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# *OFFICERS AND COUNCIL MEMBERS, 1976-1979*

1976

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*1977*

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**Curator** *Harley P. Holden*

**Editor** *Madeleine Rowse Gleason, pro tem*

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*Sims Morison*

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**1978**

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*Max R. Hall*  
*Robert P. Moncreiff*  
*Anne Sims Morison*  
*Foster M. Palmer*  
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**1979**

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**Curator** *Carolyn Stetson Ames*

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*Anne Sims Morison*

*John Ex Rodgers*

*Miriam Kellogg Truslow*

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## *Introductory Note*

*As the Cambridge Historical Society nears its eightieth birthday, so does its series of published Proceedings: the first volume, covering the Society's inaugural year, appeared in 1906. Through succeeding decades the giving and publishing of papers on Cambridge history has remained a central activity.*

*In earlier years the papers were fairly formal exercises, written by members and read to fellow members at meetings held during the course of the year. More recently, the Society has often called upon speakers outside its ranks, and the format has broadened to include a variety of presentations, some informal rather than written out, and some—in this audiovisual age—built around sequences of slides. Not all such presentations lend themselves to publication, and this circumstance, together with rising printing costs, has impelled a more selective publication policy.*

*This volume contains ten papers given during the years 1976-1979. Others presented during the period are listed at the close of this volume. In nearly all cases, manuscripts or tape recordings may be consulted in the Society's files.*

*Several factors, including a concentration of the Society's energies and resources on the restoration of the Hooper-Lee-Nichols House, delayed the compiling and editing of this volume. May it lend a bit of luster to our anniversary year.*

*Edward T. James*

*Editor*

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## *Let Us Remember: A Cambridge Boyhood*

*BY DAN HUNTINGTON FENN*

**I***N 1901 my parents, William Wallace and Faith Huntington (Fisher) Fenn, moved their family to Cambridge after a ten-year transplanting period in Chicago during which their five children were born. As the youngest I was just four years old when we became Cantabrigian. For the first seven or eight years we lived in what is now called the Avon Hill area. Our first house, still standing, was at 47 Raymond Street. We soon discovered that the*

*young fry in the neighborhood referred to it as "the house where the lady was turned to stone." Mrs. Bergen, the wife of the owner, was an invalid. In good weather she spent much of her time sitting perfectly still on the front porch and seemed to the passerby as a graven image. Our second house in the area was at 176 Upland Road.*

*In those days there was plenty of open space to satisfy a girl and four boys. We had our own generous back yard and an open field separating our house from its nearest neighbor on the north, the home of Dr. Edmund Stevens, which still looks down Huron Avenue. Although I have no personal remembrance of Dr. Stevens himself, I do recall one incident pointing up the difference in the practice of surgery between that time and this. Dr. Stevens repaired a hernia for my oldest brother, and I vaguely remember, just as I was leaving for school the morning of the operation, seeing people come into the house and spread sheets over the furni-*

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*ture in one of the bedrooms and set up a table. What surgeon today would operate in a private home except in an extreme emergency?*

*To the south there was an unmolested view all the way to the Bennett house and the Peabody School on Linnaean Street. This was a great advantage to our dog, who rested his chin on the lower board of the southern property-line fence at noon time, and again in the afternoon, to listen for the drumbeat to which we were dismissed. As soon as the first children came out on the sidewalk, he pelted down Raymond Street to meet us.*

*The present Radcliffe Quadrangle was open fields where we picked daisies and buttercups in spring and enjoyed snow sports in winter. Across Raymond Street from our house was the Dresser estate, enclosed by its masonry wall. The big stone house stood on the crest of the hill, backing on Huron Avenue and looking across the whole property that stretched to the Harvard Botanical Gardens on the corner of Linnaean and Raymond Streets. Thanks to the kindness of Miss Dresser, her grounds were also open to us for playing and coasting in the winter. Sometimes she invited us in for cookies.*

*The Botanical Gardens we loved to visit, especially in the spring when we could watch the goldfish, frogs, and tadpoles in the pool. The gardener did warn us not to fall in and "rile the water." And of course in the greenhouse the center of attraction was the sensitive plant, whose leaves folded up when touched. So entrancing was it to make it perform that we often had to be stopped by the gardener.*

*The final open area was the Harvard Observatory property, which was our favorite place for bird-watching. Two other visiting places for us were the claypits and brickyard down by Walden Street and the fire house at Garden Street and Huron Avenue. It was fascinating to watch the brickmaking, the fashioning of the flower pots or bean pots, and we usually carried home with us little bean pots as souvenirs.*

*Any fire station with its handsome horses and usually a Dalma-*

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*tian mascot was always exciting. The firemen showed us how to slide down the brass pole without either burning our hands or landing too hard on our heels. Best of all was when they opened the doors to the horse stalls directly behind the engine and the horses came trotting out to take their places on either side of the pole and directly under the harness, which could be dropped down a foot or so on their backs by pulling a rope and releasing it from the ceiling from which it was suspended. Tighten one or two buckles, and the apparatus was on its way to the fire.*

*I remember the story one of the drivers once told us. The alarm woke them one night; he jumped into his clothes, came down the pole, mounted to his seat on the engine, took the reins in hand, and then really woke up and had to ask where the fire was! Of course, in those days each of us carried the little red book in his pocket in which the locations and numbers of all the fire alarm boxes were listed. As soon as we heard the whistle blow, followed by the church bell at the First Parish sounding out the fire box number, we could decide if it was near enough for us to go and share the excitement. Incidentally, the church sexton had to be sure that the bell was disconnected on Sunday mornings, or there would be the possibility of having the dignified service of worship rudely interrupted.*

*From both of our houses Porter Square was an important focus. It was here at the corner of Upland Road and Massachusetts Avenue that we took the trolley to Harvard Square, or in the other direction to have a walk in the open country at Arlington Heights, believe it or not. To Boston was a long poke. Down Massachusetts Avenue, through Harvard and Central Squares, across the bridge, then down Boylston Street until you came to the exciting climax of ducking into the subway at the corner by Arlington Street. Any of you who traveled by that route in those days may recall a huge sign in an open field on the right-hand side of the road, where M.I.T. buildings now stand. It proudly proclaimed: VOICI LE CENTRE DU MONDE. ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR PROOF OF THE CONTRARY. I never knew who put it up or why. Of course*

*it was true. But in these days, when so many think of science as the center of our world, it was prophetic as the forerunner of M.I.T. Of course, the best part of riding on trolleys was in the summertime when the open cars were on the tracks. Who can forget the feeling of proud manhood as he stood on the running board, holding firmly by a hand or elbow the post that stood at the end of each row of seats? That was even better than riding in the front seat. It was a powerful stimulus to be "the perfect gentleman" and give your seat in the car to a lady.*

*But Porter Square was not only a point of departure; it was also a mecca. There was Fosgate's market to supply the bread of life; but much more exciting for a boy, on the opposite side of Upland Road toward the Square was Murphy's Variety Store, where we bought our pens, pencils, erasers, notebooks, or what not, and also some toys. Murphy's had tops, jump ropes, kites, marbles—the dime-a-dozen doggies of clay, exciting glassies, and, if you had saved enough money from your allowance, a precious aggie that cost, I believe, twenty-five or fifty cents. But apart from shopping there, a visit also satisfied a certain morbid interest because Mr. Murphy had a glass eye. Once when he appeared from behind the curtain that separated the shop from his living quarters, in response to the bell*

*when the street door was opened, the eye was in crooked. That happened sometimes when his wife was ill.*

*Right next to Murphy's was another attraction, the Chinese laundry. This was an invitation to exercise a form of childish brutality. We watched this strange-looking man in his odd clothes, ironing shirts, but when he looked up and we caught his eye, we rubbed our finger across our teeth as if we were sharpening them. And that was what we were saying to him, for we pretended, at least, to share the common story that all Chinese ate mice and needed a good cutting edge on their teeth. Sometimes he would put down his iron and start for the door. We knew we had plenty of time to get out of his way if he should come out, but still we ran.*

*Next to our home, of course, the real center of our life was the Peabody School. The general feeling was, I think, that the Pea-*

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*body and Agassiz schools were the best in the city. The high reputation of Miss Maria Baldwin as headmistress at the Agassiz was rightly deserved. She was black, but who worried, in those days, about the color of her skin? She was a superb teacher, an excellent headmistress, and a lady. At the Peabody School our headmaster was Mr. Frederick Cutter. I remember him, perhaps erroneously, as a rather short man, pleasant, and with gray hair. The pupils did not see too much of him, unless sent to sit on the bench outside his office door waiting to be summoned in for discipline. I do recall that every year around the nineteenth of March the room door would open and he would enter, with a wide smile on his face. "Well, children, this is the last day of school this winter!" (Anticipated happy response from the class.) "The twentieth is the first day of spring." (Deflation.) We knew how to play games too!*

*Although there was no PTA in those days, some of the parents did try to keep in touch with what was going on in school hours. Our mother was one of those who used to visit her children's classes once in a while, to the embarrassment of the spotlighted child and of the teacher as well, I suspect. It also used to be the custom at least once a year that a teacher was invited home to lunch during the period between the morning and afternoon sessions. One of our treasured family memories of mother's concern for what went on in the school was the day that she went down to consult Mr. Cutter about a new rule we had reported to her: no child was to be given permission to "go to the basement" (i.e., to the bathroom) within the last half hour of either session. This seemed to her a bit unfair, as well as somewhat risky. To her questioning protest, Mr. Cutter replied, "Well, you see, the feeling at City Hall is against it." That did not seem too valid a justification to mother, who suggested that the feeling of the child in the schoolroom really deserved priority. The answer to that was, "The School Committee feels, Mrs. Fenn, that if the child has waited all the morning, he can wait half an hour more." Probably the source of the whole issue was that a few children had devised an easy way to get out of the classroom early.*

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*Of course, like any other generation, we had our silly little jingles about our teachers and administrators. Mr. Bates, the Superintendent of Schools, was the butt of one: "If you're late or tardy / Down comes Bates / With a belly full of dates / And gives you rub-a-dub-a-dardy." Another went: "Lord of love / Look down from above / On us poor wretched scholars. / They got a fool to teach this school / And paid her fifty dollars." Or the one about our ninth-grade teacher, Miss Charlotte Ewell, of whom more later; she lived in the gray house still standing across the street from the school on the corner of Avon Hill Street. "An eagle flying from north to south / Carrying Biddie Ewell in his mouth / And when he found he had a fool / He dropped her in the Peabody School."*

*Of course the routine beginning of the day at school was the salute to the flag in the front of the room: "I pledge allegiance to the flag and to the republic for which it stands; one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." We resumed our seats and, with our hands folded, the little finger hanging from the desk edge, we listened to a Bible reading, usually a psalm, then joined in repeating the Lord's Prayer—the Protestant version, naturally. It took a long time before the very apparent inequity to Catholics, Jews, Buddhists, Moslems, or others was legally recognized as a violation of the separation of church and state.*

*The curriculum was obviously based on the three R's, with the addition of history, geography, and some "frills." Personally, I always had my difficulties with the third of these three R's, 'Rithmetic. I was always promoted to the next grade, but invariably with the comment, "Conditioned in Arithmetic." No wonder. On a scale from E for Excellent, G for Good, F for Fair, to P for Poor, my report card month after month was V.P., Very Poor. One glorious month I presented my card to father for his signature because I had a V.P. + . I was "working up to poor"! No luck, I never made it. Those such as I rejoice in the invention of the calculator.*

*The frills referred to were sewing for both girls and boys in the fourth grade, drawing, and music. These were taught by special*

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*teachers who circulated through the entire school system, hence arrived for any one room periodically. When the sewing teacher arrived we were each given a needle, a thimble (I assume), a spool of white thread, a piece of white cloth less than handkerchief-size, and a little cardboard just an inch long with which we made basting stitches. We also learned to sew on buttons, with two or four holes. It must be admitted that the hardest part of that course for me was threading the needle, but I had a very special friend in a nearby seat and she helped me out. In my bachelor years and especially in army days, it was a great "frill" to have. I can still occasionally save my wife work when she is busy and secure my own buttons or boggle up the hole in a pocket to save losing my knife.*

*The art teacher usually had us draw or paint flowers. But in the last two years of school the art class was rather more enterprising: we were asked to design a house. I put a porte-cochere on mine; I have no idea where the thought came from! When the teacher saw it she asked what it was. I suspect it was too badly drawn to be recognizable. I tried to tell her, but either my French was too badly mispronounced or she did not understand, and it was removed. The other creative enterprise was a venture of using our own imagination in*

*landscape gardening. We were free to use whatever we wanted—shrubs, trees, walks, formal gardens, or pool-side seats. I wonder whether that happens in a public school today.*

*It is said that ability in music and mathematics go together. In reverse, this explains my musical experience. When Mr. Chapman, the music teacher, arrived at the school, he evidently started with the upper grades and worked down to the lower. In that case he tested the voices of my sister and three brothers before he got to me. He gave the word to each of them that they were to make their mouths go, but no sound. When he arrived in my room and stood by my desk and asked my name, that was all he needed. He did not even vibrate the tuning fork in his hand and ask me to sing the note, which was his customary procedure. He just said, "Oh,*

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*you are a Fenn, you can't sing," and moved along to the next pupil.*

*One of the songs that we learned was the school song, written by Emma Endicott Marean. Although, in spite of Mr. Chapman, I do like to do what I call singing if I am in church and the organ is playing loudly enough to drown out my voice, out of respect to you I will not attempt it. The words, though, are interesting.*

*When o'er the seas our fathers came,  
They founded here a state  
Where honest toil in freedom's name  
Has made a people great.  
But more than glory, more than gold,  
For wise protecting rule  
They needed men of sterling worth  
And built the public school.  
We take the heritage they left  
And in their praise unite,  
As this dear school we pledge anew  
To truth and love and right.  
May knowledge lead to service true  
And wisdom ever call.  
We trust the brotherhood of men  
And love of God for all.*

*In faithful memory we hold  
The honored name we bear.  
It speaks to us of life well lived,  
Of purpose high and fair.  
And though we soon must separate  
And childhood will not stay,  
The fruit of noble deeds may come  
From lessons learned today.*

*I wonder if that song still survives in the school. I very much doubt it. Or do the children even know for whom the school was named? This was Andrew Preston Peabody, Unitarian minister and professor at Harvard Divinity School.*

*All right: I could not sing. I could learn poetry. Of that we had*

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*much. I think that in all grades we had memory work of that kind. I recall best the poems we learned under Miss Ewell in the ninth grade.\* I am sure that what I learned by heart in those early years, when memorizing was so much easier, lasted longer and has provided me with mental furniture I have thoroughly enjoyed.*

*The poems we learned were good poetry, taught to us, to be sure, by rote and constant repetition by the whole class in unison. It drilled the lesson into our heads, but it did have some side effects. The result was, of course, that we all learned and recited the poetry always with the same rhythm, tone, accent, and intonation. Only recently, for instance, I started to repeat Emerson's "Rhodora" in the way we learned it, and a long-ago pupil of Miss Ewell's joined me in perfect unison.*

*In May, when sea-winds pierced our solitudes,  
I found the fresh Rhodora in the woods,  
Spreading its leafless blooms in a dahmp nook,  
To please the desert and the sluggish brook.  
The purple petals, fallen in the pool,  
Made the black water with their beauty gay;  
Here might the red-bird come his plumes to cool,  
And court the flower that cheapens his array.*

*Rhodora! if the sages ask thee why  
This charm is wasted on the earth and sky,  
Tell them, dear, that if eyes were made for seeing,  
Then Beauty is its own excuse for being:  
Why thou wert there, O rival of the rose!  
I never thought to ask, I never knew:  
But, in my simple ig-no-rahnce, suppose  
The self-same Power that brought me there brought you.*

*Did some of you find yourselves following right along with me? Let's try another one, and this time really join in. These few verses*

*\* For more about Miss Ewell and the Peabody School in the 1900s, see Richard C. Evarts, "The Class of 1903," Cambridge Historical Society Proceedings 41 (1967-69): 132-40.*

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*we learned from one of the stanzas in James Russell Lowell's "Vision of Sir Launfal":*

*And what is so rare as a day in June?  
Then, if ever, come perfect days;  
Then Heaven tries earth if it be in tee-une,  
And over it softly her warm ear lays;  
Whether we look, or whether we listen,  
We hear life mur-mur, or see it glisten.*

*Good prose was taught to us in the same way, and chief among such passages was the Gettysburg Address. Surely the artificial way we can all say these passages does not detract from the value of their remembrance.*

*In spite of current theories, I personally feel that it is good to teach children good literature at an age when they can easily learn it and when it has the best chance of long retention. What if some of its meaning is a bit above their heads? Its full meaning will come to them as they undergo experiences that make them say, "Oh yes, that is what that line really means!" An experience of my sister's bears this out.*

*We used to walk down from North Cambridge to the First Parish Church many a Sunday morning to attend the Sunday School, which was held before the eleven o'clock service. At the close of Sunday School, if father or mother was there, we slipped into our pew at the back of the church with a book to read if we did not care to listen to the sermon. After church the whole family walked back home, we children of course stopping to mount the*

*cannons on either side of the Lincoln monument as we went. By the time we reached home, we were all ready for dinner. Dorothy knew that it was righteous to go to church on Sunday morning; she knew that she was ready for dinner when she got home. It occurred to her once that this was the meaning of the beatitude: "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled."*

*Politics entered into the school life in our days. Cambridge was*

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*a local-option city, so the question of liquor or no liquor being sold in the city came up at the elections. Someone always came to the school and spoke to the several classes, urging a negative vote. To impress the lesson on our voting parents, they handed out to each of us little lapel pins, a blue one for the girls, with a girl's face, and red for the boys, with a boy's portrait. Around the circumference of the pin were the words, "Vote no for my sake."*

*There was one special argument used by the speaker for temperance. It must have been a good one, for I still remember it. He drew a slanting line across the blackboard. At the top he put a recognizable picture of a man standing up. Half-way down the line there was the picture of an animal, and at the bottom the man was lying on the ground. Interpretation? "Alcohol degrades a man and makes him lower than a beast." Sometimes we felt our missionaries went a little too far in their pleas when they urged us not to drink cider or eat our mother's canned peaches because they might have alcohol in them.*

*In late February or early March each year the teachers handed out order blanks. This time politics raised its beautiful head! These were presents from our representatives in Washington. We returned our orders, and in due time seeds for our future gardens came to us "for free" from the Department of Agriculture.*

*One final recollection, and we will move from North Cambridge to the Harvard Square area. Each year Miss Ewell used to mount a dramatic performance by members of the ninth grade, to be presented for the whole school and guests in the assembly hall. In my year the choice was the court scene in *The Merchant of Venice*. The moment came for me as Antonio to try to cheer up Bassanio when he is feeling guilty for having brought me to such a fate. My lines were, "I am a tainted wether of the flock, / Meetest for death,—the weakest kind of fruit / Drops earliest to the ground, and so let me." One time I must have been thinking of the rooster on the steeple of what we then called the Shepard Memorial Church, for in a duly sad voice I announced, "I am a painted*

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*weather cock." I guess it was that play which implanted an interest in Shakespeare that Mr. George Browne of the Browne and Nichols School, which I next attended, nourished, and which Professor Kittredge with English 2 brought to bloom.*

*In 1907 or 1908 we moved down to a house on Quincy Street standing between the University President's house and Emerson Hall. Let us talk quite a bit about that house. It was always known as the Shaler house because of its previous occupant, Professor*

*Nathaniel Southgate Shaler, the geologist. Some of you may recall the jingle about him in a book published in 1901 under the title Harvard Celebrities, and containing cartoon drawings of various Harvard professors, each accompanied by a verse. "This is Shaler, / Fairy-taler, / Scientific mountain-sealer, / Penetrator / Of each crater / From the poles to the equator, / Tamer of the hurricane, / Prophet of the wind and rain, / Hypnotizer / Of the geyser, / Wizard of the frozen plain. / Hark! What is that deep and distant subterranean roar, / Arising near Memorial and reaching out to Gore? / 'Tis the rumble of applause / When the speaker makes a pause / In relating an adventure from his fund of earthquake lore."*

*It takes little imagination for one to understand that a man in that profession would often take his students on field trips, from which he would frequently return with his clothes soaked or grimy and his boots well caked with mud or snow. You cannot blame Mrs. Shaler, then, for having a special door cut on the Emerson Hall side of the house, which led into a downstairs bathroom, complete with tub. Here her husband could tidy himself up and put on other clothes, rather than adding to her housekeeping duties by tracking through the house.*

*The most interesting thing about the house, however, was its mobility. It was a peripatetic house. It had originally been built a little farther down Quincy Street but had been moved when Emerson Hall was erected. When Professor Lowell took over the presidency in 1909, he found the President's house quite inadequate for holding special official gatherings. He may have found other deficiencies, too, because I think even his predecessors did*

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*not enjoy the gentle rippings of the rug when the east wind came under the front door! Lowell's plans for a new President's house were too big for the available space. The previous move of the Shaler house apparently established a precedent in President Lowell's legal mind, and in 1911 the peripatetic house was doomed to a journey.*

*This was not as simple an undertaking as the first one had been. This was a major operation. The house was quartered and drawn for its adventurous journey to Divinity Avenue. First the one-story study, a part of the big living room, was amputated from the back of the house. A little three-story ell, housing the front door, vestibule, small second-story bedroom, and a part of the attic was deftly severed. The third incision was then made, bisecting the main body of the house. Each of the four sections was lifted off the foundation and placed on rollers. When the open sides had all been carefully boarded up against the weather and the prying eyes of an intrigued populace, all was ready to roll.*

*And roll it did, section by section, down Quincy Street, across Broadway and Cambridge Street (at night, so the trolley wires could be lifted out of the way), across Kirkland Street, down Divinity Avenue, a right turn between Divinity Hall and the Semitic Museum, a triumphal procession in front of the homes of Professor George Foot Moore and the Sever family. Finally it achieved a happy landing on its new foundation directly back of the opening between Divinity Hall and the Divinity Library (now the Farlow Herbarium). Can you blame the Harvard Lampoon for making a comment that "Dean Fenn's house has gone off on its wild lone for a section meeting on Divinity Avenue."*

