R.D.) Fay</i> | <i>**Dorothy Woodbridge (Mrs. G.G.) Hill</i> |
| <i>Richard Dudley Fay</i> | <i>**Gordon Green Hill</i> |
| <i>Eleanor Tyson Cope (Mrs. H.W.) Foote</i> | <i>Georgiana Ames (Mrs. T.L.) Hinckley</i> |
| <i>Henry Wilder Foote</i> | <i>Janet Elliott (Mrs. R.B.) Hobart</i> |
| <i>Edward Waldo Forbes</i> | <i>Richard Bryant Hobart</i> |
| <i>Lois Whitney (Mrs. A.B.) Forbes</i> | <i>Anna Coolidge Davenport (Mrs C. M.) Holland</i> |
| <i>Alden Simonds Foss</i> | <i>George Wright Howe</i> |
| <i>Dorothy Tenney (Mrs. A.S.) Foss</i> | <i>Lois Lilley Howe</i> |
| <i>(A) Francis Apthorp Foster</i> | <i>Rosamond Coolidge (Mrs. G.W.) Howe</i> |
| <i>Ingeborg Gade Frick</i> | <i>Elsie Powell (Mrs. E.) Ingraham</i> |
| <i>Claire MacIntyre (Mrs. R.N.) Ganz</i> | <i>Dorothy Judd (Mrs. Wm. A.) Jackson</i> |
| <i>Robert Norton Ganz</i> | <i>**Pauline Fay (Mrs. A.L.) Jackson</i> |
| <i>* Alice Rowland (Mrs. H.G.) Garrett</i> | <i>William Alexander Jackson</i> |
| <i>Catherine Ruggles (Mrs. H.G.) Gerrish</i> | <i>(L) Constance Bouve (Mrs. H.A.) Jenks</i> |

(L) Henry Angier Jenks

Llewellyn Jones

Susan Wilbur (Mrs. L.) Jones

Frances Ruml (Mrs. W.K.) Jordan

Wilbur Kitchener Jordan

Albert Guy Keith

(L) Theodora Keith

Frederick Hammond Knight

Lucy Harrison (Mrs. F.H.) Knight

Louise Higgins Langenberg

Rowena Morse (Mrs. Wm. L.) Langer

William Leonard Langer

Marion Florence Lansing

(A) Susan Taber Low

Dorothy St. John Manks

James Watt Mavor

Gladys Smyth (Mrs. R.) May

Ralph May

Elinor Gregory (Mrs. K.D.) Metcalf

Keyes De Witt Metcalf

Alva Morrison

Amy Gallagher (Mrs. A.) Morrison

James Buell Munn

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

Elizabeth Dunham (Mrs. G.H.) Nadel

George Hares Nadel

Faith Eddy (Mrs. J.M.) Potter

Mildred Stone (Mrs. D.T.) Pottinger

***Alice Edmands Putnam*

**Mary Clement Parker (Mrs. H.W.) Read*

Fred Norris Robinson

George Irwin Rohrbough

Martha Fraser (Mrs. G.I.) Rohrbough

Alfred Sherwood Romer

Ruth Hibbard (Mrs. A.S.) Romer

Anne Elizabeth Hubble (Mrs. G.B.) Roorbach

Gertrude Swan (Mrs. J.C.) Runkle

Paul Joseph Sachs

Charles Rodney Sage

Marjorie Llewellyn (Mrs. C.R.) Sage

Agnes Goldman (Mrs. A.) Sanborn

Cyrus Ashton Rollins Sanborn

Edward Joseph Samp, Jr.

Laura Dudley (Mrs. H.H.) Saunderson

Erwin Haskell Schell

Esther Sidelinger (Mrs. E.H.) Schell

(L) Edgar Vigers Seeler, Jr.

(L) Katherine PerLee (Mrs. E.V.) Seeler, Jr.

Eugenia Jackson (Mrs. P.P.) Sharples

Philip Price Sharples

Mary Frances Trafton (Mrs. J.L.) Simonds

John Langdon Simonds

Elizabeth Flint (Mrs. F.H.) Nesmith
Edwin Broomell Newman
Mary Beaumont (Mrs. E.B.) Newman
Grace Wyeth (Mrs. A.P.) Norris
John Torrey Norton
Rose Eleanor Demon (Mrs. J.T.) Norton
Penelope Barker Noyes
Joseph A. O'Gorman
Isabel Marchant (Mrs. W.G.) O'Neil
Walter George O'Neil
Doris Madelyn (Mrs. F.M.) Palmer
Foster McCrum Palmer
Nancy Johnson (Mrs. S.B.) Parker
Stanley Brampton Parker
Frederica Watson (Mrs. Wm. L.) Payson
William Lincoln Payson
Barbara Welch (Mrs. E.) Peabody
Marion Hilton Pike
Elizabeth Bridge Piper
Mary Friedlander (Mrs. J.S.) Plaut
**(L) Bremer Whidden Pond*
Lucy Kingsley (Mrs. A.K.) Porter

Elizabeth Copley Singleton
Carol Mary Smith
Clement Andrew Smith
Edna Stevenson (Mrs. W.) Smith
**(L) Margaret Beal Earhart (Mrs. C.A.) Smith*
William Stevenson Smith
Chauncey Depew Steele, Jr.
Marian Elizabeth (Mrs. C.D.) Steele, Jr.
Katharine Ladd Storey (Mrs. T.L.) Storer
Theodore Lyman Storer
Lura Gaston (Mrs. G.S.) Summers
Arthur Eugene Sutherland
Mary Elizabeth Genung (Mrs. A.E.) Sutherland
Ellamae McKee (Mrs. W.D.) Swan
William Donnison Swan

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|---|--|
| <i>Helen Ingersoll Tetlow</i> | <i>Walter Muir Whitehill</i> |
| <i>Priscilla Gough (Mrs. R.) Treat</i> | <i>Charles Frederick Whiting</i> |
| <i>Robert Treat</i> | <i>Amos Niven Wilder</i> |
| <i>(L) Eleanor Gray (Mrs. H.D.) Tudor</i> | <i>Catherine Kerlin (Mrs. A.N.) Wilder</i> |
| <i>(L) Mary Wellington (Mrs. K.S.) Usher</i> | <i>Constance Bigelow Williston</i> |
| <i>Mabel Henderson (Mrs. W.E.) Vandermark</i> | <i>Grace Davenport (Mrs. H.J.) Winslow</i> |
| <i>John Reed Walden</i> | <i>Henry Joshua Winslow</i> |
| <i>Marjory Howland (Mrs. M.H.) Walter</i> | <i>Henry Wise</i> |
| <i>*Olive Ely Allen (Mrs. F.D.) Washborn</i> | <i>Pearl (Mrs. H.) Wise</i> |
| <i>Henry Bradford Washburn</i> | <i>Alice Russell (Mrs. J. W.) Wood</i> |
| <i>Marguerite Bigelow (Mrs. W.B.) Webster</i> | <i>*(A) John Russell Wood</i> |
| <i>William Burton Webster</i> | <i>John William Wood</i> |
| <i>Harriet Eaton (Mrs. T.N.) Whitehead</i> | <i>Charles Conrad Wright</i> |
| <i>Thomas North Whitehead</i> | <i>Elizabeth Hilgendorff (Mrs. C. C.) Wright</i> |
| <i>Jane Revere Coolidge (Mrs. W.M.) Whitehill</i> | <i>Elizabeth Woodman (Mrs. C. H. C.) Wright</i> |