*The whole undertaking evidently aroused some measure of general public interest and started an argument as to whether the family had continued to live in the house during the*

*process. Those taking the negative point of view naturally questioned how a family could live in a house not only vivisected into four pieces, all of them strung out along the street, but also dismembered from its basement kitchen and all electric, gas, and water connections. The*

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*conclusive argument for the affirmative, however, seemed to be a workman's cloth of some kind that had been left hanging out of a third-floor window, and was by some positively identified as a pair of boy's pajamas.*

*In one sense the job was a great energy-saving procedure; it only required one horse power. The hawser, tied to the front of each section in turn, was secured to a revolving drum, well down the road, on the top of which a long wooden pole was attached. The horse, harnessed to this pole, walked round and round, winding up the rope and inching the house along until it reached a point when the rollers had to be reset and the revolving drum advanced.*

*When we finally got back to our house again, it did take a little getting used to. The sun came in strange windows, because the house had been reversed from an east to a west facing.*

*You might think that was adventure enough for the lifetime of one house. Not at all. There came a day when the University wanted to build a new biological laboratory. A lot was selected, but on closer study it became apparent that one of the two great rhinoceroses envisaged to guard the entrance would be in our front parlor, and the other in our big living room and study. The only solution was: move the house. Again the Lampoon had its comment: "Whenever President Lowell wants to build a building his first question is: 'Where is Dean Fenn's house?'"*

*This move of 1929 was much simpler for all concerned. My mother always said the only thing she had to do in preparation was to take the teacups off their hooks. The house was moved during the summer, so there was less disruption for the family. After all, its third journey, like the first, was a short one: past the Divinity Library to the north end of Divinity Avenue, where it became Number 26. Here it stood until 1952 after our family had moved out and then—you guessed it—Harvard wanted a new herbaria building and the physics department wanted to expand its nearby laboratory complex. This time the weary house was torn down.*

*After this long interruption it is time to return to about 1907 and*

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*point out what it was like living virtually in the Harvard Yard and next to the President's house. At points here I request the indulgence of our Society's president, Mr. Eliot.*

*In the good weather of spring and fall when the college bell in Harvard Hall was ringing its daily 7 a.m. peal to waken the students in the Yard, we would see President and Mrs. Eliot*

*come out of their house, mount their bicycles, and start off on a half-hour ride, returning just as we sat down to breakfast at half-past seven.*

*The next awareness of the President was about an hour later when the college bell was again rung at twenty-five minutes of nine for five minutes to summon the University to the voluntary morning prayers in old Appleton Chapel. Need I say there was no stampede of either students or faculty? President Eliot, however, did go. With his always erect and dignified walk he came out of the house when the bell sounded, turned to the right, followed the path into the Yard in front of the old library, Gore Hall, and then over to Appleton Chapel, arriving in time for the service, which began at twenty minutes of nine and was terminated by the nine o'clock bell.*

*So accustomed were we to this routine that we came to look upon it as an essential part of the University President's official life. In 1909, therefore, when President Lowell took over the responsibility, we relied upon it as an opportunity for us to get our first sight of our new neighbor. At seven o'clock we watched the house next door. The bell rang on, but no response. Ah, well, we can see him when the call for Chapel comes. In preparation we discreetly lined ourselves up at the appropriate windows. The bell rang on and on and on. Just as it was about to stop, down the steps, two at a time, came the new President. Rather than taking the path to the Yard, he swung to the left, broke through the hedge that separated our two houses, ran across our yard, jumped the single-wired fence that divided us from the College Yard, and arrived possibly late for Chapel. We knew there was a new administration!*

*Remember that always here we are talking about people, places, and things from the point of view of a boy not yet even in his teens, and long before he had attained even the slight elevation of being a student of those of whom he speaks, so it all sounds trivial. And yet in a subtle way, perhaps not, for these are insights into personalities.*

*We once appealed to President Eliot to settle a discussion we were having in the family: should you say "tomahto" or "tomayto"? The dictionary was of little help since it mentioned both. I am sure that my father did not intend to initiate any action when he said, "However President Eliot pronounces it is right." One of my brothers took the cue. A little later when he happened to be walking behind the President in the Yard he caught up with him and posed the question. When he reported back, "tomahto," father's reply was, "Nevertheless I shall continue to rhyme it with potato."*

*One lovely early spring evening the doorbell rang, and when I answered it there stood President Eliot holding in his hands a platter containing a very generous amount of ice cream left over from some party that had just broken up at his house. He had brought it over to five young Fenns who he felt would appreciate it. They did.*

*We had occasional associations with other members of the faculty. There was a path from Quincy Street, just opposite the Colonial Club, the predecessor on the site of the Faculty Club, that ran down the side and along the back of our house and then entered the Yard close to the entrance of Emerson Hall. It did not interfere with the adequate open space in our back yard for a scrub diamond in one corner and for football activities. One day we were fooling around with the football out there when Professor Roger Bigelow Merriman came*



*hurrying along the path, with his long strides. He held out his hands in invitation for the ball, which was thrown to him. With hardly a break in his rapid progress, he gave it the hardest kick that piece of pigskin had ever known and sent us gleefully chasing clear out into the College Yard to retrieve it.*

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*Where that ball went was not always so harmless, however. One early fall Saturday morning we were playing in our yard, trying of course to remember that there was a lecture going on in Emerson Hall and that the French windows were open. That had to be the day when someone's foot slipped and the ball struck the side of the window and bounced into the back of the lecture room. The lecturer, of all people, was Professor Charles Townsend Copeland. He asked to have his course moved to a room on the other side of the building. Unfortunately he was then right by the hole into which the coal trucks dumped their loads down the metal chutes. Professor Copeland stopped his lecture and said, "This is worse than the healthful antics of the youthful Fenns!" We got the report from our future brother-in-law, who was taking the course at the time.*

*Harvard Square in those days was like Harvard Square today— you could always meet unique people. One day Crazy Mary, as everyone knew her, would ask you for a pair of shoes to wear to her father's funeral, and the next day or so she would be requesting a pair of shoes for her father to go to church in. Most of the unique people you met, though, had a more admirable form of individuality. It was not unusual on a warm spring day to see Professor George Lyman Kittredge come out of his lecture room in Harvard Hall and start to cross Massachusetts Avenue. He did not wait for traffic; traffic waited for him. What motorist would dare keep on driving when he saw a tall, vigorous, white-bearded man—nattily dressed in a very light gray suit that fitted him like a model, hat to match—put his head down, raise his cane imperiously over his head, and charge into the street in front of the car? The only Harvard Square traffic for which "Kitty" would give way was one of those herds of cows frequently driven right through Harvard Square and down Boylston Street on their way to the Brighton abattoir.*

*We think of graffiti as being a modern form of vandalism. You too may recall seeing some on the back of the old Fogg Art Muse-*

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*um, which then stood beside old Appleton Chapel and which gave way to the present new dormitory, Canaday Hall. This was one building that Professor Charles Eliot Norton did not like—a fact that he never kept to himself, so it was well known to the students. One night someone painted, in great red letters about a foot or so high, as I remember, the words "NORTON'S PRIDE" on the stone. They were never wholly obliterated; in my day you could still just make them out.*

*One member of the Harvard community who was most impressive was Terry. (His first name, little known, was Adolphus.) I wonder how many today know of him. For nearly twenty years, beginning in 1902, this black man was a general factotum in the dean's office, dispensing advice to wayward undergraduates and holding in his phenomenal*

*memory the records of all the students of those decades. An alumnus could meet Terry in the Yard and very likely be called by name. If Terry were asked what mark the man had received in English 2 five years or so before, Terry could tell him. There were stories of those who tried to fool him by asking what grade they had had in EC A or some other course in their sophomore year, only to be informed that they never took that course. It seemed incredible at the time; it seems more so now. But actually, the people at University Hall were depending so much on his memory that the time came when the whole office had to be reorganized with better written records. "What should we do if Terry should die?" they were seriously asking themselves. And some wit once replied, "Get a semi-Terry."*

*It is not only youth that has long, long thoughts: so do the aging. The trouble is that theirs are of interest only to those who possess them, for they deal with the past. You have had enough of mine, though there are many other stories and anecdotes about faculty members and Harvard doings. Let me close by reminding you of some of the men you also knew whose names will arouse your memories. Do you recall the book of Alice's Adventures in Cambridge (1913), written by the late Richard—or, as we knew him, "Stitch"—Evarts, and containing the Jabberwocky parody?*

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*'T was taussig, and the bushnell hart  
Did byron hurlbut in the rand,  
All barrett was the wendell (Bart.)  
And the charles t. cope-land.  
Beware the Münsterberg, my son!  
'T will read your mind—you bet it can!  
Beware the Grandgent bird, and shun  
The frisky Merriman.  
He took his bursar sword in hand:  
Long time his neilson foe he sought—  
So rested he by the bernbaum tree,  
And stood awhile in thought.  
And as in coolidge thought he stood,  
The Munsterberg, with eyes of flame,  
Came spalding through the perry wood,  
And babbitt as it came!*

*One, two! One, two! And through and through*

*The bursar blade went snicker-snack!*

*He left it dead, and with its head*

*He santayanad back.*

*And hast thou slain the Münsterberg?*

*Come to my arms, my bierwirth boy!*

*O Kittredge day! Allard! Bôcher!*

*He schofield in his joy.*

*Like his father before him, Dan Huntington Fenn graduated from Harvard and the Harvard Divinity School and followed a career in the Unitarian ministry. The elder Fenn was dean of the Divinity School during the childhood days recalled in this paper, which was given on April 4, 1976.*

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# *Life in the Hooper-Lee-Nichols House: The Emerson and Dow Years*

BY STERLING DOW

***I****T is pleasant to be able to talk here today, I hope not too informally, to touch on some of the fine things that have happened to Mrs. Dow and to me in these fine surroundings, and to bring out what I can bring out of the character and personality—if those are the right words—of the house itself. It is a house that, having been lived in for almost three hundred years, inspires devotion.*

*Our predecessors, the Emersons, had of course died some months before we moved in.<sup>1</sup> Of their staff, which had consisted of two maids and a chauffeur/man-of-all-work, only their man Walter was left. Walter was a rather intelligent and somewhat mischievous person, repressed in many years of service. We ourselves at that time had a maid (how far back that seems!), and she was seated at the kitchen table one day with Walter. We were passing through the kitchen when Walter declared, in tones loud enough so that we would*

*be sure to hear, "No one famous ever slept here!" In a sense, Walter was right, at least down to the time, in 1923,*

*1. William and Frances White Emerson bought the Hopper-Lee-Nichols House in 1924 from Austin White, grandson of George Nichols, whose family had owned it since 1861. The Emersons died in 1957. By her will Mrs. Emerson bequeathed the house to the Cambridge Historical Society. The Society voted to establish the position of William and Frances White Emerson Scholar, to be held by "a member of the Society acting as Curator of the House," and Professor Dow was appointed to the position. He and Mrs. Dow lived in the house from 1957 to 1976.— Ed.*

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*when the Emersons moved in. Many worthy people, some of them modestly prominent, had lived here before them, but I think no one of really great eminence in any field; no one famous outside Massachusetts. Before 1923 this house had not sheltered anyone to compare with the occupants of some other houses along the street. At the other end, John Fiske, for instance; or Roger Bigelow Mer-riman; or, at the second corner from here, Charles William Eliot—not to mention the occupant of that handsome but junior residence, the Longfellow House.*

*But the arrival of the Emersons did bring some touches of real greatness, real and surprising. It is not irrelevant to mention them here, for the Emerson years make up the immediate background of our own near-twenty years. Mrs. Emerson's father, William Augustus White, a financier and book collector, had the foresight to realize the worth of the poet and artist William Blake and to collect everything that had to do with Blake. I can speak of it only remotely, but it must have been a fabulous collection, housed in part and at times on the shelves here. Presently the world of taste and of collectors caught up with the intuition of the financier, and I imagine that many persons felt some intensity of longing to have that collection remain nearby. Alas for them, it was left to the British Museum, except for a remainder which sold in London for \$225,000. Some standard sets of Blake's writings were given us by the heirs, and stand on the shelves to represent the most marvelous lot of material ever to be in this house. Others may feel, as I do, no special attraction for Blake's drawings, but who can deny that*

*Tiger, tiger, burning bright*

*In the forest of the night*

*has magic? Literary men ("critics"), it seems to me, often restrict the term poetry (and other terms as well). Poetry can and does take all sorts of forms, some perhaps less good than others; but surely magic is one of the best, and surely William Blake had it.*

*Mrs. Emerson, at least in her later years, has left a memory of*

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*strength of mind, not to say imperiousness. Among other things, she did not like smoking. Guests who wished to smoke were compelled to sit within the fireplace. Her husband, a very mild and sweet person, William Emerson, dean of the School of Architecture at M.I. T., was himself an architect of some interest, as well as a draftsman, painter, and writer: you can see his charming folio, Old Bridges of France (1925), here in the library. But I wish to mention now the connection, hardly known to anyone, which Dean Emerson gave to this house, a connection with one of the grandest constructions in all Christendom, in fact the grandest of all Byzantine churches, Haghia Sophia in Istanbul.*

*Within the last hundred years and more, the most profound and diversified movement of culture in America was the return to the Middle Ages—from Henry Adams on—in all the humane departments of Harvard and elsewhere, with vital effects down into our own day. Adams and nearly everybody had dealt only with the Western Middle Ages. But presently the Eastern Middle Ages, that is, Byzantium, was discovered. Its devotees were fewer but ardent. Thomas Whittemore of our own city was one of these. In 1931 he told Mustapha Kemal Atatiirk, who then ruled Turkey, that the great Byzantine church, Haghia Sophia, ought to cease to be a mosque, and that the mosaics spread across its immense interior, and covered with Mohammedan paint (from Italy), ought to be revealed once more. The next day there was a sign outside, "Closed for Repairs," and Whittemore set to work. Others supported Byzantine undertakings, notably Robert Woods Bliss, who with Mrs. Bliss founded Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies. There at Dumbarton Oaks worked Robert Van Nice, an architect who was attempting a publication of Haghia Sophia in perfectionist detail. William Emerson supported Van Nice for twenty-two years, and it is pleasant to record this connection, spiritual as well as fiscal, between 159 Brattle Street and the greatest monument of Eastern Christendom.*

*The Van Nice drawings were just too good ever to be finished, and had to be published in somewhat truncated form. Whittemore*

*carried through most of the work on the mosaics, but in spite of all his well-to-do friends, his work also faltered at the end. My own part in all this was minor—or do I mean minimal?—but I do recall how, at a time when the people who had always given Whittemore a thousand dollars or more each year, now gave less, he said to me one day at lunch in the Union Club, "I hate five hundred dollars."*

*And so, with the Blake collection and the study of Haghia Sophia, supreme greatness of spirit and lofty achievement have in some measure dwelt within these walls, and bequeathed to their successors a heritage difficult to equal. My wife and I, so far as it was within our powers, have tried during our years here to maintain some, however little, however different, of the essence of this heritage.*

*There is another tradition which we inherited from the Emersons and tried to maintain. In their four decades the Emersons made the house a home, full of children romping about; nurturing in the house and spreading to all who knew them the charm and taste eventually*

*preserved in the writings of Mrs. Emerson's sons by her first marriage: Donald Moffat's essays, and the splendid yarns about World Wars I and II of Commander Alexander Moffat, a superb storyteller. In such a tradition—a home that is a home of the spirit—greatness is almost easy.*

*I love to think of the Emersons' Christmas in front of the big fireplace as it was described to me. The children were drawn up in a hushed circle. Down the chimney came Sandy Moffat (that's the Commander) dressed as Santa—a tremendous figure, tall, and twice as broad as most men. Even more I like to think of how in conversation Sandy once summed up the principles of rearing children: perfect love, and perfect obedience.*

*My wife and I moved into this house in 1957. The Society had a dearth of possible candidates; the only alternative was someone (I never knew his identity) who promised to gild all the furniture.*

*The family connections of my wife, Elizabeth Sanderson Flagg, were perhaps more substantial and Revolutionary than my own. My ancestors missed the Mayflower by nineteen years, settled in*

*Newbury, and eventually departed for Nova Scotia. We used to think that they left because they were Tories, in which case I should be really in place on Tory Row. But some more critical relative has found out that these forebears left, not because they were Tories and established, but apparently because they were hard up. I did have a great aunt who in old age remembered her early days clearly and used to speak vividly, as if she had just seen him, of Mr. Longfellow walking down Brattle Street. She remembered him well. Alice Longfellow, she of "The Children's Hour," I did meet once or twice. She had two Rolls Royces. Critical Cantabrigians said one ought to have been enough. My earliest political recollection does have a Tory cast: as a tiny tot I remember the biggest whistle in Bangor, Maine, being turned on when Taft was elected. The whistle blew for a long time, on and on, and I remember feeling that it was being overdone.*

*Some years before 1957 I had finished being president of the Archaeological Institute of America. Postwar recovery had helped, and I had succeeded in arresting an eighteen-year decline and in very nearly doubling the national membership. I had learned in voluntary organizations always to be kind, always to give something to donors in return, and never, never, to upset arrangements that were working well. The magazine Archaeology, which I founded, was one expression of these policies, and another foundation, our school in Egypt, the American Research Center in Cairo, also represented an effort to reach out for mutual generous enrichment of the spirit.*

*But these things had taken strenuous efforts, and I was glad to be wholly back in scholarship. Earlier, when no one really qualified was at hand, I had toiled as Harvard War Archivist, with access to seventy-two war laboratories. Much of this is still secret, but it will be a proud chapter when, it may be, someone in the Cambridge Historical Society can write it up.*

*Instant history is a contradiction in terms, and I suppose instant autobiography is as bad or worse. Still, in a dull Who's Who sort of way, it could be said that in these years I have belonged to the*

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*faculties of five different universities, as well as the American School in Athens, and that part of the wonderful good fortune of being in classical studies is that always and everywhere, and now especially at Boston College, where I have taught since my retirement at Harvard, there are students selected by a natural process. They are some of the best. They want to learn good things. Archaeology has a natural fascination, and when they have worked along a certain way, they can take up inscriptions, which far surpass most archaeology in fascination. The students are amused and they partly agree, politely, when I tell them that anyone who does not spend his whole time on Greek inscriptions ought to have his head examined.*

*This work is actually so pleasant that no vacations are needed. Without interruption for the past ten years I have given a new course each year, a new lecture each time, and in most of the lectures new material, new discoveries.*

*Next year there will be two new (half-)courses, one on Homer, the other on Greek religion. But the center of most of these studies has been the Athenian Democracy, the world's most thoroughgoing democracy, the one with the maximum participation of the citizens. George Grote ended his twelve-volume History of Greece just 120 years ago. In it Grote established the favorable view of the Athenian Democracy which has prevailed on the whole ever since. In a vague and minor sense this house has been a shrine for the admiration of Grote, and also of Mrs. Grote. My wife published an article about Mrs. Grote, who also was extraordinary: she wrote a biography of her husband. How many biographies can you name, of a husband by a wife?*

*Grote's favorable view of the Athenian Democracy was largely that of my master William Scott Ferguson, who with the aid of inscriptions (Grote had practically no epigraphical documents) made the Athenian Democracy even more wonderful than before. I have tried, in these years, as best I could, to clarify, to balance, to deepen, to see Periklean Athens as it really was. The city, I tell*

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*my students, that could make Plato Plato, could make anybody anything.*

*With luck, and also with effort, and it may be with subtle inspiration from living in this house, discovery has followed discovery, in almost deplorable abundance, so that although I get something written every day, I am years behind in actual publishing. But even if there is an embarrassment of scholarly riches, every bit of it is recorded in notebooks, and my*

wife finds it grimly amusing to be told that if I am run over by a truck this very day, there will be no loss whatever.

The house, during our years here, has had its share of cultural occasions. One day Sir Ronald Syme came into my office and said, "I have worked much harder than I had to." In past years he and I had sometimes talked about Thucydides, and I thought it would be interesting to hear the greatest of living Roman historians (Syme) talk on the greatest of Greek historians (Thucydides). So we had a party here, Sir Ronald talked, on Thucydides, and it was memorable.<sup>2</sup> Syme was also the main speaker at the only big dinner we ever had in the library, with caterers and champagne, to celebrate the publication in 1962 of *Articles on Antiquity in Festschriften . . . An Index*. The idea of such an index had come to me from Robert Pierpont Blake, also a (senior) student of Ferguson's, and was carried out by Miss Dorothy Rounds, who assembled no fewer than 35,000 entries. The Harvard Press published it, and it sold out in a little over a year.

In these fine surroundings scholarship has been made happy and vital as it can only be in a fine home. Student parties with mulled wine (the wine is my wife's production) and jolly fires in the great fireplace have always made the house seem to be at its happiest. When the archaeologists of America convened in Boston one December, we had a huge cocktail party. Alas, no learned papers could be read, it was not really a mental occasion, but

2. See his "Thucydides," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 48 (1962): 39-56.

instead was featured by a triumph of atrocious New England weather. Dismounting from cars, arrivals crossed an improvised bridge to reach the sidewalk.

Another visitor has been George Goold. Goold had important things to say; Goold talked on Homer, and it is pleasant to realize that one of the great recent pronouncements on Homer was Goold's talk originally given in this house.<sup>3</sup> Homer must never be far from us. It is a curious and impressive fact that the very first productions of European literature, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, are in several valid senses the best productions of European literature. European literature started at the peak and has never done so well again. Of course there were reasons for this, but they belong perhaps in some other talk, not today's.

Another aspect of life in the house has been the Cambridge Historical Society's handling of its precious bequest. The first great task concerned the two fine French wallpapers. Knowing my friendship with Edward Waldo Forbes (who was William Emerson's roommate in college), the Society asked me to investigate the possibilities of restoration. Downstairs the paper was dirty and flaking. Upstairs it was largely black with dirt, and some scenes were missing. Throughout one whole winter, the great expert conservator of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, William Young, with his two assistants, Florence Whitmore and the late John Harrington, worked every Saturday in the house. What a happy time!— and what extraordinary scholarly care with every detail. The downstairs paper pictures *Les Rives du Bosphore*; much of the detail is realistic, none is wildly fanciful. The upstairs paper, called



*the Bay of Naples, is a series of spectaculars. In restoring it, Mr. Young and his staff journeyed to the Wallingford Mansion in Kennebunk, Maine, where another set exists, and made copies of scenes, or parts of scenes, then missing in our house. One of these scenes, the dance, was altogether gone. The late Alfred Kidder (that dear and jovial colleague) once told me that it was last known*

3. Published as "The Nature of Homeric Composition," *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (1977): 1-34.

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*about 1900, being used as home plate in a ball game down by the river. All the subtleties of first-rate French draftsmanship and coloring were beautifully reproduced by the experts. There is no flaw. William Young and company even created a cloud scene, not in the original, to go over the fireplace. If clouds could be placed and dated, I am sure these clouds would be identified as genuine French clouds of the 1840s.*

*Another great undertaking was less showy and in a way more humble. The Society learned that the house's foundations needed attention, as indeed they did. Another scholarly person, Donald Muirhead, was put in charge, and a metal shield was laid over the foundations throughout, guaranteed to blockade the insects. This fine work had no direct relation to the occupants, and the credit goes wholly to the Society; but I had several talks with Mr. Muirhead, always with the impression that no more knowledgeable and devoted expert could easily be imagined. The work resulted in almost no cracks anywhere, no subsidence of the structure of the house.*

*But the house owes even more to a third remarkable person, Abbott Lowell Cummings, the head of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. It was he who from the earliest days of our stay here gave most generously of his time and his unequalled knowledge, his quick understanding, and his fine taste. He initiated the exploration of the closet in the dining room; he perceived at once that there was something behind it—another closet—and that the second closet was built into the original great fireplace of the house. Cummings was much with us, and it was he who taught us nearly all we know about how the house, built about 1690, was constructed; how it grew; how its appointments might best be arranged.*

*I record here that my friend and associate Richard H. Howland of Washington, then president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, was the one who first made out the fundamentals of the architectural history of the house.*

*When, way back, we Dows moved into the house, we had help*

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*from that best of all interior decorators, Miss Mary Elizabeth Ladd. But it was mere luck that our furniture, hardly any of it intrinsically valuable, fitted the house, especially the library. In the dining room, the sideboard only is ours. In the Naples Room, the various pieces that stand about there, so undecided what they want to do or be, obscuring the fine paper, belong to the Society. Just about everything else in the house is ours, and will go when we go, except the Washington Allston portrait and in the middle of the library the great black desk, like a coffin, complete with handles, for which, when it arrived, the Society could find no other place. But we were pleased that the Prince George tapestry, on the east bookcases, looked so well. It has a remarkable history, worked out for the first time, from this very example, by Dia Philippides.<sup>4</sup> It comes from Crete, around A.D. 1900, and she helped collect other examples.*

*But the important thing about the library is the room itself, really an Archaistic masterpiece, the creation of the Boston architect Joseph Everett Chandler in 1916, and I daresay his finest work.<sup>5</sup> One day a rather strict antiquarian lady was brought to the house. Her verdicts were not all favorable, and when she first stood in the door of the library she called out, "My, things have been done here." Then, after a moment, when nobody had said anything, she added, "But it is sort of pleasant/' Today will be the last chance for most of you to see it, and if anyone wishes to do so after this meeting, I'll give them a quick tour of the Knossos painting, the Blake books, the Coptic fabric (when will you see another fabric 1300 years old?) and whatever else.*

4. Dia M. L. Philippides, "A Tapestry of Cretan Liberation," *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on His Eightieth Birthday, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies, Monograph 10* (Durham, N.C., 1984), pp. 239-42 and Plate 12.

5. See Chandler's article, "The Judge Joseph Lee House, Cambridge, Massachusetts," *House Beautiful* 51 (Feb. 1922): 108-10, 146.—Ed.

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*A native of Portland, Maine, Sterling Dow received his undergraduate and graduate education at Harvard, where he taught Classics and the history of ancient Greece until his retirement as John E. Hudson Professor of Archaeology in 1970. His paper was given on June 6, 1976.*

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## *Newtowne, 1630-1636*

BY G. B. WARDEN

***T****O many people, the founding of New England and Massachusetts was an act of God. It follows, as the night the day, that the establishment of Cambridge and Harvard College provides a similar example of divine predestination. Needless to say, this attitude is shared mainly by residents of Cambridge and graduates of Harvard College.*

*Yet, from hindsight, it seems almost inevitable that in December 1630 Massachusetts Bay chose this site for a fortress and capital city. Dredging a channel through the marshes, building a palisade, laying out streets in neat little squares, staking out house lots and cow-yards; the arrival in 1632 of wealthy English settlers from Braintree in Essex, and, of course, the appearance here of the Reverend Thomas Hooker in 1633—all seemed to fit snugly into the unfolding pattern of divine providence. In retrospect, it even seems a part of the heavenly plan that in 1635 and 1636 nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants should desert the community. Far be it from me to cast doubt upon the divine inspiration behind the events in the early history of Cambridge, or Newtowne as it was then called. Rather, I would like to share with you some of my impressions from reading the early documents and later histories of those formative years. Some questions have occurred to me and perhaps to you about those events, and maybe you can supply some answers.*

*For example, why was this site chosen for a fortress, rather than some town closer to the coast? What were the consequences of*

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*laying out the town in a compact grid pattern? What earthly difference did it make if Thomas Dudley wainscoted his house in Newtowne and Governor John Winthrop did not? What were the implications of Newtowne's early defensive arrangements? Was Newtowne a hotbed of democracy? Was there a bitter rivalry between Thomas Hooker and John Cotton? And if so, who was rivaling whom? How could Hooker and Samuel Stone have been called to be pastor and teacher respectively of a church here in 1633 when there is no record of any church being formed here before that date? Finally, did the fate of Newtowne between 1630 and 1636 depend, not on political differences, religious controversies, or even divine providence, but on the mundane technicalities of animal husbandry and cattle prices?*

*These are some of the questions I would like to explore here from the perspective not merely of John Winthrop, who has supplied most of the information of that era, but also from the viewpoints of Thomas Dudley, Thomas Hooker, and John Haynes.*

*One question overlooked by historians is that Newtowne was established without any official authorization. The decision to lay out the town appears nowhere in the records of the General Court or Court of Assistants. Of course, before 1636 there was no law requiring legislative approval for establishing towns, but one would expect that the selection of a site for the colony's capital would need some debate and discussion. In that respect, another question arises—was Newtowne really expected to be the capital? Winthrop devotes only a sentence in his journal to Newtowne's creation, and he mentions only that a fort was to be built here and says nothing about a capital.*

*That Newtowne should be the capital and principal residence of the colony's magistrates appears to have been the idea mainly of Thomas Dudley, as he detailed it in a long letter to the Countess of Lincoln. But since the decision was never officially recorded, and since only Winthrop among the other magistrates ever considered taking the proposal seriously, we may well wonder whether Dudley's hopes were ever shared by anyone other than his son-in-law,*

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*Simon Bradstreet. Perhaps there was a fundamental misunderstanding between Winthrop and Dudley from the very beginning of Newtowne's existence. If Winthrop and other leaders of the Bay Colony dreamed that their particular town might become the visionary "city upon a hill," Dudley seems to have devoted his energies into creating a fortress in a swamp. Alas, his dreams, whatever they were, quickly led to a succession of nightmares and disappointments.*

*It seems only natural that the colony should have a fortified settlement. Roanoke, Jamestown, Sagadahoc, New Plymouth, and New Amsterdam all had such defensive arrangements. But the question remains—defense against whom? Local Indians posed no threat, and they were in any case being decimated by smallpox. The French may have been a threat, but only as far away as the Penobscot River. What I think the leaders really had in mind, when building a fort so far from the coast, was protection against their own countrymen, especially a royal armada under a governor-general who might take away the colony's charter and impose conformity to the Church of England. This, I submit, was the major reason for a fort, although the Puritans tried to keep it as "classified information."*

*Given the necessity of a fort, why just one, and why in a cramped pocket between Charles town and Watertown? Why not Roxbury, the first site surveyed? Or Dorchester, with its command of the harbor? Or Boston? One reason was the need for fresh water, which Charlestown lacked. And, as the British learned in 1775, a peninsula is not a secure defensive position, thus ruling out Boston, Charlestown, and Dorchester. Newtowne had an abundance, even a surplus, of fresh water and was secure from any seaborne assault.*

*Most of all, I suspect that establishing a fort at Newtowne and only at Newtowne was the result of Dudley's own will-power and cussedness. The colony's other leaders had all chosen towns to inhabit and dominate, but he had none. As an old soldier, he saw the need for military preparedness and centralized defense.*

*Dudley's force of character overcame all obstacles, but only for a while. His project faced insuperable problems. Was it really wise or safe to have all the colony's leaders in one place? To be sure, it would be easier to protect them in one place than in scattered towns, and a central political and military authority might enhance unanimity among the leaders and, through them, the towns whence they came. But a central fortified capital meant the leaders would have to have two residences. If an English armada did attack, most of the towns would be defenseless and would have to be abandoned. If the invaders were successful—a distinct likelihood—they could capture the whole government in one fell swoop.*

*For general political effectiveness, it was much better for each town to have its own magistrate on the scene rather than in Dudley's settlement. Finally, if you consider the vanities and egos of such characters as John Endecott of Salem, Sir Richard Saltonstall of Watertown, Roger Ludlow of Dorchester, Thomas Pynchon of Roxbury, and Winthrop himself, you can appreciate how little they would enjoy the enhanced eminence of Dudley's town over their own little satrapies.*

*Thus Newtowne as a fortified capital suffered from fatal flaws and fundamental tensions. Yet Dudley deserves credit for some accomplishments. Between 1630 and 1632 Newtowne came to have a regular street plan, a windmill, a fish weir, a palisade, a watch-house, a canal and wharf, along with its varied meadows, woodland, upland, and marshes.*

*All these gave the appearance of fulfilling Dudley's wildest dreams, but in fact they represented insuperable problems. The windmill did not work except with a west wind, and it had to be dismantled. The canal and wharf were well nigh useless, because ships kept running aground in the narrow tidal channel. Water-town objected to Newtowne's exclusive control and benefit of the fish weir. The watch-house became controversial when men from other towns objected to being drafted as watchmen—by no means the last local draft protest. The palisade was started, but the tax*

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*levied by the Assistants in 1631 to pay for it provoked a revolt in Watertown, leading to the first election of Deputies as a check on the Assistants' taxing power. The tax protest also led to the abandonment of the palisade and proposed fort at Newtowne. In 1632 Boston's Castle Island was chosen as the colony's first line of defense, thus ending Dudley's major proposal.*

*As for the grid plan, perhaps derived from Roman or English fortified towns in Ireland, it looked good on paper. It was militarily sound, but hopeless in all other respects. People had to live close together but far away from their crops and grazing lands. Time was wasted in travel. Outlying lands were defenseless against wolves or crop-eating animals. The varied topography and types of land made the traditional strip-farming impossible. William Wood in 1633 called the compact grid plan a marvel, but it magnified the danger of fire, and in 1634 contributed to the devastation of a smallpox epidemic among the Indians and settlers, including Thomas Hooker's own daughter. Little wonder, then, that Hooker felt adversely toward Newtowne, enough to leave in 1635. And, sad to say, even Thomas Dudley himself abandoned the harsh disappointments of his erstwhile dream town, leaving with Simon Bradstreet for Ipswich in 1636.*

*Ironically, for a few years Newtowne did come close to being the capital of Massachusetts, but only after Dudley's dream of a fortified center had long since died. The General Court met in Newtowne from 1634 to 1636 while first Dudley and then John Haynes served as governor, and again in 1637 during the Antinomian crisis. Moreover, it remained New England's religious center as the site of major clerical synods in later years.*

*Newtowne's political and religious importance suggests that Winthrop's disputes with Dudley in those early years had a significance far beyond their personal differences. Indeed, Winthrop devoted more ink in his journal to Dudley's quarrels and criticism than to any other topic before the Antinomian entanglements. To Winthrop, Dudley had "over-reached" himself in wainscoting the interior of his house in unseemly lavish fashion. Winthrop also*

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*thought it a bit too much that Dudley charged 33 percent interest on loans to other settlers. Of course, Dudley had similar complaints against Winthrop—for allowing Watertown to keep the fish weir, for moving the windmill and fort to Boston, for giving gunpowder to Plymouth, for not building a house in Newtowne as promised, and for not providing Newtowne with a minister.*

*To Dudley and others, such petty failings involved higher, more serious constitutional questions about executive authority, restricted powers in the colony's charter, and the discretion of magistrates in general. Winthrop's alleged deviations from the charter could, at the very worst, be used against the colony by its powerful enemies—Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Christopher Gardiner, Thomas Morton, Archbishop Laud, and King Charles—to revoke the charter and impose episcopalianism. Closer to home, the same quarrels over executive authority upset Winthrop's ambitious colleagues and their supporters, resulting in 1634 in the replacement of Winthrop by Dudley as governor and in resolutions for a colonial Magna Carta to prevent future transgressions.*

*The unrest simmering in Newtowne—especially over the fort and the tax levied to pay for it—led to other peculiar consequences for the colony and Newtowne itself. After the site of the fort was moved to Castle Island in Boston harbor, the intriguing question arose of what flag was to fly above the walls. As you may recall from fiction and drama, John Endecott and Roger Williams had cut out the cross from an English flag as idolatrous. If the crossless flag flew over the harbor for every passing English shipmaster to see, it would be interpreted (rightly) as a sign of rebellion and heretical nonconformity. A compromise allowed a proper English flag to fly over the Castle, but nowhere else in the colony—a very finely-split political hair indeed. Besides, it was difficult to find another set of the King's colors.*

*This peculiar incident arising from the fort's removal from Newtowne ultimately redounded to Newtowne's favor in an oddly circular fashion. The extremism of Endecott and Williams at Salem gave that town an unfortunate reputation even after Endecott was*

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*deprived of office for a year and Williams was banished to Rhode Island. When the General Court in its wisdom decided to establish a college for the colony in 1636, it did not specify a location, and competition arose among the towns seeking to become the site. Williams's successor as minister in Salem, Hugh Peter, had proposed a similar reformed college while at Rotterdam and persuaded Salem to set aside land for the venture. The town's repute, however, induced the General Court to look elsewhere, Endecott being unrepentantly zealous as before.*

*Ah, but where to put the college? Presumably in a well-ordered community with a settled, unimpeachable pastor. Watertown was out, because the Elder Richard Browne advocated toleration for Papists, and the place was infested with Familists. Charlestown was divided over the theological validity of the Boston church's secession in 1630. Richard Mather at Dorchester had offended magistrates and divines at his ordination. John Eliot at Roxbury was too soft on the Indian question. Boston itself was seething with Antinomians. The only safe pastorate was that of the eminently pious and orthodox Thomas Shepard at Newtowne. He was also Thomas Hooker's son-in-law—so much the better.*

*And thus it came to pass, according to some divine plan or by a more mundane process of elimination, that the college was placed at Newtowne, renamed Cambridge in 1638. Of course, it was all to the good that the town had been virtually abandoned for two years and thus had ample room for the college in its deserted cowyards. At long last, the bitter disappointments of Thomas Dudley's early dreams did have (for a while) a happy ending, at least as far as Harvard graduates are concerned.*

*What of Thomas Hooker? Doubtless his vision of Newtowne was less bellicose and grandiose than Thomas Dudley's, but it is also more mysterious, since he arrived late, wanted to leave after seven months, and left little information about his experiences here. Doubtless, like everyone else, he wished for a covenanted community, well regulated in civil and churchly affairs—although not in the Charles River Valley. There are three major problems about*

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*Hooker's relation to Newtowne: first, the nature of his church here; second, the supposed rivalry between Hooker and John Cotton; and, third, the complicated reasons why he wanted to leave so hurriedly along with two-thirds of the other townspeople.*

*We know that a month after arriving in October 1633 Hooker and Samuel Stone were called to be pastor and teacher respectively of the church in Newtowne. That is not mysterious until you ask, "What church?" Few historians, if any, have paid attention to the extraordinary fact that, as far as the available documents show, no duly covenanted church had ever been gathered here. The extant records indicate extremely careful attention paid at the time to the creation of churches in Plymouth, Salem, Charlestown, and Boston, especially to Cotton's installation there in 1633. If a church were gathered at Newtowne after Hooker's arrival, the event would presumably have attracted considerable notice and scrutiny. But the records and Winthrop's journal are silent on the subject.*

*To be sure, there was a meetinghouse, complete with bell, in Newtowne in 1632. But despite considerable urging Winthrop could not provide a minister; we do not know why no one thought of Dudley's own son Samuel, who was also Winthrop's son-in-law and later pastor at Exeter, New Hampshire. Perhaps the population of Newtowne was too small then to form a church and the townspeople traveled to Charlestown for services, had ad hoc lay preachers, or on occasion invited divines from other towns. Whatever the reasons or handicaps may have been, there is still no surviving church covenant from Newtowne before Thomas Shepard's in 1636.*

*The gap is all the more surprising after September 1632, when a large body of newcomers called the Braintree group arrived in Newtowne. Some members of that group were admitted as freemen in November 1632, among the first who had to be church members. But, again, what church? If the Braintree group had formed a church (perhaps with some of Dudley's pre-1632 settlers), Winthrop would surely have mentioned it, especially as*

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*they did not choose any minister at the time.*

*The distinct possibility exists that the Braintree group created a church before arriving in Newtowne in September 1632, and perhaps even before leaving England, as John White's Dorchester settlers had done. From the start the Braintree group was identified as "Mr. Hooker's company." But Hooker had not been in Braintree, Essex, when the group left. Indeed, he had been in Holland since escaping from Anglican authorities in 1630, and he had not been pastor of the parish of Braintree but of nearby Chelmsford. If, however, the Braintree group had created a covenanted church on reformed principles before leaving Essex, it would help to explain why the local records in 1632 and 1633 are silent on the subject, even though I suspect someone around here should have asked to see the document.*

*It is also possible that in 1630, as other East Anglian Puritans were contemplating emigration, the Braintree group made an arrangement with Hooker to lead the flock, a project balked by Hooker's speedy escape to Holland. He may even have been chosen pastor of the group at that time, but that seems doubtful since there would in that case have been no need to ordain him after he rejoined the group in Newtowne. Hooker's escape in 1630 probably left the group as a church with ruling elders. In that case the question of the pastorship would have had to be left open or negotiated by correspondence until such time as the church, with or without Hooker, could finally leave England for the New World. Travel arrangements were always hazardous, especially since church and royal agents threatened to stop Massachusetts-bound ships and inspect the passengers for fugitives like Hooker.*

*Such a scenario (albeit conjectural) attributes to the Braintree group considerable independence, determination, and saintly patience, as well as equally resolute influence on Hooker's part in keeping his wandering flock together for a series of pilgrimages in the wilderness. In any event, mystery still shrouds the religious organization of the Braintree group and their relation to Hooker before and after emigration to Newtowne.*

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*Hooker's undeniable force of character and influence relate to the second mystery about his brief stay in Newtowne—namely, the alleged rivalry with John Cotton, the star preacher of St. Botolph's in Boston, Lincolnshire, and of the First Church in Boston, Massachusetts. According to some outdated studies (written in Massachusetts), Hooker allegedly envied Cotton's popularity and influence in religion and politics; refusing to play second fiddle, Hooker therefore took himself off to the boondocks in a pique of professional jealousy. In other outdated studies (written in Connecticut) the rivalry arose because Cotton was a champion of aristocracy, politically, and of mean-hearted narrowmindedness, religiously; Hooker, therefore, escaped with his faithful flock to the wilderness and created a new commonwealth of enlightenment and democracy. Other scholars have revised and rejected the simple-minded versions of these legends and have gone on to explore the extremely complicated ideas of both men. The two seem to have shared beliefs about the fundamentals of reformed religion but differed on church policy, temporal authority, and admission to church membership. Historians would love to have some record of their no doubt fascinating conversations on the long voyage to these shores. But there is no record*



*of any major, overt disagreement between them from their arrival in September 1633 to the first proposals for Newtowne's emigration in May 1634.*

*Although I usually like to resolve (or avoid) controversies, I would like to argue here that there was indeed a rivalry between Hooker and Cotton, but not in the terms outlined above. Though similar to Hooker in age, education, and experience in important English parishes, Cotton had achieved notice and popularity in Lincolnshire more for his preaching and literary style than for rigorous, systematic analysis of reformed theology. His influence was greater over laymen than over professional colleagues. Though other Puritan divines courted serious censure, Cotton was able to retain a comfortable pulpit without being bothered by Anglican spies and critics from London and Canterbury.*

*In Chelmsford, nearer London, Hooker faced more immediate*

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*scrutiny and threats from Anglican authorities. Though a powerful, if somewhat prosaic, preacher, Hooker reputedly excelled in matters of church organization, teaching, and the systematic examination and practical applications of church doctrines, matters that Cotton never mastered so well. Hooker also enjoyed a wider influence among his East Anglian colleagues and proteges; no less than fifty of them signed an endorsement of his teaching when Anglican authorities sought to silence him. Hooker thus posed more of a threat to the established church. And among early New England clergymen, perhaps only John Davenport after 1637 consistently supported Cotton, while Hooker's supporters included Samuel Stone, Thomas Shepard, John Eliot, Thomas Weld, Hugh Peter, John Norton, and Peter Bulkeley.*

*For these reasons and others, I submit that a rivalry or friction did exist between Hooker and Cotton. If there was jealousy, I would suggest that Cotton had more reason for envying Hooker than the other way around. Perhaps no one was happier to see Hooker leave than Cotton himself. But even so, he remained in Hooker's shadow, especially after Cotton's somewhat clumsy vacillation and politicking during the Antinomian controversy. And it was Hooker, not Cotton, who was brought back from the frontier to preside over the most important synods of the era. In 1634 Cotton had been asked to write out a comprehensive analysis of knotty church doctrines, but he never did, certainly nothing to compare with Hooker's Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline. Hooker—no slouch in clerical politics—could probably rest comfortably on the assumption of his own professional influence and leadership, no matter where he happened to be.*

*If my thesis fits the facts of the situation, then it may help to illuminate some of the tensions between Hooker and Cotton before Newtowne's exodus to Hartford. Late in 1633, soon after arriving, Cotton did indeed harvest many converts to the Boston church, an alleged source of Hooker's supposed jealousy. Popularity, however, provided only a fickle and unpredictable guide in church matters, as both men knew. After the mutual formation of a*

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*church and choice of pastor and elders, votes of the church members counted for little except excommunication.*

*More significant were differences early in 1634 over the authority and tenure of civil magistrates. If pastors and elders enjoyed life tenure and almost complete authority over a congregation, the same did not apply to civil affairs. Both men probably would have agreed that civil authority ultimately derived from God but was first manifested in the people and then delegated by them to duly chosen magistrates. So far, so good.*

*But early in 1634 Hooker and Cotton had to confront the issue, along with Winthrop, the Assistants, Deputies, and voters. Judges in ancient Israel and church officers might serve for life, but in Massachusetts the charter required annual elections for colonial executives and legislators. Given the unsettled times and the criticism of Winthrop since 1630, the elections of May 1634 took on extra significance. Winthrop himself says that, since Hooker's arrival late in 1633, the people had become "more tender about their liberties." And the Deputies informed him early in 1634 that at the General Court elections in May they intended to put more limits on the executive authority of the governor and the Assistants. Winthrop responded by increasing the guard at the first meeting; there had been a threat of a royal invasion, but the local political situation no doubt played a part too.*

*After the General Court assembled in May 1634, Cotton (perhaps at Winthrop's personal request) preached an opening sermon to the effect that, once elected, a magistrate whose authority derived ultimately from God should not be returned to "private life" without some overt evidence of malfeasance. The message was clear: re-elect John Winthrop! The Deputies' response was equally blunt—they elected Thomas Dudley as governor. For good measure, they elected as deputy governor one of Winthrop's bitterest critics, Roger Ludlow. The doctrinal thesis of Cotton's sermon was shoveled off to a panel of divines for consultation, but they, too, declined to handle such a hot political potato. The Deputies then passed resolves requiring the Assistants to abide by the charter*

*and giving the Deputies more control over taxes, land grants, and admission of freemen.*

*Another matter of importance was the request of Hooker and others of Newtowne to move out of Massachusetts. Permission was given only to seek out some other site within the colony.*

*In the next meeting of the General Court, the mundane issue of Newtowne's exodus became part of larger constitutional issues. The Newtowne petitioners reported that they had found no suitable alternative in Massachusetts and wanted to leave the colony entirely. The Deputies said yes, but the Assistants said no. The Deputies outnumbered the Assistants, but the Assistants argued that they had a "negative voice"—that in legislative and judicial matters, decisions needed approval by majorities of both houses sitting separately, not merely a majority of both houses. Ironically, this was the first session of the General Court held at Newtowne, and the proposed exodus touched off a major, endless constitutional debate, threatening the colony's political foundations.*

*Even worse, Newtowne's departure threatened the whole Puritan experiment in New England. Since 1629, even before leaving England, the colony's leaders had bound*

*themselves (and by implication their future followers) in a comprehensive, cooperative, and—most important—holy enterprise. If one community like Newtowne were to secede, would the mutual covenant be broken and, along with it, the holy covenant with God? Within months, Watertown and Roxbury asked to join Newtowne in the exodus.*

*After only four short years events at Newtowne and friction elsewhere had produced a major crisis. At the time, Hooker said only that it had been a "fundamentall error" for so many towns to be put together. This reflected adversely on Dudley's original master plan, but by 1634 even he was having second thoughts about his dream town.*

*Why did Hooker and his followers choose to emigrate to Connecticut? The most succinct, yet still vague, reason given at the time was the "strong bent of their spirits to remove thither." What in the world did that mean? After mulling over some ordi-*

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*nary questions about what overpowering attractions Connecticut may have had and the pros and cons about staying or leaving Newtowne, I came upon another question of breathtaking importance: Did Hooker and the Braintree group ever intend to stay at Newtowne in the first place?*

*No one seems to have asked that question before, oddly enough. The answer, it seems, is "No." In fact, I tend to doubt that Hooker and the Braintree group even wanted to go to Massachusetts. I would argue that Connecticut was their goal from the start.*

*You will recall that in 1632 the Braintree group settled first, not at Newtowne, but at Mount Wollaston in modern Quincy. This was the fabled Merrymount, Thomas Morton's recently vacated "playboy club" in the virtual no-man's-land between Massachusetts, New Plymouth, and Indian country. Jurisdiction over the area was in dispute, necessitating a joint expedition under Ende-cott and Miles Standish to oust Morton's merry-makers.*

*You may also recall that the Braintree group was ordered to move to Newtowne, although the order was never officially recorded. In short, they came to Newtowne only under duress.*

*We have no concrete evidence about the Braintree group's intentions in 1632. But their first choice of Mount Wollaston opens up some interesting lines of speculation. Jurisdiction over the area was in dispute because of conflicting land grants from the Council of New England, the nearly defunct successor, since 1621, to the old Virginia Company of Plymouth. The Council was in the process of disbanding, with the principal members carving out for themselves considerable properties along the New England coast, most notably Sir Ferdinando Gorges's semi-baronial territory in Maine.*

*The second most important proprietor of the dwindling Council was Robert, Earl of Warwick, a leading Puritan and ambitious colonizer with considerable territorial rights west of Narragansett Bay. For our purposes, it is significant that in March 1632 Warwick granted a patent of his Connecticut lands to Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brook, Sir Richard Saltonstall, John Pym, John Hamp-*

*den, John Humphreys, and others, all leading Puritans and many associated with Massachusetts and other colonial ventures.*

*It is also significant that, among his extensive holdings in England, the Earl of Warwick was lord of the manor of Braintree in Essex. No doubt, in 1632 those of "Mr. Hooker's company" among his manorial tenants had to negotiate with his lordship about leaving their leaseholds; landlords do get touchy about rents and absent tenants. I suspect but cannot prove that the departing Braintree group made some arrangement with their pious landlord about heading for the recently patented Connecticut territory as soon as Thomas Hooker could join them from his refuge in Holland. Indeed, the Earl of Warwick's nephew arrived in Massachusetts only six weeks after the Braintree group.*

*Having waited for their leader during the previous two years, the Braintree group could afford to tarry a while along the way in the Bay Colony or Plymouth or in between them. The coincidence of the Connecticut patent and the Braintree group's emigration from Essex would help to explain the timing and sequence of their and Hooker's movements, particularly why they did not intend to come to Newtowne and why in 1633, when Massachusetts and Plymouth were scouting out the lands along the Connecticut coast and near the Dutch trading post inland, the Braintree group and Hooker were itching to move on almost as soon as he got off the boat.*

*Timing was crucial on both sides of the North Atlantic between 1632 and 1636. Malcontents like Christopher Gardner and Thomas Morton had been sending nasty letters about Massachusetts to the Puritans' highly-placed enemies in London, particularly Gorges and Archbishop Laud. The Privy Council in 1632 held hearings on the complaints, at the same time granting a colonial charter to Catholics in Maryland, a distinctly ominous sign. In 1633 the Privy Council created a committee on New England headed by Laud himself. In 1634, after Hooker had managed to escape from Holland, the Privy Council ordered Massachusetts-bound ships to be stopped and searched for fugitives. In 1635, while Hooker and*

*others in Newtowne were making their final plans for the overland journey westward, royal authorities began proceedings to nullify Massachusetts' charter. Gorges, having surrendered his charter from the Council of New England, was lobbying for a new royal charter confirming his Maine lands, and there were rumors that he was preparing a royal armada to invade the Bay Colony and proclaim himself governor-general with John Mason as vice-admiral.*

*The Puritans took the hint. Sir Henry Vane the younger, Hugh Peter, and Thomas Shepard escaped from England in 1636 in the same ship that brought John Winthrop, Jr., leading the vanguard of the Warwick patentees bound for the mouth of the Connecticut River. The political and religious leaders of the Bay Colony had good reason to toss uneasily in their beds at night and keep a nervous eye on the eastern horizon. If any Puritans slept easily in those troubled times, it was Thomas Hooker and his neighbors. The possible loss of the*

*Massachusetts charter need not have bothered them directly, since they were safely beyond its boundaries in a haven that, as I have tried to argue, they had intended to create from the beginning, with a little help from the Earl of Warwick. They need not have worried about a naval invasion, with young Winthrop's fort at Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut and the handy defenses the Dutch had installed nearby. Hooker and the refugees could sleep easily and—equally important—their cattle herds could safely graze.*

*Ah, yes, the cattle—at last. Persons familiar with Cambridge history, of course, appreciate the significance of our bovine friends over the centuries and will not wonder why I include cattle along with politics and religion in Newtowne's early years. Indeed, when the townspeople first asked the General Court in 1634 for permission to move, the first reason given was "want of accommodation for their cattle" (and thereby an inability to maintain their ministers).*

*Aside from the crude technicalities of animal husbandry, the cattle problem in Newtowne involves other puzzles and speculation. First, how many cattle were there? Winthrop tells us that*

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*260 cattle left from Newtowne in 1635 and 1636, and that an equal number were left behind.*

*If there were about 520 cattle here in 1635, that may not sound like a stampede. But to Winthrop it may have mattered more, since Newtowne's exodus involved over 17 percent of the colony's entire cattle supply, as given by William Wood in 1633. The overcrowding alleged by the would-be emigrants depended, of course, on how many people were here and how much space was available. Apparently, Newtowne had 90 families, of which 58 (or 177 people) left by 1636. Little wonder, then, that Newtowne's 270 people in 1634 felt hemmed in by 520 cattle, when in 1633 the ratio of people to cattle was nearly 3 to 1 elsewhere.*

*Even so, the complaint in 1634 about overcrowding sounds slightly suspicious, perhaps a smokescreen for the other political and religious reasons for emigrating. Apparently the townspeople had allotted to themselves about 2,600 acres, of which about 1,900 was "broken"—an ambiguous term meaning either "fenced" or "ploughed." That would mean an average of 30 acres per family or at most 5 acres per head of cattle. On the surface that sounds relatively roomy. And if that meant overcrowding in 1634, the simple solution would have been for the settlers to allot themselves larger holdings within the town. Moreover, the settlers could hardly claim to be deficient in cattle space after 1634. In response to the proposed emigration, the General Court late in 1634 started one of the biggest giveaways in the colony's short history. By 1636 Newtowne had received land grants encompassing the present towns of Newton, Brighton, Allston, Arlington, Belmont, and Lexington; Thomas Hooker himself was promised all of Brookline as a bribe to stay. Lack of room sounds like a pretty flimsy excuse.*

*The problem may have been quality rather than quantity. At the time, John Pratt, a physician in Newtowne, narrowly escaped official censure from the General Court for*

*writing letters to England complaining of overcrowding, rocks, sand, marshes, the failure of English grain to grow, and executive mismanagement. Meadow-*

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*land particularly was in short supply.*

*At this point we do have to delve into the mysteries of animal husbandry, cattle marketing, and (as far as limited information permits) John Haynes's vision of early Newtowne. Apparently an excess of cattle was never a problem until Haynes arrived with Hooker and Stone in 1633; Winthrop had anxiously reported on the arrival of scarce new cattle as well as people before then, and even he was impressed by Haynes's "great estate" Though old Braintree in Essex was a depressed weaving center, the surrounding area near Chelmsford and similar lands in Kent whence New-towne's settlers came depended on a rather specialized form of cattle business. Instead of breeding, raising, or dairying, these areas on the major roads to London specialized in beef-fattening just before slaughtering at the Smithfield market.*

*If Haynes's great estate in 1633 consisted of cattle, and if he or other Newtowne settlers hoped to duplicate the beef-fattening business for the Boston market, a rude awakening faced them in the Charles River Valley. There was no bridge, of course, until 1662, and roads to the Charlestown ferry were uncertain in the best of weather. Winthrop in 1633 may have been overjoyed at the arrival of much-needed cattle for food, but Haynes must have performed an "agonizing reappraisal" as he surveyed the present and future situation in Newtowne from his mansion next to Market Square.*

*No doubt Newtowne's ninety families enjoyed having nearly 30 acres per family; in Essex at the time, the average holding was only 5 acres. But, except for Thomas Graves's lone house in East Cambridge, all the other home sites were in the nine-square grid cramped by the swampy riverside and lying west of the present Holyoke Street, south of Massachusetts Avenue, and east of Eliot Street. Newtowne, in short, suffered the same problem as latter-day commuters: how to get to work from here?*

*As was customary, early land allotments in Newtowne were in long, narrow strips, roughly perpendicular to the shore line or to the major east-west axis along what is now Kirkland Street and*

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*Brattle Street. This was a fine way of providing almost everyone with marsh, meadow, upland, woodlots, and access to water and roads. But, as was customary, a family's acreage was in different strips all over the place. If each family had an average of 5.7 cattle, as well as an average of 30 acres for both cattle-grazing and crop-raising, the allocation of space, labor, and time on such a crazy-quilt pattern must have been daunting, even for a would-be cattle baron like Haynes.*

*If Haynes or others were accustomed to dealing only or mainly with full-grown beef steers, needing only to fatten them for market, other elements in Newtowne forced the settlers to*

*go back and start at the very beginning of a cattle-based economy. For one thing, because of land-clearing problems and bad harvests, Massachusetts had to rely almost totally on imported grain from 1630 to 1633. Thus there was no surplus grain just for beef-fattening. The English alleged (erroneously) that their cattle did not like Indian corn.*

*As a result, instead of specialization, Haynes and his neighbors had to go back to square one in animal husbandry. This required a careful estimate of resources in terms of cattle and land, but it may well have been worth the effort since cattle prices remained astronomically high—£20 per head—throughout the 1630s. That was in excess of the cost of one human's passage to Massachusetts and was also £5 more than the entire annual poor-relief budget for old Braintree in Essex.*

*Newtowne, alas, was ill suited as a prototype for Dodge City. Aside from the reasons mentioned above, the special nature of family cattle-raising posed further problems. I would emphasize "special" and "family" under this topic. Cattle were indeed "part of the family," and each one had a special purpose, requiring special lands and special foods at special times. I need not go into the cruder mechanics of breeding, since one or two bulls in town took care of that and most families did not have one. The five or six cattle belonging to a Newtowne family doubtless included two milk cows for dairy products and breeding, an ox for labor and*

*transportation, a steer or two for limited labor and future beef, and one or two young calves. When dead, the cattle provided hides for shoes and clothing and fat for candlelight, fuel, and soap. On the hoof, though, the cattle represented two other vital elements—manure and family capital. In the sandy clay of Newtowne, fertilizer was essential, and at £20 a head, the cattle required loving care.*

*As with any family, cattle required long-range planning over several years, lest their owners lose the many special benefits that cattle provided. And, though not quite as labor-intensive as some forms of crop-farming, cattle-raising did need complex logistical support throughout the seasons of the year and from day to day. During the winter cows, calves, oxen, and (at times) steers had to be accommodated on home lots within Newtowne's nine-square grid and fed with last summer's salt-marsh hay, with which the town abounded; steers could be kept outdoors near where Harvard Yard now is, since they were hardier and less vulnerable to cold and wolves (with which the town also abounded).*

*The other three seasons provided new problems, more of a communal than familial nature. At an early morning drumbeat, the cows and calves were led out from home lots and led off to graze. The town herdsmen had to navigate carefully away from the steer yards, since the steers got excited and broke fences when the cows passed by. The steers and cows had to graze separately, while the oxen went to the plow for planting crops and land clearance. Naturally, the grazing pastures for steers and cows had to be kept separate from the croplands. Here the lack of suitable meadows became crucial. The salt meadows by the river could not be overgrazed since that would hurt the later hay crop for winter fodder; the fresh-water meadows near Fresh Pond were better, but in both places cattle tended to get stuck in the mud. If in the early years more land had been cleared and planted, the cattle*

*could have grazed and manured the fallow fields. But such a situation was years in the making.*

*In short, what the cattle and people of Newtowne needed were broad grasslands, with fresh water and without the tidal marshes of*

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*the Charles or the hills between the home lots and Fresh Pond. Moreover, they needed an entirely different town plan, allowing larger, less compact home lots and much bigger, varied outlands for grazing, fodder, and crops.*

*Hartford or almost any Connecticut River site filled the bill. The early town plan of Hartford shows large home lots on an L-shaped plan fronting on two fresh-water rivers and large square-shaped outlands for private holdings and common lands. In Newtowne, John Haynes received a 69-acre allotment; in Hartford, he received 600 acres at the start.*

*Thus, there was justification for Newtowne's complaint about overcrowding and the need for more and better land to the west. But the transition did require a shift toward generalized cattle-raising and a sizeable geographic displacement. If Haynes still dreamed of capitalizing on the cattle boom, that quest also ended in the wilderness. In 1640 the bottom fell out of the cattle market, with prices falling from £20 to £5 a head within a few weeks, as unrest in England diminished immigration and cleared lands accommodated more cattle in the Bay Colony. Capital and speculation diverted to timber, furs, and fish, though Connecticut did specialize later in meat-packing for the West Indies, horses, and tobacco.*

*Newtowne, reincarnated as Cambridge after the exodus, did not abandon its bovine neighbors. They gave way to the new college; they continued to supply manure and other necessities; their wanderings separated Old Cambridge from other sections of the town; bridges and roads developed to transport them to Boston; slaughterhouses, tanneries, and soap factories appeared, and continued their influence into the present century.*

*Amidst all the Bicentennial celebrations this year, I suppose that I should apologize for dwelling on so many of the disappointments in Cambridge's early years—the failure of Dudley's fortified capital, the loss of Thomas Hooker, and the pushing and shoving among John Haynes's cattle. I suspect no family today would complain about having only 30 acres of Cambridge real estate. Cam-*

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*bridge and its citizens have managed to survive quite well over the centuries. We may even survive modern overcrowding and the Bicentennial. Happily, when all is said and done, the concern for religious faith in early Newtowne, for the life of the mind, and for necessary limitations on power in any form, did not leave when the cattle did.*

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he was Resident Fellow at the Society's Hooper-Lee-Nichols House, 1976-81, and has recently been a member of the Council. He read this paper on November 14, 1976.

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## Cambridge as Printer and Publisher: Fame, Oblivion, and Fame Again

BY MAX HALL

**C**AMBRIDGE had a printing press thirty-five years before Boston, forty-six years before Philadelphia, and fifty-four years before New York. To be sure, Mexico City was ahead of Cambridge by a hundred years, but Cambridge had the first printing in all the territory north of Mexico, and every history of printing and publishing in the United States has to begin a few blocks from this house. Now this is a rather well-known circumstance, no surprise at all to this audience. Nevertheless, the story is interesting and I will briefly tell it.

Then I will proceed to the eighteenth century, but I will not stay there very long because no one has found convincing evidence of any printing in Cambridge during that century, with one small exception which I will mention. But ah, the nineteenth century was different. Around 1800 remarkable things began happening here, some of them almost unknown to historians today, and by 1900 the city possessed three large, busy, distinguished, red-brick book-printing plants, besides some smaller shops. By that time Harvard, which had been heavily involved in Cambridge's printing since the beginning, was working up to the establishment of the Harvard University Press in 1913. But that is another story.

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In the summer of 1638 a well-to-do English clergyman named Glover sailed for America.<sup>1</sup> His first name was Josse, or Jose (not the Spanish Jose), or Joseph, or Joss, or Jesse. His destination was Cambridge, where a college was being organized. He brought along his wife, Elizabeth, and their children and servants. He also brought along a locksmith named Stephen Day, and his children and servants. You may spell Day with or without an "e" on the end; apparently not even Stephen knew which he preferred. Mr. Day was under contract to Glover in some sort of enterprise, perhaps an iron foundry. Also on shipboard was a printing press with type, accessories, and a large quantity of paper. The intentions of the Reverend Mr. Glover are an alluring subject for speculation. Was he planning to be Harvard's first president? Probably we will never know. He died on shipboard.

The ship arrived at Charlestown in the fall of 1638, just after young John Harvard of that town died and left the college some books, money, and a name. The widow Glover proceeded by land to Cambridge and settled in one of the largest houses in town. She bought a smaller house for the Day family (and the press), presumably on the west side of what is now Holyoke Street, in the block now occupied by Holyoke Center. Stephen Day probably set up the apparatus, but his son Matthew may have done the first typesetting. The Days apparently were not trained printers. I do not know whom Glover expected to

*operate his press. George Parker Winship, in his book entitled The Cambridge Press, speculated that Glover brought along a trained printer who also died on the voyage. At any rate, the press made a slow start. Its first product was a scrap of paper, a freeman's oath, in late 1638 or in 1639. Its second was an almanac, in 1639. Its third, in 1640, was the renowned Bay Psalm Book, the first real book printed in the English colonies.*

*1. For two especially careful accounts of the founding of the first press, see Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 255-56, 342-48, 379-80, and George Parker Winship, The Cambridge Press, 1638-1692 (Philadelphia, 1945), pp. 1-11.*

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*In August 1640 a thirty-year-old man named Henry Dunster arrived from England. Three weeks later he was elected the first president of Harvard College (until then the college had had only a "master"). In the next year, 1641, he married Elizabeth Glover and moved into her house and took over the management of her considerable properties. She died in 1643. In 1644 he married another Elizabeth, and in 1645 or 1646 they moved into a president's lodging built for him in Harvard Yard. Dunster had the printing press installed in that lodging. This put the press on college property. Exactly when the press became college property is a complex question not necessary to go into here. Litigation over the Glover estate, including the press, continued until 1656, but I think it can be reasonably said that Harvard College became a printer in 1643.*

*The printing shop found its way to another building in Harvard Yard, received another printing press from England, and continued in operation under five more Harvard presidents until its dispersal in 1692. The man in charge during the late 1640s was Matthew Day, who also served as the college steward. He died in 1649 and was succeeded as college printer by Samuel Green. This sturdy figure, who was also a zealous officer of Cambridge's militia, generally known as Sergeant Green, managed the press for forty-three years and became the progenitor of a mighty printing family.*

*The shop more than satisfied Harvard's printing needs, which were tiny at that time. They included a pair of broadsides printed in Latin for each commencement and, beginning in 1674, the triennial catalogues listing all degree holders since the founding of the college.*

*The printing office also issued annual almanacs, prepared by recent graduates, and these booklets were important. Samuel Eliot Morison once wrote that, in the New England of that time, almanacs were "the most widely diffused form of literature, and the only periodical literature." They even had a certain scientific interest, for the calculations in them reflected the new knowledge of astronomy that the college began teaching in a small way during*

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*that century.<sup>2</sup> With these almanacs the shop in Harvard Yard came close to being a "publisher."*

*But most of the work consisted of printing jobs for outside clients. These books, pamphlets, and broadsides were generally religious or political, such as the regulations of the church,*

*John Eliot's Bible in the Massachusetts Indian language, sermons, catechisms, elegies in verse, the laws of Massachusetts, and the laws of Connecticut.*

*Everything was performed under the eyes of the authorities, on the lookout for heresy and sedition. Freedom of the press was a concept of the future. Indeed, the government, fearing the spread of printing as people now fear the proliferation of nuclear weapons, decreed in 1664 that no town in Massachusetts could have a printing press except Cambridge.*

*Harvard's shop printed no textbooks, unless a spelling book be counted as such. The academic books of that century came from the Old World, and the number was not great. But gradually the colony's growth in population caused an increase in the demand for all sorts of books. Booksellers appeared in Boston, and they not only imported books but began to have things printed in America. Starting in 1674 they could choose between Cambridge and Boston, for that year saw the birth of Boston printing at last. The end of the Cambridge press in 1692 probably resulted from the aging of type and equipment, the aging of Samuel Green, and, most of all, the rise of Boston as a printing center. Boston attracted Green's sons, one of whom, Bartholomew, was his partner during the final years at Cambridge and then established himself as Boston's leading printer. Harvard, no longer a printing proprietor, sent its catalogues, commencement broadsides, and miscellaneous printing jobs to private firms in Boston for 108 years—from 1692 to 1800.*

2. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, I* (Cambridge, 1936), 133, 214-19; Theodore Hornberger, *Scientific Thought in the American Colleges, 1638-1800* (Austin, Texas, 1945), pp. 38-39.

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*In all that awesome stretch of history, during which a thin thread of colonies in the wilderness wove itself into a republic, apparently the only printing in Cambridge took place from May 1775 to April 1776. Samuel Hall, a printer who had been operating in Salem, produced a patriotic newspaper and other pro-American items in a Harvard dormitory named Stoughton College (not the present Stoughton Hall). The rest of the building housed 240 soldiers of George Washington's army. Harvard College was away at the time, spending the academic year 1775-76 in Concord, Massachusetts. Samuel Hall's weekly newspaper, *The New-England Chronicle: or, The Essex Gazette*, was Cambridge's first newspaper, just as it had been Salem's first in 1768 under the name *Essex Gazette*. As soon as the British evacuated Boston, Hall moved his business across the river into that city.<sup>3</sup>*

*A good many people have written that printing went on in Cambridge continuously, or almost continuously, throughout the eighteenth century; but somehow they always forgot to give the details. If anyone can supply information that any printing press gave even one thump in this town between 1692 and 1800—with the single exception of Samuel Hall's press during the siege of Boston—please let me know. Meanwhile I must go along with those scholars who have concluded that no such evidence exists.*

*Publishing, as contrasted with printing, did take place in the sense that Harvard College occasionally prepared manuscripts for publication and sent the business out to commercial printers as most book publishers do today. This did not mean that Harvard had a publishing house; but not all of its manuscripts were triennial catalogues and commencement broadsides. In 1732, for example, Harvard published the first college library catalogue*

*printed in the colonies, a book of 106 pages. Its compiler was Joshua Gee, Jr., whose Harvard title was "Library-Keeper." The printer was*

3. *On the New-England Chronicle see Clarence S. Brigham, History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, I (Worcester, Mass., 1947), 353, 394-96; Samuel Eliot Morison, Three Centuries of Harvard (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 148-51; Isaiah Thomas, The History of Printing in America, 2d ed. (1874), ed. Marcus A. McCorison (Barre, Mass., 1970), pp. 176-78, 274-75.*

*Bartholomew Green of Boston, son of Sergeant Samuel Green.<sup>4</sup> The college also made tentative steps into the textbook field. The first notable example was A Grammar of the Hebrew Tongue, published in 1735. Its author was Judah Monis, Instructor in the Hebrew Language. Its printer was Jonas Green of Boston, a grandson of Sergeant Samuel. In 1763 the Harvard Corporation published a quite different Hebrew grammar, adapted by Stephen Sewall from the works of two English scholars, Israel Lyons and Richard Grey. The printers were R. and S. Draper, of Boston.<sup>5</sup>*

*In 1761 or 1762, under date of 1761, the college brought out an elaborate, laudatory volume concerning the death of George II and the accession of George III. Its Latin title can be translated "Tribute and Congratulation of the College at Cambridge among the New Englanders." The bibliographer Charles Evans says of it, "Typographically this is the handsomest specimen of the printer's art produced in the American Colonies." The printers were John Green and Joseph Russell of Boston—John Green being a great-grandson of Sergeant Samuel.<sup>6</sup>*

*Until the Revolutionary War, however, almost all college textbooks, then usually called "reciting books" or "class books," were still imported. When the war interrupted the supply, the college scrambled around. It took out newspaper advertisements seeking to buy or rent books from private owners. Then it successfully petitioned the Massachusetts authorities to share with it the libraries that had been sequestered from the departing Loyalists.<sup>7</sup> But as the century moved to a close there was a rising demand for academic books prepared in America; and moreover the Harvard faculty became more disposed to be authors or editors. So the*

4. *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini, at Houghton Library, Harvard. On Gee's authorship: Harvard Corporation Records, Oct. 3, 1722, and Dec. 25, 1723*

5. *Copy of Monis Grammar in Houghton Library; on Monis, see Harv. Corp. Recs., 1734 and 1735; see also articles on him by Lee J. Friedman in Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, no. 22 (1914), esp. pp. 8-13, and no. 37 (1947), pp. 121-34. Copies of Sewall's Hebrew Grammar are in Houghton Library and American Antiquarian Soc., Worcester, Mass. See also n. 17, below.*

6. *Copy in Houghton Library; Charles Evans, American Bibliography, III (Chicago, 1905), 286-88.*

7. *Robert W. Lovett, "Harvard College and the Supply of Textbooks," Harvard Library Bulletin 4 (Winter 1950): 116-18.*

*college's business with Boston printers quickened a bit. The Harvard Corporation found itself occasionally deciding upon books, choosing the printers, setting quantities and prices, and paying the bills—that is, acting like a book publisher. And in 1800, at just the right moment of this textbook boomlet, printing came back to Cambridge.*

*The man responsible was William Hilliard. He was only twenty-one at the time, just beginning a career as a powerful mover in the world of books. Before he got through, he had formed one company after another and had left his marks all over the history of bookselling, publishing, printing, and stereotyping in Cambridge and Boston. Hilliard was an entrepreneur with a capital E. He was innovative, energetic, ambitious, restless, aggressive, prickly, civic-minded, and church-minded. He started men on high roads; for example, two of those he engaged and boosted were named Little and Brown. In 1824 when Thomas Jefferson was beginning a library for his brand-new University of Virginia he turned to Hilliard to procure the books for him. Meanwhile Hilliard had somehow found the time to serve Cambridge as selectman, town clerk, assessor, treasurer, and, I think, in some other positions from time to time. He was elected a deacon of the First Parish Church in 1804, when he was only twenty-five; and when the great split took place in that church in 1829, he went with the orthodox group led by the minister, Abiel Holmes.*

*Hilliard is not even in the Dictionary of American Biography, though he ought to be. The little that has been written about him is fragmentary and often inaccurate.<sup>8</sup> He deserves a thorough*

*8. Madeleine B. Stern devotes a chapter to Hilliard as a bookseller in her Imprints on History: Book Publishers and American Frontiers (Bloomington, Ind., 1956), pp. 24-44. On Hilliard's influence, see John Tebbel, A History of Book Publishing in the United States, vol. I, The Creation of an Industry, 1630-1865 (New York, 1972), pp. 415-16, 442-43, 446; the author has the dates somewhat confused and is in error about the founding of the University Press. For other mention of Hilliard, see One Hundred Years of Publishing: 1837-1937 (Boston, 1937), on Little, Brown; Ellen B. Ballou, The Building of the House: Houghton Mifflin's Formative Years (Boston, 1970); Joseph T. Buckingham (who knew Hilliard) in the Boston Evening Transcript, Sept. 23, 1859; Lucius R. Paige, History of Cambridge (1877), pp. 303-6. Apparently none of those writers had occasion to consult the many references to Hilliard in the Harvard University Archives.*

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*study, more thorough than I have been able to make. But I do have some new facts to offer.*

*Hilliard was born in Barnstable, on Cape Cod. He was baptized there on July 12, 1778. His father, Timothy Hilliard, pastor of the church there, had been a Harvard tutor before moving to Barnstable. In 1783, when William was five years old, the family moved back to Cambridge, where the Reverend Mr. Hilliard became the colleague of Nathaniel Appleton, who had been the pastor of the First Parish Church, the only church in Cambridge, for longer than almost anyone could remember. In the following year, 1784, Timothy Hilliard succeeded Appleton as pastor and thereby automatically became a member of Harvard's Board of Overseers.<sup>9</sup>*

*One of the most intriguing facts about his son William is this: William's father, William's two brothers, and William's two sons all got M.A. degrees from Harvard; yet there is no record that William ever attended Harvard at all. Could this help to explain his extraordinary drive for success in life? I can't help imagining so. William's failure to conform to the family tradition can perhaps be explained as follows. In 1790, when he was*

*not quite twelve years old, his father died. There were two other sons—Joseph, almost sixteen, and Timothy, Jr., almost fourteen—and both of them were in the first year of Harvard College. The funeral sermon was preached by the college president, Joseph Willard, and he made a fervent plea to the audience that they assist the widow to bring up her family and, in particular, to enable the two Harvard freshmen to complete their education.<sup>10</sup> Little William, then or not long thereafter, became an apprentice in some printing house, presumably in Boston, and got his education in the book trade.*

9. *Genealogical Notes of Barnstable Families, a reprint of the Amos Otis papers, revised by C. F. Swift (Barnstable, Mass., 1888), pp. 69-70; Historical Register of Harvard University, 1636-1936 (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 20, 255; on Overseer system, ibid., p. 19.*

10. *Harvard's Quinquennial Catalogue . . . 1636-1930 (Cambridge, 1930). For births and deaths of Milliards, see Genealogical Notes (as in n. 9, above) and Vital Records of Cambridge . . . [to] 1850, comp. Thomas W. Baldwin, 2 vols. (Boston, 1914, 1915); Joseph Willard, A Sermon Delivered May 13, 1790, at the Funeral of the Reverend Timothy Hilliard; copy in Houghton Library.*

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*Later, for a period of perhaps twenty years, Hilliard lived in a fine home at 60 Brattle Street, on a site now occupied by an apartment house on the south corner of Hilliard Street, a block-long street that was named after him.<sup>11</sup> I do not know where he lived in 1800, or where he opened his printing shop in that year. Eventually the shop was on Holyoke Street. Wherever it was in 1800, he must have had his calculating eye on Harvard's resources. President Willard promptly gave him the printing of the commencement broadsides for that summer. Never again would they be printed in Boston.<sup>12</sup>*

*There was a man at Harvard who took a special interest in publishing and who was at that time hurrying toward the top of the university. This was Eliphalet Pearson, the Hancock Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages. Students called him "Elephant" because of his name and his physique. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes described him as having "big name, big frame, big voice, and beetling brow." Before being called to Harvard he had been the first principal of Phillips Academy at Andover. His personality was dominating, his ambition large, his religion conservative. The Harvard Corporation appointed him its agent in dealing with the Massachusetts General Court and then in February 1800 elected him a Fellow—one of the last Harvard faculty members to be made a member of the Corporation.<sup>13</sup> The Corporation Records for 1801 show that Pearson was increasingly active in Harvard's book publishing, and Hilliard increasingly active in doing the printing.*

11. *He bought the land in 1808 and built a brick house on it in 1808-1809 (Cambridge Historical Commission Records); I am indebted to Carolyn Ames and Rosamond Howe for help in this matter. In 1829 Harvard bought the estate from Hilliard for \$7,000 as a home for Joseph Story (Harv. Corp. Recs., July 16 and 23, 1829). Hilliard died in 1836. Hilliard Street was laid out in 1852 (Lewis Hastings, "The Streets of Cambridge: Some Account of Their Origin and History," Cambridge Historical Society Proceedings 14 [1919]: 65).*

12. *The broadsides, on file in the University Archives, bear the names of the printers.*

13. *On Pearson, see Dictionary of American Biography and Morison, Three Centuries, pp. 159, 188-90. Holmes's excerpt is from "The School-boy."*

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*A little notebook found among Pearson's papers contains the following entry for 1802: "Propose to be interested in a printing Press, or loan Mr Milliard money to purchase one." And on the page opposite: "April 20 Voted to establish a University Press."<sup>14</sup> The Corporation Records of April 20, 1802, put it this way: "Voted that a printing press and suitable fonts of types be procured for the College, to be under the direction of the Corporation; and that the President and Professor Pearson be a Committee to see to the procuring of the press and types; and also to make an agreement with some person to be employed by the College as their printer."*

*This action meant that Harvard had begun its second venture in the printing field. It also meant that Harvard had founded the first "university press" in the United States, through which it would produce textbooks and other works. The University Press of 1802, however, was not a publishing house, with delegated authority to decide what to publish, like the Harvard University Press of the twentieth century. Rather it was a printing office, through which the university would do its own printing instead of sending it outside. The "publisher" of works bearing the University Press imprint was the Harvard Corporation itself—at least at the beginning. As you will see in a moment, Harvard established the University Press but did not keep it.*

*William Hilliard was the natural "person to be employed by the College as their printer." He found a press that could be bought for \$120, and on May 20 President Willard directed the treasurer to pay Hilliard the money, adding that "the College is to be the proprietor, as soon as we shall have procured types." By July 1 the Corporation had sunk \$404.16 into the enterprise (one year later this had risen to \$1,918.57, including press, types, other equipment, and office furnishings).<sup>15</sup> Hilliard used the university's apparatus alongside his own. In that summer of 1802, at com-*

14. University Archives, Corporation Papers, 1800-1803 folder. The "Corporation Records" are the minutes of Corporation meetings, and not to be confused with "Corporation Papers" and "College Papers."

15. Willard to Ebenezer Storer, May 20, 1802, in College Papers, 1st ser., IV, 41; Overseers'Recs., IV, 367-68, 391-92.

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*mencement, the list of "theses" that the senior class was prepared to defend bore this majestic colophon: "CANTABRIGIAE: é UNIVERSITATIS TYPOGRAPHEO: GULIELMO MILLIARD Typographo." If anybody needed it in English he could turn to the "Order of Exercises," which said simply: "Cambridge—Printed at the University Press, by William Billiard, Printer to the University."<sup>16</sup>*

*"Printer to the University" would not necessarily mean that Harvard owned the press. Those words, or something like them, had been used before—and would be used many times again—by private printers enjoying Harvard's favor. But "Printed at the University Press" was entirely new.*

*And after the broadsides came books. Four came out with the date 1802 and the University Press imprint. Two of these were textbooks, approved by votes of the Corporation and prepared for publication by Eliphalet Pearson. They were an abridgment of Hugh Blair's*

*Lectures on Rhetoric, a work widely known abroad, and a new and shortened version of the Hebrew grammar that Stephen Sewall had compiled from English sources and that the Corporation had published in 1763.<sup>17</sup> The Corporation voted thanks to Professor Pearson for his "great attention and labor" in fitting those two books for the press and "for his care in correcting all the proof sheets." (Despite his care, the title page of the Hebrew grammar contained a glaring typographical error, and page 24 was printed upside down.) Another 1802 product was a sermon by Professor David Tappan. The fourth was the second volume of an important work by Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, A Prospect of Exterminating the Small Pox. I find nothing about the Tappan pamphlet and the Waterhouse book in the Harvard Corporation*

16. Copy in University Archives.

17. A Check List of Massachusetts Imprints, 1802, prepared by the American Imprints Inventory in Massachusetts (Boston, 1942), esp. pp. 19-20, 69, 111, 117. Pearson's Hebrew Grammar (1802), like Sewall's, acknowledges the collections of Thomas Lyons and Richard Grey, but it mentions neither Sewall nor Pearson on the title page. Both the Houghton Library and the American Antiquarian Society attribute it to Sewall, along with the 1806 and 1812 editions of Pearson's version. Perhaps one should think of the 1802 book as the "Sewall-Pearson edition."

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*minutes, and I suspect that the book by the controversial Dr. Waterhouse should not have borne the University Press imprint, for its title page says "Printed for the author."<sup>18</sup>*

*On October 25 of that first year—1802—the Corporation gave President Willard and Professor Pearson the responsibility "to attend to the University Press, that it may be under proper regulations." More than a year later, on November 16, 1803, the Corporation approved their handiwork, which appears in the handwritten minutes of November 16 under the title, "Regulations Respecting the University Press." This document is a pioneering one in the history of scholarly publishing. In some respects it sounds almost modern.*

*First, the printing press purchased by the Corporation "shall be denominated the University Press."*

*Second, it "shall be well supplied with types of the best quality at the expense of the University."*

*Third, "Every thing printed for the University shall be printed on good paper and executed in the best manner."*

*Fourth, "Nothing shall be published or sold, or printed for the University, which shall not, while under the impression, have been carefully inspected and corrected by one or more of the officers of [the] College, or by some person or persons agreeably [sic] to the appointment of the Corporation." (In other words, no more errors on title pages.)*

*Fifth, "The Printer who may be employed at the University Press, shall neither print, nor publish, while in contract with the Corporation, any book, pamphlet, magazine, newspaper, advertisement, hand-bill, or other writing whatever, without the approbation of the said*



*Corporation, or of a committee, by them appointed to determine what shall be printed at the said press." (Apparently the Corporation was unwilling to let Hilliard think he*

*18. On thanks to Pearson see Corp. Recs., Oct. 25, 1802. At that meeting it was also voted to sell the Blair book to students at 80 cents a copy, the Grammar at 30 cents. On the Waterhouse book (copy in Boston Public Library), which actually appeared about Feb. 1, 1803, see John B. Blake, Benjamin Waterhouse and the Introduction of Vaccination: A Reappraisal (Philadelphia, 1957), p. 87. Water-house was Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physick at Harvard.*

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*had the job securely locked up. Apparently, too, they wanted him to know who was boss.)*

*The sixth regulation required the printer to keep careful accounts. (Did old Ebenezer Storer, the Harvard treasurer, have a premonition?)*

*Seventh, he shall do no other printing while furnished with employment by the university, but, when not so employed, he may use the university's press and types "for his own benefit, making reasonable allowance therefor," and conforming to the rule against printing anything without Corporation approval.*

*Eighth, he shall not use the term "University Press" on anything printed for his own benefit. (In other words, don't let the Benjamin Waterhouse incident happen again.)*

*Ninth, he shall bind himself to obey these regulations and to "quietly surrender" all Harvard property at the expiration of his contract.*

*Six more months passed before Hilliard received a formal appointment and his first contract. This contract—for six years— took effect May 10, 1804. No copy of it comes to hand, but Hilliard said later that it provided for the university to receive 12 1/2 percent upon all the work done at the press.<sup>19</sup> He said the work during the first six years amounted to \$10,000, of which 12 1/2 percent was \$1,250. He said, too, that the university had advanced him about \$2,000 (presumably for working capital), on which he had paid interest of \$120 a year (hence 6 percent).*

*President Willard died in 1804. Eliphalet Pearson was the acting president of Harvard for the next year and a half. The Corporation in 1805 bought a second printing press for its undertaking. Meanwhile Pearson's hopes for the presidency crumbled because of clashing personalities and the rising influence of Unitarianism at Harvard. Therefore he bitterly resigned his positions in the spring of 1806 and went back to Andover, where he helped to found the orthodox Andover Theological Seminary. The Corporation elected Samuel Webber president. Soon thereafter it asked him to buy the*

*19. Hilliard to Corporation, Apr. 16, 1813, College Papers, 1st ser., VII, 49.*

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necessary types for a University Press edition of a two-volume mathematics textbook compiled by him, which had been published by the Corporation in 1801 and printed in Boston.<sup>20</sup>

The University Press remained under Harvard ownership for twenty-five years, that is, until 1827, almost to the end of the presidency of John Thornton Kirkland, who succeeded Webber in 1810. As the business increased, and as Hilliard expanded his interests beyond the print shop, he took a partner into the printing firm. Thus in 1808 the company, both when using the University Press imprint and when doing jobs on its own account, began calling itself Hilliard & Metcalf. The partner was Eliab W. Metcalf, who had learned the printing trade in his hometown of Wrentham, Massachusetts, and now became an active citizen of Cambridge. Like Samuel Green of an earlier century, Metcalf was interested in military doings; he served briefly in the war against Britain in 1814 and later became a colonel in the militia. Around 1814 Eliab's teenage brother, Charles R. Metcalf, came to work in the shop as an apprentice, and according to one account he became foreman in 1824. At about that time—the mid 1820s—the firm acquired an outstanding literary man, Charles Folsom. He was then the Harvard librarian and also taught Italian in the college. During the next fifteen years he was to achieve a high reputation as the Press's scholarly and meticulous "corrector"—a forerunner of the influential "editors" of a later era. Folsom was to head the firm during most of the 1830s, and Charles Metcalf was to head it in the 1840s and 1850s.<sup>21</sup> But Colonel Eliab Metcalf was to

20. Corp. Recs., Mar. 28, 1805; Morison, *Three Centuries*, pp. 188-90; Conrad Wright, "The Election of Henry Ware; Two Contemporary Accounts," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 17 (July 1969): 245-78. Ware was elected Hollis Professor of Divinity on Feb. 1, 1805, against Pearson's opposition. On Webber, see Corp. Recs., Dec. 16, 1806.

21. On Eliab Metcalf (1781-1835), see Joseph T. Buckingham, in *Boston Evening Transcript*, Oct. 1, 1859; Frederick Lewis Weis, "Michael Metcalf of Dedham, Massachusetts, and Some of His Descendants" (1940), pp. 233-34 (ms. at Amer. Antiq. Soc.). On Charles (1797-1877): "Harvard University Press" in *Boston Evening Transcript*, Jan. 30, 1913; Weis, p. 237; Marshall T. Bigelow, "The University Press at Cambridge," *Harvard Register* 3 (June 1881): 347-49. On Folsom: DAB.

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head it before either of them. Meanwhile, during the period of Harvard ownership, 1802–1827, the University Press printed a good many textbooks for use at Harvard and other institutions. The publishing function, however, shifted from the Corporation to booksellers, that is, chiefly to William Hilliard himself in his bookseller capacity. For example, in 1815 the Corporation made a tentative agreement to sell its popular Webber mathematics book—the plates and the rights—to Cummings & Hilliard, the rising Boston bookselling firm which Hilliard and Jacob Cummings had formed in 1812. By then it was common for title pages to name Cummings & Hilliard as publisher and the University Press as printer. This was the pattern used when Professor Jacob Bigelow's famous *American Medical Botany* came out in three volumes beginning in 1817, the first American book with printed color plates.<sup>22</sup> After about 1810, with President Willard, Professor Pearson, and President Webber all gone, the President and Fellows seem to have lost much of their enthusiasm for deciding the details of publication. Harvard, however, firmly held title to the printing equipment. Indeed, in 1810 the Corporation voted to buy the printing press and types that

were Hilliard's private property and lease them back to him along with the presses, types, and other equipment that already belonged to Harvard.<sup>23</sup>

In Cambridge, Hilliard was not only "Printer to the University" but also "Bookseller to the University." His bookstore in Harvard Square, Hilliard & Company (which became Hilliard & Brown in 1826), supplied the student body with books, which were charged on their tuition bills.<sup>24</sup>

Documents in the University Archives show many signs of mu-

22. On Webber book see *College Papers*, 1st ser., VIII, 4. I have found no evidence of a second edition of Webber. According to Richard Wolfe of the Countway Library, Harvard Medical School, Bigelow himself should be considered the publisher of his *Botany*.

23. *Corp. Recs.*, Mar. 29, 1810.

24. Lovett [as in n. 7, above], pp. 120-21. For one of Hilliard's accounts (Apr. 16, 1816), see *College Papers*, 1st ser., VIII, 12. On James Brown, see the history of Little, Brown [as in n. 8, above], pp. 13, 20-21.

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tual dissatisfaction between the Corporation and Hilliard as its printer. From time to time he asked for more types, more furniture, more space, loans for working capital, and loans for personal use. Sometimes he got what he wanted, sometimes not. In 1813, writing an eloquent letter to the Corporation, he insisted that an investment of only \$8,000 or \$10,000 would turn the University Press into a source of profit to the university. He suggested the printing of the Greek and Roman classics and thereby anticipated Harvard's Loeb Classical Library of the twentieth century. He also proposed Bible printing, saying that this had been a considerable source of revenue to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in England. This was exactly a century before the present Harvard University Press was founded in 1913, with the Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press as models.<sup>25</sup>

But the President and Fellows were in no position to think so ambitiously, and in time the requests for expansion put them in mind to get rid of the University Press. They voted in 1819 to offer to sell it to Hilliard & Metcalf, but evidently no satisfactory deal could be made. In 1823 they yielded to Hilliard's arguments and built a new printing office to lease to him. Hilliard & Metcalf had been operating at the east corner of Holyoke Street, just opposite the college yard. The new building was on the other side of Holyoke farther down, on the southeast portion of the block now occupied by Holyoke Center, very close to the site where we may suppose the widow Glover's press had been installed nearly two centuries before. The move was made in 1824.<sup>26</sup> The President's Report for 1825-26, first in the series of annual reports that has continued ever since, includes these two items in Harvard's income for the year: \$287 rent on the printing office and \$420 interest on capital advanced to Hilliard & Metcalf at 6 percent (thus the loan at that time must have been \$7,000).

25. Hilliard to Corporation, Apr. 16, 1813, in *College Papers*, 1st ser., VII, 49; for other requests, see *Corp. Recs.*, Mar. 26 and Oct. 27, 1810, and May 12, 1813; see also *College Papers*, 1st ser., V, 35; VI, 67, 73; VII, 40, 53.

26. Corp. Recs., May 11, 1819; President Kirkland to John Davis, Mar. 17, 1823, in *College Papers, 1st ser.*, X, 53; see also Corp. Recs., June 12, 1823, and *College Papers, 1st ser.*, XI, 72; Bigelow, "University Press" [as in n. 21, above], p. 347.

Unfortunately, Harvard was heading into a financial crisis. Before it was over, the Corporation cut professors' salaries, sold the sloop Harvard, which was hauling firewood from Maine, and took other economizing measures.<sup>27</sup> They also induced the resignation of the treasurer of that period, John Davis, a federal judge and president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose accounts, including those related to Hilliard's affairs, were discovered to be in confusion. On June 21, 1827, the Corporation assigned three of its members to settle all accounts with Billiard, Metcalf & Company (which by now was the name of the firm) and either to put an end to the University Press contract or to modify it as they saw fit.

This stern triumvirate consisted of Nathaniel Bowditch, Francis Galley Gray, and the new treasurer, Ebenezer Francis. On October 18, 1827, they reported that on September 28 they had sold the printing establishment with all its types to Eliab W. Metcalf for \$5,500, payable over a five-year period. Harvard retained ownership of the new building and leased it to Metcalf. The committee also paid Hilliard's Boston bookstore \$1,152.62 in full settlement of a bill for books bought in London for the university. And they settled accounts with Hilliard himself and received his personal note for \$4,000, allowing him to pay it in 1830.<sup>28</sup>

Thus ended Harvard's second major venture into printing and publishing, and the end was slightly tainted. It seems that some books claimed by Harvard could not be found. Therefore the Corporation required that Hilliard's \$4,000 note be secured by a \$5,000 collateral note from Hilliard's Boston bookstore. As if this were not enough, Judge John Davis, the former treasurer, guaranteed the \$5,000 collateral note, and the Corporation said in its October 18 minutes that he did so "in full satisfaction of the claim of the College for any books belonging to the College, for which the said Hilliard was considered as responsible by reason of their being missing, and for which the said Davis was also considered as

27. Morison, *Three Centuries*, pp. 219-20. The Corporation launched sloop and Press together and abandoned them together.

28. Reports, Oct. 18, 1827, in *College Papers, 2d ser.*, II, 105, 106; also summarized in Corp. Recs. of same date.

responsible by reason of his not having called upon the said Hilliard to account for the same."

Three months later, on January 17, 1828, the President and Fellows sent a thirteen-page financial message to the Board of Overseers, reporting on their economies. They said the printing establishment had been sold because it "had not been, as was expected, a source of income, but one of great expense."<sup>29</sup>

*The printing company continued under private ownership in the Harvard-owned building and became one of America's distinguished book printers. Though it never again was controlled by the university, it performed Harvard's printing for decades and appeared in Harvard's annual catalogues as "Printers to the University" (see table at end of article). It changed proprietors and names several times but was still generally thought of as the University Press or the University Printing Office. The first Cambridge city directory, in 1847, listed it as "the University Printing Establishment, Metcalf & Co.," and said it employed forty persons.<sup>30</sup> In 1865, while calling itself "University Press: Welch, Bigelow, & Company," it finally moved away from Harvard property and set up in a former hotel in Brattle Square, the Brattle House. By 1880 it had more than three hundred employees and fifty-eight presses, and had printed original works by almost all of New England's greatest authors.<sup>31</sup> In 1895, going under the name "University Press: John Wilson & Son, Inc.," it erected still larger quarters on University Road near the Charles River.*

*By that time the company was advertising that it had been founded in 1639 by Stephen Day. It even put that date at the top of its new building. But the real founders were Pearson, Willard, and Hilliard in 1802, that is, Professor Eliphalet Pearson, Presi-*

29. Overseers' Recs., VII, 405-17; Corp. Recs., Jan. 17, 1828; see also treasurer's statement, Dec. 20, 1827, College Papers, 2d ser., II, 169-72.

30. George Grier Wright, "Gleanings from Early Cambridge Directories," *Camb. Hist. Soc. Proceedings* 15 (1920-21): 35. The proprietor was Charles R. Metcalf; one of his partners in the early 1840s was George Nichols, who was living at 159 Brattle Street—the Nichols of the Society's Hooper-Lee-Nichols House. I am indebted to G. B. Warden for this information.

31. Bigelow, "University Press," pp. 348-49.

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*dent Joseph Willard, and their vigorous printer, William Milliard. The University Press was no more founded by Stephen Day than the Saturday Evening Post was founded by Benjamin Franklin.<sup>32</sup>*

*I am not alleging that either the University Press or the Curtis Publishing Company knowingly falsified the historical record. Probably most of those who passed those stories from generation to generation simply did not know the extent of the discontinuity between the old institutions and the newer ones. In fairness it should be added that some people who knew about the hiatus in Cambridge printing still approved the University Press's claim to have been founded in 1639. For example, Norman Hill White, Jr., in a paper read to this Society on January 17, 1920, acknowledged the 108-year gap between Samuel Green and William Milliard but argued that the claim was "entirely valid" because Milliard "followed in succession" the press of Green as printer to the college.<sup>33</sup>*

*I mentioned the existence of three distinguished book printers in Cambridge around 1900. Besides the University Press, they were the Riverside Press and the Athenaeum Press. I am not going into detail about them here, but this is not because of any low opinion of their importance—quite the contrary. I simply have not investigated them and have nothing new to contribute.*

*On the Riverside Press, I can add nothing to the paper entitled "The Riverside Press" which James Duncan Phillips read to this Society on April 27, 1926, and the recent book by Ellen B. Ballou entitled The Building of the House: Houghton Mifflins Formative Years.<sup>34</sup> As most of you probably know, the Riverside Press was owned by Houghton Mifflin, the Boston book publisher, and indeed was the predecessor of the publishing firm. The printing shop was established in 1852 by Henry O. Houghton, near the*

*32. For the date on the building, see picture in the company's history, Stephen Daye and His Successors, 1639-1921 (Cambridge, 1921). On the Saturday Evening Post see Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, IV (Cambridge, 1957), 682-85.*

*33. "Printing in Cambridge since 1800," Camb. Hist. Soc. Proceedings 15 (1920-21): 23. See also William Dana Orcutt, The Magic of the Book (Boston, 1930), pp. 22-26.*

*34. Camb. Hist. Soc. Proceedings 19 (1926): 15-31, and Ballou, as in n. 8, above.*

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*Charles River between River Street and Western Avenue. The Riverside Press grew into an immense plant, famous everywhere for its fine printing.*

*The Athenaeum Press belonged to Ginn & Company, the Boston textbook publisher. The handsome brick building, erected in 1896, is still standing, conspicuously visible from the Longfellow Bridge, though no longer used by Ginn or by the Cuneo Press, whose name appeared on the structure for many years until recently.*

*Today the University Press, Riverside Press, and Athenaeum Press have vanished from Cambridge. The city still has plenty of smaller printing enterprises, of course, and a number of publishing offices too. The best-known of the publishers is the Harvard University Press, and I will close this talk by briefly bringing that institution into being.*

*In 1872 Harvard once again established its own printing shop, the third in its history. The principal motive seems to have been security—not national security but the security of examination questions, which were being printed and which students sometimes had obtained by dubious methods from the outside printer. In 1892 the university created the position of Publication Agent, and in 1896 it put the college printing office under his charge. The Publication Agent not only prepared catalogues but began publishing scholarly books and coordinating various publishing activities of the academic departments. In 1913 the university founded the Harvard University Press and, because of all those earlier publishing activities, the Press started life with a backlist of about eighty-five titles.*

*The college printing office established in 1872 was very small for many years. It was located first on the second floor of Wadsworth House and then in the basement of University Hall. It has remained continuously in existence. It was the forerunner of the Harvard University Press and was the printing department of that institution from 1913 to 1942, when the printing was divorced from the publishing. Today these functions are performed by two*

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separate departments of the university, the Harvard University Press in Cambridge, at 79 Garden Street, and the Office of the University Publisher in Allston, across the river beyond the stadium.

So Harvard's third printing shop has left Cambridge, along with the University Press, the Riverside Press, and the Athenaeum Press, but Harvard's publishing house, the Harvard University Press, is still in Cambridge and has added well over 5,000 titles to the world's pursuit of knowledge.

Max Hall, a retired journalist and editor, is a native of Georgia and a graduate of Emory University. He first came to Cambridge in 1949-50 as a Nieman Fellow at Harvard and returned in 1960 to become social science editor of the Harvard University Press. This paper, given on April 24, 1977, grew out of his work on a book, *Harvard University Press: The First Sixty Years* (Harvard University Press, to be published in 1986), and is printed here with the Press's permission.

Academic year <sup>b</sup>	Imprint on title page	Printer <sup>c</sup>
7 yrs. starting with 1819-20	University Press—Hilliard & Metcalf	←
1826-27 and 1827-28 <sup>d</sup>	University Press—Hilliard, Metcalf, & Co.	←
1828-29	Published by Hilliard & Brown	Hilliard, Metcalf, & Co., Printers to the University
1829-30	Published by Hilliard & Brown	E. W. Metcalf & Co., Printers to the University
1830-31	Published by Hilliard & Brown	E. W. Metcalf & Co.
1831-32	Published by Hilliard & Brown	E. W. Metcalf & Co., Printers to the University
1832-33	Brown, Shattuck, & Co.	E. W. Metcalf & Co., Printers to the University
1833-34	Brown, Shattuck, & Co.	C. Folsom, Printer to the University
1834-35	Charles Folsom, Printer to the University	←
1835-36	James Munroe & Co., Booksellers to the University	Charles Folsom, Printer to the University
1836-37	Cambridge Press: Metcalf, <sup>e</sup> Torry, & Ballou	←
4 yrs. starting with 1837-38	Folsom, Wells, & Thurston, Printers to the University	←
1841-42	Thomas G. Wells, Printer to the University	←
1842-43 and 1843-44	Metcalf, <sup>e</sup> Keith, & Nichols, Printers to the University	←
7 yrs. starting with 1844-45	Metcalf & Co., Printers to the University	←
7 yrs. starting with 1851-52	John Bartlett, Bookseller to the University	Metcalf & Co., Printers to the University
1858-59, first term	John Bartlett, Bookseller to the University	Metcalf & Co., Printers to the University
1858-59, second term	Sever & Francis, Booksellers to the University	Welch, Bigelow, & Co., Printers to the University
10 yrs. starting with 1859-60	Sever & Francis, Booksellers to the University	University Press: Welch, Bigelow, & Co.
1869-70	Sever, Francis, & Co., Booksellers to the University	Riverside, Cambridge: H.O. Houghton & Co.
1870-71 and 1871-72	Riverside Press	←
1872-73 and 1873-74	Published for the University by Charles W. Sever	University Press: Welch, Bigelow, & Co.
5 yrs. starting with 1874-75	Published for the University by Charles W. Sever	Press of John Wilson & Son
4 yrs. starting with 1879-80	Published for the University by Charles W. Sever	University Press: John Wilson & Son
1883-84	Published by the University <sup>f</sup>	The College Press <sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The first annual catalogue is dated October 1803. It and all others through 1818 are broadsides—one large page only. Very likely all were printed in William Hilliard's shop; some of them say so. This table begins with the catalogue of 1819-20, the first to be bound in book form (actually a paper-cover pamphlet that grew thicker with the passing years). The catalogue's title changed from time to time, usually in ways too trivial to mention here. The 1803 broadside was

called "A Catalogue of the Members of Harvard University Cambridge"—merely a list of the students by classes, with their places of residence. By 1819, when the format was changed, the name was *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University in Cambridge*. For 45 years starting in 1827-28 the name was *A Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Harvard University*. In 1872-73 this became simply *The Harvard University Catalogue*.

<sup>b</sup> Usually the catalogue was published early in the academic year; the 1819-20 catalogue is dated 1819, and so on. Catalogues for the second term, which did not follow that rule, are not listed here unless the publisher or printer changed (see 1858-59). The catalogues for 1872-73 and 1873-74, which are more than twice as thick as their predecessors, are dated 1873 and 1874 respectively.

<sup>c</sup> The printers' names appear in various places in the catalogues. An arrow in this column means that the printing company was named on the title page and evidently served as both publisher and printer.

<sup>d</sup> The University Press was owned by Harvard and operated by the Hilliard firm until September 18, 1827, when the university sold it to Eliab W. Metcalf. From the catalogue of 1828-29 through that of 1882-83, all the firms listed in this table were commercial firms, and most of the printers were the old University Press under various owners, exceptions being the Riverside Press and John Wilson & Son (before the Wilson firm took over the University Press in 1879).

<sup>e</sup> The Metcalf of the forties and fifties was Charles R. Metcalf, younger brother of Eliab. The same was probably true in 1836-37, for Eliab died in 1835.

<sup>f</sup> In the catalogues of 1883-84 through 1891-92, the imprint "Published by the University" is followed by "For sale by Charles W. Sever, Cambridge," and the names of booksellers in Boston and New York. After 1891-92 all the booksellers' names were dropped.

<sup>g</sup> The College Press had been founded by the Harvard Corporation in 1872 but did not start printing the annual catalogue until 1883-84. It constituted the printing department of Harvard University Press from 1913 to 1942.

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## Observations on Cambridge City Government under Plan E

BY EDWARD A. CRANE

*Editor's note. Edward A. Crane (1914-1982) was born in Cambridge of parents who had emigrated from Ireland. His father was a city police officer. Crane attended St. Mary's Grammar and Cambridge High and Latin schools; Harvard College, from which he graduated magna cum laude; and Harvard Law School. Long interested in government, he won election to the Cambridge City Council in 1939 and served on it continuously until his retirement in 1971 except for four years' duty in Army intelligence during World War II.*

*Crane was elected mayor by his City Council colleagues in 1950, 1960, 1962, and 1964. In 1951 he broke all records for number 1 votes in a Cambridge proportional representation election with 6,032. Husky and tall—6 feet 5½ inches—he indeed stood out among his colleagues. During the more than thirteen years that John J. Curry was city manager (August 1952-January 1966),*



*Crane wielded such political power that he was commonly regarded as "boss" of the city, although he preferred the title of "leader."*

*Crane's informal talk, delivered on May 31, 1977, has been edited from a tape recording.*

**B***ACK in my high school days, Friday night was the big night out. That was when you could go up to the Beech Street Bungalow or some other place and get involved with the dance. My father allowed me to go out on Tuesday nights, instead of Friday nights, because he knew I wanted to get down to the gallery of the City Hall and watch the Council meetings. They*

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*used to start at eight o'clock, and God knows when they would finish. But I would be getting home—fourteen years old, in high school—about midnight, two o'clock, whenever Dan Leahy or Pat Delaney or somebody else finished.*

*I can remember very well listening to those people talk. Then in the morning I'd see the old Boston Post, which was owned and operated by the Grozier family that lived across the street here on Brattle, Edwin Grozier and later his son Richard. The Post would always have the latest news on what happened in Cambridge. One of their staff, John Murphy, had a regular assignment. His job, at one o'clock every morning, was to come out to Harvard Square, pick up a Boston Post at the news stand by the subway kiosk, and take it up to the Grozier home. One of the Groziers would be waiting for that copy. He'd read it, and at three o'clock he'd call in and tell the editors whether he wanted them to replate or change anything for the next edition. That's the way the Post used to stay right up on top of things. Whatever the Cambridge City Council was discussing, there was usually a roll call. The vote, as reported in the Boston Post, was always 14 to 1, Drinkwater dissenting. That was Arthur Drinkwater over the years.*

*In the 1930s, before there was any talk of Plan E, we had the Cambridge Taxpayers' Association. They were concerned about efficiency and economy in government. The executive director was Eliot Spalding, later the editor of the Cambridge Chronicle. Stoughton Bell was chairman. I can remember being at the City Council when Stoughton Bell was the only fellow who would stand up and oppose increases in spending, when they had the depression and all in the mid-'30s. And they still wanted to be taking care of everybody with other people's money. Not many members of the Taxpayers' Association are still around, but I see one of them here tonight, Dr. David C. Dow, Jr., who followed in his father's footsteps as city medical examiner. And, of course, Arthur Drink-water on the City Council was an advocate of efficiency in government. As you know, Arthur still makes his daily pilgrimage in to his Boston office. I don't know whether he's 96 or 97. He's not the*

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*oldest living graduate of Harvard College, but I think he must be the oldest who's still ambulatory.*

*When I graduated from high school and went to Harvard I concentrated in government. In my sophomore year—this was 1932—I decided to compete for the Baldwin Prize. They gave us five essay titles; one was "The Law and Practice of Proportional Representation." I didn't know what proportional representation meant, but my tutor at that time, who was an import from Wisconsin for one year, said, "That would be a very interesting subject for you, Crane." So I was off and running into P.R. And I wrote the essay. I got a hundred dollars for the essay in 1932. Then my tutor in senior year said, "Well, Crane, what you ought to do is take that essay on P.R. and expand it now into a case study of Cambridge, Mass." So that became my senior thesis. So I've lived with P.R. and the city manager form of government for a long time.*

*As some of you know, we had some rough times over the years, and I don't want to get into personalities, because at the Historical Society I should be objective. So I'll just fall back on some of the old sayings of my professors. I figure my Harvard education was wrapped up in about five quotes. At least, it was in the government department.*

*William Bennett Munro used to say, "You have to have bad government to get good government." This was the pendulum swing, and if you put up with something long enough, the pendulum would swing the other way. Then the question came up, "Well, what is good government and what's bad government?" Some fellow pointed out that good government is the type that puts my relatives on the payroll. We can't always agree on what is good government, but the important thing, for me, is what is good politics and what is bad politics? Arthur Holcombe used to say, "Show me men"—and I'll amend it now—"Show me men and/or women and I'll show you politics. Because politics consists of the acts of men and women." He said, "I don't care whether you start with the Cambridge City Council or with Harvard University or with the American Telephone Company or with your own church,*

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*the only thing is how they're exercising their choices." That, I think, is something that you should carry away with you. A lot of people can challenge you on what is good government; what you need is good politics.*

*Holcombe gave a great lecture over the years on public opinion. Some of you may be young enough to remember when Ivory Soap used to put out full-page ads saying it was "99.44% pure." And Holcombe would say, "Pure what?"*

*In my senior year I had one-and-a-half courses that I could take outside the government department. I took Fine Arts Ib from Edgell and Public Philosophy from Hocking. That was the nicest and best course I ever took. Ernest Hocking was married to John Boyle O'Reilly's daughter—now that's a good combine! And I'll always remember this ringing in my ears, how Hocking at the finale used to send his students out from Emerson Hall with the message: "Incorporate yourself into reality by aligning yourself with the existing institutions and bending them to your way of thinking." That, to me, was the elective process.*

*Later on in my career my friends said, "He's a leader." My opponents said, "He's a boss." Munro used to say, "A leader is a boss with a college education."*

*Now I got into politics, as far as being a candidate is concerned, in 1939, the year after I graduated from Harvard Law School. It was in my blood. There was no antitoxin. Nobody's found it yet, have they, David [to Dr. David Dow]? I ran for the City Council and was elected. That was under the old Plan B, with an elected mayor and fifteen elected councillors, one from each of the eleven wards and four at large. I was elected from Ward 4, the exclusive Dana Hill section. That was, as you know, between Massachusetts Avenue and Broadway, Central Square to Harvard Square. President Conant of Harvard always said, "That's the future of Cambridge." I was unmarried then and living at the old homestead on Centre Street.*

*That was my first and only term on the old Plan B Council of fifteen members. The Council was split seven-to-seven, uptown*

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*versus downtown, with Ben Wyeth, the only Republican, holding the balance of power. I always loved Ben. He represented Ward 8 here, which at that time was 101% Republican. Ben could tell you who was going to be mayor of Cambridge, who was going to be president of the City Council, because he held the balance.*

*Well, I certainly had a hard introduction to the City Council as far as 1940 was concerned. We had lots of troubles. We had the famous battle of the budget. We had troubles over the truck-hire business—ten councillors with trucks directly or indirectly on the city payroll, and the mayor telling them how to vote. You think Chicago was bad; some of you probably didn't know what happened in Cambridge. And we had the fight over a new city charter, the Plan E charter.*

*The legislature had specified certain forms of government that Massachusetts cities could choose. They had Plans A, B, C, and D, and they had special charters for a few cities. But some people had been pushing for a new option, Plan E, a city manager with a council elected by proportional representation (P.R.). The only elected officials would be the councillors. They would appoint a city manager, who would serve as executive. They would also elect one of their fellow councillors to the ceremonial post of mayor.*

*Now about proportional representation, the father of that movement in Massachusetts was Lewis Jerome Johnson of Harvard. He was, of all things, professor of engineering; P.R. was his hobby. His greatest personal achievement, he'd point out to you, was the design and construction of the Harvard Stadium. They put it up in two parts, and it was finished within twelve months, as far as construction is concerned. Can you imagine putting up the Harvard Stadium in less than twelve months today? Lewis Johnson was trying to reform city government as far back as 1911.<sup>1</sup> He*

*1. See his paper, "History and Meaning of the Proposed New Charter for Cambridge," Cambridge Historical Society Proceedings 6 (1911): 53-72, which advocated a nonpartisan, commission form of government with preferential voting. Johnson's other causes of that era included Henry George's single tax and the initiative and referendum. He helped get the latter two into the state constitution.—Ed.*

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*thought proportional representation would allow minorities to be represented but that there would always be government by the majority. Now that was easy thinking in the 1920s and '30s. Professor Johnson was still going strong in 1938 when the legislature passed a bill to make Plan E available to any city. Few people, realized that he used his personal influence on Governor Charles Hurley, who lived up the street here in Larchwood. When Hurley signed the bill, he gave the pen to Johnson.*

*Right away, in 1938, local supporters picked up the ball, trying to get the plan adopted in Cambridge. They organized the Cambridge Committee for Plan E, with James Landis, the dean of Harvard Law School, as head. They had their first runout in '38; that was like in horse races, where they have a little tightener. They tried again in 1940. The problem was to get the City Council to put the Plan E referendum on the ballot. That was another battle. The state Supreme Court, in an unusual Saturday afternoon session, finally had to order the councillors to put Plan E on the ballot. We had councillors being served warrants by sheriffs who caught up with them in the free seats they used to get for football games in the Harvard Stadium.*

*By that time situations were playing in favor of Plan E. I don't have to enumerate them, and if I did I'm sure that somebody could quote me in the morning paper. But let me tell you that Cambridge was in rough shape. The pendulum had swung, and people had no trouble in voting for a new charter in 1940. So when I ran for the City Council again in 1941 it was under Plan E.*

*I got a kick out of one thing in that first election. You know, the people who advocated the plan were talking about having a short ballot. You wouldn't have any elected officials; just the candidates for the Council would be on the ballot. But in that first P.R. election they turned up with a ballot with 86 Council candidates' names on it. This was a short ballot? Under the P.R. system, as you know, you put a number in front of each candidate you want to vote for, in your order of choice. I always remember Billy Hogan, who has just retired as vice-president of the New England Tele-*

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*phone; he was on the ballot. One voter wrote in, alongside his name, "86," as much as to say, "This is the last guy that I want to see in the Council." And the only other mark on the ballot was a number 1 choice for a candidate who didn't make it. So, on the transfer to the next choice the only other choice was number 86, and Hogan got that ballot. He was elected, and served with me on the Council from 1942 on.*

*The new Plan E Council took office in January 1942. We hired a city manager, Jack Atkinson. I voted for him. The war was on, and Atkinson was in favor of efficiency and economy—the old E and E. One of his economies was to drop two city employees. I think it's appropriate tonight for me to read you a letter I got about that matter. The date is April 15, 1942, and it's on the letterhead of Thomas H. Eliot, U.S. House of Representatives. Tom, as you know, is the brother of your president [Charles W. Eliot, 2nd]. I became acquainted with Tom in 1938 when he was running for the Congress against Robert Luce. Sam Stratton, now congressman from New York, and I did the research for Tom Eliot in that campaign. He didn't make it that year, but he did in 1940. He represented the Eleventh District. We had*

*more congressional districts than we have now, Massachusetts being a decliner as people move out to the West Coast and down to the Southland.*

*"Dear Ed," the letter says, "I hope very much to see you next week." In those days congressmen used to take a train back home on weekends once in a while. "Leo Diehl is out of a job. What kind of experience has he had? Do you think of anything for which he might be fitted, and where could I help?" Leo Diehl was an unfortunate victim of polio. He'd been a representative in the General Court, which in those days paid two thousand dollars. Instead of, as they say now, "moonlighting," he used to "sunlight" by coming over and working in the Cambridge City Treasurer's office. Then Tom Eliot asked, "Is John Droney admitted to the bar?" John Droney, you know, has been our District Attorney now for about twenty-five years. Then he says, "My very best wishes, Yours, Tom." Then comes a P. S.: "Any idea as to what kind of experience*

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*Tom O'Neill has had? What can he do? Incidentally, these men haven't approached me. But I would be tickled to help them, if I can do so without their knowing about it in advance."*

*You know, it was pleasant to go down to the inauguration in Washington this year on January 20th and give O'Neill a copy of that letter. Of course he had known about it before, but I gave it to him, with Leo Diehl there. Leo is his right-hand man, his deputy. There they are, set up in the Capitol of the United States, O'Neill Speaker of the House and Diehl as his assistant, both of them once having been fired in Cambridge. They were the only two people that Atkinson fired. What happened was, with the war on, the manufacturers couldn't produce automobiles. And Arthur McKenzie, who's known to some of you, was a Ford dealer, and Arthur had nothing to sell. So overnight, Arthur became the City Treasurer. And the next morning Arthur fired O'Neill and Diehl. This is why the letter came up from Tom Eliot as to what he could do. So you see, there was a Democrat who had a nice, balanced blend of heart and head. When I showed him the letter, O'Neill just said to me, "That Tom Eliot, he was always a hell of a guy."*

*Let me say that there were only two people that I know of in my lifetime, people that I could call by their first names, who I thought were capable of making the White House under the circumstances that exist today. One was Tom Eliot, and the other was Jack Kennedy. So I'm batting five hundred. Tom Eliot, you know, made his big gamble in 1942 after they had a gerrymander of the congressional districts. The new district included East Boston and the West End and Charlestown. It turned out that James Michael Curley, sitting in his living room over there on the Ja-maicaway, looked the new district over and said to himself, "I always topped the ticket in those places." He didn't even live in the district, but he decided he was going to throw his name in there. And Tom decided to take him on in the primary. It was a very close contest, one of those 25,000 to 22,000 things. If Tom Eliot had got over that hurdle I think I would have been batting for a thousand. And you [to Charles Eliot] might have been the*

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*Secretary of State. Jack made Bobby the Attorney General, you know. [Eliot: "We don't have family business that way."] It's all under the table, eh?*

*But let's get back to the city government under proportional representation. From 1942 on we've had coalition governments. We never had any such thing as a pure working majority as far as Cambridge was concerned. If you were going to get a common denominator and put five Cambridge City Councillors into it, it would have to go from here to Hawaii and back again, because it just doesn't exist. That was true even of the first Council in 1942. They held a meeting but they couldn't elect a mayor. Then they had a luncheon at one of the hotels. Billy Hogan came over and tugged at my shirt and said, "Look, you get me that vice-mayor's vote from John Corcoran and I'll vote to make him mayor." That's how we came up with Corcoran as the first mayor under the Plan E charter. This is what goes on behind the scenes.*

*Over the years there have been plenty of delays and deadlocks. People say, "What the hell's the matter with those councillors? There are nine of them. You put them in a room, and can't five of them agree on a councillor for mayor?" That's not the easiest thing. There's a lot more than just a title to being mayor. There's more than the headache of being chairman of the School Committee. When I became mayor I inherited two Cadillacs from my predecessors. And you get a full tank of gas all the time; you get a driver. You can put in your two first cousins once removed as the secretaries and put somebody else on the switchboard. They give the mayor a couple of thousand dollars extra over the regular councillors now. So the whole thing wraps up to about \$25,000. They're rolling dice for \$25,000 down there.*

*That's why I was always proud that in 1949, six weeks in advance of inauguration, the papers printed a picture of five councillors shaking hands and agreeing that they were going to make Crane the mayor. That was for 1950-1951. Then I went off to my happy honeymoon, and I came back to my happy first term as mayor. In 1951 I topped the ticket, because everything was going fine. But*

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*that was the only time that I was ever happy as mayor. I was mayor from 1960 through 1965, but I was strictly the back-end mayor. And I'll tell you why.*

*What happened in 1960-1965 was that the newly elected Council would meet for about three weeks and nobody could get five votes. Then Al Vellucci would decide, "Well, Crane can win, so we'll make him mayor and he can't cash in." If they picked the fellow from the bottom, the ninth man, say, he might use the mayor's title to draw more votes in the next election and knock one of them out. So they took the fellow that they figured was going to win and wasn't going to be a candidate for reelection as mayor. It just postponed the inevitable for two years.*

*There were a lot of nice little things that went on. One time when they were going to make me the mayor, Vellucci announced, "The next ballot there's going to be a mayor." One of the councillors knew who was going to change his vote, and he said right outright, "Don't you vote for that Irish son-of-a-bitch!" You know, there's a little feuding and fussing in the background of some of these people, and it carries on and it's an unfortunate thing. But I*

*tell you that the stakes are high, not only as far as the mayor's job is concerned but also for the more important thing, which is the selection of the city manager.*

*Plan E is not only proportional representation; it's also the council-manager form of government. The statute says, "The manager serves at the pleasure of the City Council." So obviously the most important thing in Cambridge is electing a Council who can pick or appoint a city manager who will serve at their discretion. The city manager is supposed to be the administrator. But when he has to do everything that the elected officers want him to do you lose the real benefit of the Plan E charter. And Cambridge has gone from minority representation and government by majority to having really what amounts now to nine mayors.*

*Everybody now is acclimated to the P.R. system of voting. The councillors know about laying in a base of number 1 votes. And as long as they've got their 7 or 8 percent of the votes they can tell*

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*anybody else to go to hell. And that's what they do. They represent the various groups, economic or political or ethnic or sexual. I don't care whether you go by creed or what; this thing has even separated the Irish, if you can believe that. You take your minority; if they have any substantial group, that minority is represented in Cambridge. I've witnessed all these waves, ethnic and other. I started, obviously, from the Irish side; they'd say that I was a bridge-builder. Then I saw the Italians come into the Council. I saw the women come into the Council. My God, sex was something. Then we had color in the Council, and all the rest of it. It was nice to see and meet and survive all of these thrusts. But I can tell you, when you have that conglomeration it's pretty hard to knit together what I refer to as a common denominator, so that you have a government that can govern. That's what William Yandell Elliott at Harvard used to say: "You know, gentlemen, the first basic is to get a government that can govern." You've got to have somebody who can give you the answers.*

*John Hynes, the late mayor of Boston, said to me the only criticism he had of the Plan E city manager form of government was that it didn't have the leadership. Plato used to say that you have to get the combination of the elected leader and the king philosopher or philosopher king. You don't get those people at City Hall, or any other place, if you have to grind yourself out through the P.R. system of voting.*

*I'm just going to read a little bit out of a thesis here, because I think it kind of capsules what was going on in Cambridge in the thirty years that I'm covering, 1941 through 1971.*

*Cambridge's council-manager experience was initially marked by two stable administrations. The administration of John Atkinson lasted for ten years, and ended because of Atkinson's personal clashes with the majority of the Council. [He didn't have the support of five councillors.] His early years in the job were applauded by many citizens since the tax rate was reduced. [This was in World War II, of course, and there wasn't much effort for patronage in those days; they could all go down to the shipyards.] John Curry's reign . . . [That's pretty good, "reign"; I get a little subconscious inference there.] John Curry's reign lasted thirteen years.*

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*He was fired when a majority of the Council revolted against the considerable power which had been acquired by their colleague, Councillor Edward Crane. During Curry's administration the tax rate did not increase significantly and new public buildings were constructed.*

*All I can say is that I was very much aware of the fact that people used to identify John Curry with me. He was my tutor back when I was taking college boards. I always told people, "My name is on the ballot every two years, and if you don't like the way I'm operating down at City Hall you can throw me out. But I'm telling you this, that the people who elect me expect me to be effective." I'm saying this not from my personal standpoint but for any councillor, I don't care whether it's Bob Moncreiff or Dan Clinton or Barbara Ackermann. The people who vote number 1 for those councillors expect them to be effective. When councillors go down to City Hall and find that they're being pushed aside and put on the junior varsity, well, obviously they're going to look around and see what kind of a coalition they can get into where they're not going to be on the junior varsity. Because, you know, everybody likes to get on the varsity.*

*I have been told that one of my omissions or mistakes was not voting in 1968 for Jim Sullivan, your present city manager. In fact, Bernie Goldberg, who cast one of the five votes that elected Sullivan, held up the Council meeting for an hour because he wanted to get Crane to vote for Sullivan, figuring it would bring a little unity. I said, "I have run no research on the man. He called me. I was the first one to notify the Council that he was a candidate." Let me say this, he was available. You know, you can say "position seeks the man" or "man seeks the position." Certainly, moving over from executive secretary of the Milton selectmen at \$15,000 to Cambridge city manager at \$30,000 was a step up. I did not vote for Jim Sullivan, but I was happy to have him be the city manager. The last thing that I would do would be to get involved with him because I was ready to get out. I had settled my scores on the*

*Curry-De Guglielmo situation.<sup>2</sup> As Elliot Richardson said, "The best tribunal has spoken." And that was the people, when they elected five councillors to bring about the removal of De Guglielmo in 1968.*

*And so I stayed out of this thing completely in 1968, as far as the manager was concerned. Then, two years later, the Council voted to remove Sullivan. I was one of those who voted to remove. Professor Louis Loss of the Harvard Law School calls me up and says, "Ed, what happened?" I said, "It's a personality clash." You don't spell the whole thing out.*

*My biggest regret now is that I didn't spell out what happened in the Jim Sullivan situation. Here's how it went. Sullivan came down with nominees for the Housing Authority and for the Redevelopment Authority. They had to be confirmed by the City Council. The last two names that he submitted were not confirmed. So then he asked for an executive hearing in the mayor's office. This is what happens in practical politics. The mayor called the Council in, and Jim Sullivan told us, "Look, I'm not going to embarrass anybody further." This was like the president sending in somebody's name for ambassador; if the Senate is going to kick him out you don't put him up in public and give him a real knock-out. So they kicked it around for about two hours. I was just sitting back, the old pro, as they would say, the*



*voice of experience. I said, "Now look, this is very simple. When you have somebody that you want confirmed by this Council for the Housing Authority or the Redevelopment Authority, all you do is make sure between that nominee and yourself that you have five votes for confirmation."*

*So two weeks went by, and I got a call on a Thursday morning. It was Jim Sullivan. He asked me if I would vote to confirm A and*

*2. When the City Council in 1966 voted to remove John Curry as city manager, it replaced him by Joseph A. De Guglielmo, a former city councillor and mayor. Crane was active in the campaign that led to De Guglielmo's removal two years later.—Ed.*

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*B. I said, "Look, I don't have any personal interest, but I know those people, I have no reason not to vote for them, and if you submit their names I'll vote for them." Thursday p.m. he called up and told me, "We have five votes now for A and B." I said, "That's fine, Jim."*

*Monday night I went into the Council meeting. They have a supplemental addendum if there are any last-minute changes. Sure enough, there was one. Instead of A and B, whom I had been pressed to support, it comes up with the names of Y and Z. So when that happens, you decide that you are on the junior varsity. And Councillor Thomas Coates across the chamber calls out, "Edward, you didn't know that they had a meeting Sunday night, and they were going to challenge on the five votes." So we accepted the challenge, and that's what happened. But when you get that kind of a thing, you have to do something. So I just sat up there in the hearings on removing the city manager and listened to what was said and voted to replace. I do regret that I didn't spell out my reasons, but I just ask any of you how you would feel if you were in business, and you and the board of directors and everybody decided that you were going to appoint A and B, and then, without any further consultation, you get Y and Z. At that time you start to realize that you must be back in kindergarten. And in politics, I can tell you that nobody who goes through an election wants to end up in kindergarten.*

*Now there have been some changes in Cambridge, obviously. I see some people here who were very devoted supporters of the CCA or, as I call it, the former CCA.<sup>3</sup> They gave of their time and their effort and their finances. The CCA that we knew was really a*

*3. The Cambridge Civic Association (CCA), which grew out of the Cambridge Committee for Plan E, was organized in 1945; Crane was one of the charter members. Its most important function has been to endorse a group of candidates in the biennial, nonpartisan City Council elections. Over the years CCA candidates have sometimes won five of the nine seats, but more often only four. Their opponents, known as the independents, have only recently formed an organized bloc.—Ed.*

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*different organization. I left the CCA on two grounds. In 1966 I was asked to sign a pledge that I would vote for anybody for mayor who was nominated by three of the five CCA councillors. In other words, if there was a majority you had to go along with it. Well, when*

*somebody says to me, after twenty-five years in public office, "You've got to sign a pledge," I say, "I'll see you later." All I think that you can expect of any candidate is that they're going to use their own God-given judgment, and you know what their past is.*

*The second thing came in 1969. It was the last time I was a candidate. I was endorsed by the CCA, and then, on election eve, the CCA decided that they were going to shift to a position in favor of rent control. I told the president, John Moot, that I would be the first to shoot or hang a gouger up on Cambridge Common, as far as some of these landlords were concerned, but that we had had only one case of gouging reported to City Hall in one year, and if he felt that the CCA should endorse rent control he could remove me from their list of endorsed candidates.*

*So they read me out of the party, after thirty years. I don't feel bad about it; in fact, I'd like to have a drink with them. They referred to me as the bridge-builder. I remember saying to one of them who was very devoted—he was the best fundraiser in the CCA—"When they blew out that bridge in 1966 there were damned few people that threw out a life-saver to me in the middle of the river." He said, "Ed, they all knew you could swim." I said, "Yes, and I ended up on the left bank."*

*To finish out, I would just say that the stable thirteen-year period when John Curry was city manager was followed by a seven-year period in which Cambridge government was administered by three permanent managers and one acting manager. We had two managers in twenty-five years, and then we had five managers in five years. Boy, I'm telling you, this is chaos. During this period the Cambridge tax rate more than doubled. Of course, people don't worry about tax rates now; they figure they can take it as a*

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*deduction or something else.*

*Concurrent with this has been the expression in the Cambridge political process of two opposing philosophies. And I think this is very important. One outlook is that of service-demanding, personality-oriented adherents. That is what I call the bread-and-butter people. They're with you because they expect to get a job. Then you have the other type of people who see politics as issues and programs. The CCA, Cambridge's largest political organization, symbolizes this latter political attitude, as it focuses on "good government" and a "liberal program."*

*The emergence of the CCA as a distinctly liberal organization has only occurred since the beginning of the unstable period, in 1966. This was the late '60s when everything was sack the building and bust and strike and all the rest of it as far as the universities were concerned. During the stable period, the CCA concentrated on the tax rate and the forces influencing the tax rate. They were content with the manager if the tax rate didn't rise sharply. Evidence of the CCA's liberalization was shown during the Curry dismissal when it was revealed that one of the councillors, formerly known as a CCA purist, had criticized Curry—now get this—for lowering the tax rate unnecessarily. You see how things work around. This criticism would not have occurred during the stable years, when the CCA's main focus was the good-government goals of economy and efficiency.*

*As the CCA became increasingly liberal, the inherent conflict of the underlying political attitudes became manifest in the political process. As a consequence of this division, the manager has been placed—and I say this out of respect for James Sullivan or anybody else who would serve in that place in Cambridge—in a very precarious position. He is subject to the demands of both political sides: the independents who want services and patronage, and the CCA that wants the development of liberal programs and policies. The manager must try to strike a compromise between the competing demands, and in doing so he can only make enemies. The product of Cambridge's political climate is that the manager cannot assume a low profile. Even his routine administrative chores*

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*place him in the middle of political feuds. The independents want to know who is going to get the job, and the CCA people want to know why they have to have the job.*

*Furthermore, under the present council-manager system, the manager has no political base. He does not answer to the people of Cambridge. Theoretically, he answers to nine individual councillors; in practice, he answers to only five. Under the present charter, the manager is supposedly an administrator. But in reality he makes political rather than administrative decisions. To gain legitimacy he should be subject to the elective process. The chief executive making political decisions without a political base has proven to be a destabilizing force in the operation of Cambridge government. Presently, the city manager is supposed to be divorced from politics. In Cambridge that is impossible.*

*I just want to make a pitch for 1965, when I really left Cambridge public life, because we thought at that time that we had achieved the Periclean Age. After five years of a frozen tax rate, the rate was reduced. Now I know you can't judge the government by tax rates; I could fool around with the tax rate and vary it ten dollars for anybody. But we've had this town-and-gown business in Cambridge over the years. Here, in 1965, the city was going to build two schools. One was the Martin Luther King School, down on Putnam Avenue. The architect commissioned for the King School was Jose Sert, who was retiring as dean of the School of Design at Harvard. He had just finished the gardens across the way and the Peabody Terrace; we felt that the two things would blend together. Then we had the Tobin School, up here near Concord Avenue. Pietro Belluschi, who had served as chairman of a committee on public buildings, was retiring as dean of M.I.T.'s School of Architecture. He was asked and accepted the commission to be the architect of the Tobin School.*

*So, with the two retiring deans of Harvard and M.I.T. taking commissions to put up two five-million-dollar public schools in Cambridge, I felt we had just about got the Periclean Age. The next thing that happened was that the government was changed. So everybody should stay in there and keep trying.*

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*Recollections of the First Parish in*

# 1905-1906

BY ELIZABETH WOODMAN WRIGHT

**WE** are turning back this afternoon to the winter of 1905-1906, and are going to hear about the doings of the young people of the First Parish, within and without the Parish House, and especially about the activities of the Junior Committee of Twelve.

There is in my possession a series of letters written that winter to my best friend, Elizabeth Bolles, who had gone, much against her will, to spend a year in Europe. The letters are young in outlook, enthusiastic, filled with gossip, and silly by special request of the absent friend, since they were written solely for her amusement and to keep up her spirits. Of chief interest this afternoon are the parts dealing with the First Parish; but you may be sure that the letters did not neglect the Brattle Hall dances, football and baseball games, plays at the Castle Square Theatre, the Cambridge Dramatic Club (especially when Miss Margaret and Miss Annie Chapman took part), coming-out parties, and dreaded party calls. No engagement or rumored engagement passed un-mentioned, and the fact that one gentleman was supposed to have popped the question to two Cambridge sisters before being accepted by a third was related with much gusto.

One cannot read far without realizing how much Cambridge has changed since then, how different were the amusements, and the standards of propriety. Those were the days when a ride in an

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automobile was still a novelty, and one dressed warmly so as not to freeze to death, since one expected the car to break down, and it always did. Those were the days when an advertisement of "Figarets"<sup>1</sup> caused untold embarrassment when displayed on a huge kite flown over the Stadium during a football game, and when one was indeed considered lucky if the wind blew it in such a way that one could not read it. Would any young person blush now at such an advertisement? Or would any young lady feel that a broken garter was an incident that could never be lived down?

The Junior Committee of Twelve was very active that year. Mr. John Cornelius Runkle was its indefatigable chairman, always on hand, always efficient, always full of fun, kindness itself to the baby of the committee, myself, and always gallant to the ladies. Miss Carrie Shaw was its faithful secretary, whose neat handwriting and carefully kept records I can still see. Bessie Piper was on the committee, too, as were Margaret Arnold, Mary Almy, and one of the Gages. Of the men, Stanley Howe and Bronson Crothers were active, and Robert Ames joined the group before the year was over. Epes Turner went off the committee just as I came on—much to my disappointment, for he was a great favorite with us all.

The committee held meetings throughout the year, after church and at the homes of the members. It planned receptions to be held in the Parish House, coffee parties at Browne and Nichols Hall, and Informal Wednesday Evenings for students, when we gathered before

*an open fire in the parlor of the Parish House. One would suppose that the first meeting in October of the committee would be worthy of report, but this is the sole reference to it:*

*Do you remember my telling you about that awful time when I was with Mr. Runkle and my garter came unfastened? That was terrible, but it was terrific when it did it again, again . . . when he was taking me home from the Junior Committee meeting. This time it really broke, and dangled. What do you suppose he thinks of me. He must wonder how I am put together. I really think I have the worst luck. I shall never go any where*

*1. Apparently the trade name of a laxative.*

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*again without wearing round garters too. Of course I had to stop, and fix it, and Mr. Runkle seemed to think it was a huge joke, but I, with my face as red as a beet, couldn't even think at all. I know it really is funny and I ought to laugh about it, but my mortification is too great. I would give worlds if I never had to see him again. He's a regular hoodoo. Last summer gave me time to get over the previous accident, but it will take for ever to get over this one,—and I have got to see him Sunday, and talk with him too, about the old reception. Well, I am laughing now. . . . I suppose I too will think it a huge joke some day. I don't like Mr. R. any way. He's not serious enough. Oh! of course I like him [but the] next time he asks to escort me to a meeting, you bet I'll say "NO."*

*Then a few days later I write: "This morning I had a note from Mr. Runkle inviting Cyrus and me to supper and a Hallowe'en party on October thirty first. Of course I shall go. Tra la la la."*

*Although it is not mentioned in the letter, that meeting of the Junior Committee at Bessie Piper's was for the purpose of addressing the invitations for the annual October reception, given for the young people of the Church and for the students at Harvard and Radcliffe. I write that I spent one morning "ironing my pink dimity skirt . . . in readiness for the Reception on Monday at the Parish House,—another stupid reception, I really think I shall die! Today I meant to do up the waist, but instead I have been darning stockings." Later, with no special connection, I write: "I got some shoe polish too [at the Square] that comes in a tube, and I think it is going to be great." I must have shined my shoes for the reception.*

*The first reception was always the most important one, for we tried to make the strangers feel at home. I spent one day*

*in making labels for the people to wear at the reception. I bought red, yellow, and blue slips of paper, cut the right size to go round the arm,— then the names were printed on in India Ink. . . . Well, the reception really wasn't so bad—there were a good many there, and we had a good time just talking; although we ended (as usual) by Going to Jerusalem. . . . Mr. Runkle made himself amusing. My partner had provided me with four macaroons, two lady fingers, and a piece of angel cake. Mr. Runkle was going by, and noticed it. "Oh, Miss Woodman, will you let me pass the cake plate to those people over there," then of course he made believe that he didn't know it was my plate of ice cream, and*

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*passed on with apologies. Then too he got off some joke about Bronson and Miss Gage spooning in the kitchen, for it is their duty to count the spoons. He was foolish generally, but amusingly so. There is another Committee Meeting Saturday at the Crothers',<sup>2</sup> and he said he should call for me. I told him I was afraid it wasn't safe (thinking of the garters), but he laughed and said I had better risk it.*

*In this same letter I speak of two of the First Parish young people. Bronson Crothers, I write, "is terribly busy this year in the Medical School, and quite enjoys telling about the things he has to do. All young medical students always feel a little big, I guess." "Epes [Turner] leaves next Monday, Oct. 30 for St. Paul, and so to my sorrow wont be able to go to Mr Runkle's Hallow E'en party on the 31st." His departure was recorded later: "Well, Epes is gone, and for how long I do not know. It makes me feel quite lonely to have the boys going off. I am glad that Bronson is at the Medical School, so that we can see him occasionally."*

*Then I add some bits of Cambridge news. "Margaret Russell. . . came around with Margaret Perry selling Dr. Green's Cuticlear soap. They want to get a football, and I suppose if they sell enough soap they will get one." Margaret Russell, of course, is Mrs. Bertram Williams's niece, and Margaret Perry is the daughter of Professor Bliss Perry. Whether they got their football, I never knew. The letter also speaks of a dinner party to which I was not invited, but I guessed it was more for older people, since Sarah Wambaugh was going.*

*The next letter gives a long account of the much anticipated Halloween party, to which a large "group of the young people from the Church were invited.*

*Well, in the beginning I fell in with Bessie Piper and Stanley Howe and went with them. At Waverley we got out, and little by little we were joined by others, till we were quite a mighty throng. Then the*

*barge<sup>3</sup>*

*2. Samuel McChord Crothers was minister of the First Parish from 1894 until his death in 1927. The household included his wife, Louise M. Bronson, and their three children, Bronson, Katherine, and Margery. For Mrs. Crothers's "Reminiscences of Cambridge" in this era, see Cambridge Historical Society Proceedings 31 (1945): 7-21.*

*3. The Century Dictionary gives as one definition of this term: "In New England, a large wagon, coach, or omnibus for carrying picnic parties or conveying passengers to and from hotels, etc."*

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*arrived, a tremendous big one, by the name of General Banks, into which we all piled with a great deal of laughing and merry making. We jogged along for about two miles until we reached the Farm [John Runkle's Cedarcrest Farm on Trapelo Road] which was aglow with grinning jack o lanterns. Then we all went into the house where we were met by [our host], and where we were also greeted by a stifling smell of smoke . . . from the fire in the front living room. I managed to put my hand on the fender which had just been painted black, and had the pleasure of being led away to the bath room and having my hands washed by Philip Sharpies and Mr. Runkle. About*

*the next thing I can remember I was spinning off with the two Miss Arnolds in the back seat of an automobile, Laurence Brooks was too late for the barge, and a Mr. Olmsted kindly said he would go after him, and so we decided we'd go too. My, what fun we had, for it was pitch dark, and we just flew. But coming home it was a different matter. Something happened (of course) to the automobile and as we couldn't get up a hill, we went down backwards, finally stopping beneath an electric light. There, Mr. Olmsted and Laurence got out, ripped up the floor and got to work. It seemed like such an endless job, that I finally suggested that we girls should walk, and Mr. O. readily agreed. So we got out, leaving our heavy (borrowed from Mr. R) overcoats behind us. The automobile finally caught up to us after we had gone a long way, and we got back to the Farm to find that they had all finished supper, except Mr. R. who had been too busy helping other people, so he ate with us. We had the most splendid supper.*

*Baked beans*

*Brown bread*

*Rolls Sweet corn*

*Cold chicken*

*Apple sauce*

*Pickles*

*Chocolate*

*Apple juice*

*Pumkin pie.*

*After supper we did a few of the regular Hallow E'en stunts, and then we all went to the barn to dance while a regular bona fide fiddler played for us, and called out "First Lady and first gent," etc. The Virginia Reel seemed almost like a dance you read about in a book, a regular picture, with the cows and horses looking on, and the hay hanging down and just grazing our heads. And then the hay loft! I had one splendid jump from the highest loft with Alice Sharpies. No other girl would try it. It is impossible to describe it all, but I had the time of my life, and hated to get into the barge again to go home, which however we did not do until*

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*we had ice cream and a hallow e'en cake in the house. I was one of the first to get in the barge, and Mr. R. was the last. He poked his head in, and said, "Too many girls together up forward," so up he came himself (there was no room) and sat down on the floor in front of me. (I am trying to make it sound as romantic as possible.) . . . Well, that's about the end of the Hallow E'en party, and I have had a cold ever since, but it was worth it.*

*But life was not all parties. That winter Mr. Crothers gave a series of talks after church. The first was on Shelley, followed by talks on Keats and Wordsworth. Later on, I speak of the class as Bible Class, which would seem to indicate that the subject matter was changed. There were several Sundays when the class did not meet, and there were speakers after church instead. Mr. William R. George of the George Junior Republic was one. Another was Professor Henry M. Penniman of Berea College, who spoke about the college and what it was "doing for the poor white people in the South living far off from civilization in the*

*mountains." Mr. Robert A. Woods of the South End House in Boston also spoke one Sunday. "We have had more interesting people after Church this year than ever before," I declared. "You really have missed a great deal."*

*Our social conscience was not allowed to rest, and the Junior Committee tried to play its part. In November I wrote:*

*Last Sunday ... I was up at the Old Ladies Home with the rest of the Junior Committee. Twice a year we have a service there for the old people, which consists of a prayer, hymns, an address, more hymns, and a benediction. It is really a very pleasant little service, and only lasts an hour. Mr. [Francis] Tiffany was the preacher, and spoke on being good company to yourself, for he said that if you were good company to yourself, if your thoughts were happy, you could not help being good company to other people. There was one awful old lady in a white cap with red ribbons, that pointed her stick at the other ladies, and said, "Oh! that's you, etc.," when Mr. Tiffany said that some people were selfish and grumbled. She was a terror, and she mumbled something like this, "Oh, God never could have made that woman," while she pointed with her cane. I guess she's a case all right. The Miss Beals were two brisk little women, and looked just alike, altho' they are not twins. I have promised to go to see them, and Mary has given her word to the "Awful*

*One," . . . but doesn't believe she will dare to see her alone.*

*That year, as well as many years before and after, a sewing class directed by ladies from the Church was held every Saturday morning at the East End Union on Burleigh Street. With Gladys Liver-more, one of the other sewing teachers, I walked down and back each Saturday throughout the season, with the exception of one day when the temperature was at zero and Mother thought it was too cold. No letter is complete without an account of sewing school doings and the progress or bad behavior of the pupils, as well as our concern over the home conditions of some of them. "Miss Chapman has started having the children sing at recess down at sewing school," I record. "Yesterday she taught them this song to the tune Buy a Broom:*

*Oh! sewing is witching,*

*And hemming as well,*

*But what is distressing*

*Is turning a fell.*

*I'm sick of this seaming*

*And ready to cry,*

*But I hear the word ringing*

*Try, little one try.*

*Try, oh! try; try, oh! try.*

*But I hear the word ringing*



*Try little one, try.*

*"They all took to it, quickly, and especially to the line about crying. But . . . imagine me heading the procession of sixty kids twice around that room singing for all I was worth. I felt too silly, but Mrs. Emerton asked me to do it, so what could I do?"*

*Miss Annie Chapman's heart was in that sewing school, and so I write of her: "Miss Chapman, the sewing school Miss Chapman is getting up a play in aid of the E.E.C.U. in which all the Dramatic-Club people are going to act." The result was reported later: "The plays at Brattle Hall went off splendidly .... The two Miss Chapmans acted, and were perfectly splendid. Mr. [George] Browne was great as a funny old man who fell in love with Miss Margaret*

*Chapman who took the part of a maiden aunt. It's strange that the writer can never get along without bringing in a poor old spinster to make fun of."*

*Even the Sunday School had its share of social service, particularly any class led by Mrs. Charles W. Gerould. That year, her class gave a play at the house of Professor Charles Lanman on Farrar Street in aid of a destitute family. And always the whole Sunday School worked hard for the Country Week fair which was held every year in the spring. At the Avon Home fair, held in May, the older girls of the Sunday School served as waitresses at the luncheon.*

*The next letter was taken up mainly with an account of a coming-out party.*

*Tuesday November 21st, was Nancy Piper's coming-out reception. You never in your life saw such a jam. . . . There were so many people there that I could hardly see or speak to a soul except [Mr. Runkle who] brought me my frappe, and used the same cup and spoon for himself afterwards. He was the third person, for someone had had a turn at it before I got it. You see there was such a crowd that it was all the poor waiters could do to get around, and keep the pourers supplied with clean cups. Mary was one of the pourers, and I believe Margaret James was too, but all the rest were Bostonites. Nancy looked just as sweet and pretty as could be, and very happy. I never saw so many flowers. They were beautiful. Mrs. Piper and Nancy practically had a wall of pink roses behind them. 675 people went to the reception, (and I guess they were all there at once) and 1200 were invited.*

*But the letters always return to the First Parish before they end, so we have the following story:*

*Did I ever tell you about Margaret James' little cousin Rosamond [Gregor]? One Sunday at Sunday school Miss Lesley asked the children if any of them could sing a song. Rosamond said, "Oh! yes," so Miss Lesley asked her to stand up beside her and sing it,—so sing she did, and this is what she sang:*

*Three cheers for Harvard,*

*And down with Yale.*

*What could Miss Lesley say, for she had asked her to sing. Yesterday her mother took her to church, and the poor little thing was so restless*

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*she didn't know what to do. First she would stand up on the pew, then pat the man's shoulder in front of her, then down she would go onto the floor, up again with both her arms around her mother's neck, and finally as climax she began waving to a little boy in the gallery. I heard her mother say afterwards that she should not try taking her to church again. It was all Mary and I could do to keep a straight face a good part of the time.*

*December 10 was Sunday. "The ground is covered with snow today for the first time,—a horrid wet snow which probably wont last any time at all. It is a shame that there was a storm today for very few people went to church,—and Mr. Paul Revere Frothingham preached one of the finest sermons I have ever heard." The same letter adds: "You have heard of course of the death of John Bartlett [of the Familiar Quotations] which hardly seems sad when you think that he didn't care to live after his wife had died."*

*Meanwhile the Junior Committee was functioning, although it received scant notice. We met at the Gages' on Garden Street to send out invitations for the first Coffee Party of the season, which fell on December thirteenth. The coffee parties were dances with only coffee for refreshments, and were our means of making money. We had many worries over them. This one proved to be a fizzle financially. In January "there was another awful reception" which ended with dancing and the Virginia Reel. This must have been an innovation, for the coffee parties were held in Browne and Nichols Hall for the very reason that dancing was not allowed in the Parish House.*

*At about this time one of our committee members left. "I am perfectly distressed because Margaret Arnold has gone away for four months. She is on the Junior Committee, and I like her so much; and I tell you it means something to like the members of the Committee." From the Church calendar I clipped a notice of importance to send to my friend, the first notice of the Informal Wednesday Evenings, which proved such a success:*

*Beginning on January 17, the Parish House will be open on the first and third Wednesday evenings of the month from half past seven to ten o'clock. Mr. and Mrs. Crothers and members of the Junior Committee of*

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*Twelve will welcome any of the young people of the parish or Unitarian students who may like to come informally, whether for the whole evening or part of it.*

*A description of that first Informal Wednesday followed:*

*On Wednesday evening the first of the above mentioned at home evenings (as it were) came off, and it was more fun than you can imagine. Only two Radcliffes, and two Harvards came, and that is really all we wanted for the first time. I didn't know the creatures. But counting Junior Committee Members and Mr. and Mrs. Crothers there were twelve of us in all. First we played quoits, and then we all went out into the kitchen to make chocolate and toast crackers. We*

couldn't find an egg beater any where to beat the whip for the chocolate so Mr. Crothers and I went to the Coles to borrow one, and Mr. Crothers was so shy that he staid out on the steps while I went in. By the time we got back with the egg beater Mr. [Doyen] had whipped the cream with a [fork]. Then we all took our cups of chocolate, and squatted around on the floor in front of the fire, and had a very cozy time. We had none of the electric lights on, but Mr. Runkle had brought a lamp to make it seem cheerful and homelike. After it was over Mr. Runkle walked home with me, a walk which turned out to be rather long for we first had to leave the lamp on Everet Street, and then take Miss Shaw home. She lives way up beyond Mrs. Gerould. On the way home I told Mr. Runkle about Nancy's engagement which was practically out, although it was to be announced the next day. To tell the truth I felt rather gloomy about it at first, because she is so young, but I am feeling happier about it now. She has known Mat Hale so long that she certainly must know whether she cares for him or not. But it somehow seems the beginning of the breaking up of us girls here in Cambridge, and so I cant help feeling a tiny bit sad about it. Perhaps you know what I mean. I am wondering now when Dorothy Goodale is going to announce her engagement to Allston [Dana], for every one knows that that is a sure thing.

On Monday, February fifth, I write: "Mary Almy has taken Miss Arnold's class in Sunday School. I shant feel quite so all aloney now. In March Miss Chapman is going abroad and then I have got to take charge of the Children's Library, which means I shall get into church only just in time for the sermon." Then, with no transition, I continue: "Did you know that there is going to be a house in the lot opposite the Willistons. Professor George Parker is going

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to build there, whoever he is. The Beards are going to sell their house, and move into an apartment house on Lexington Avenue. Seems to me that that is all the news, except that Mrs. Strafford Wentworth has a baby girl." Then I jump back to the First Parish. "Tonight for the fun of it I am going down to the Annual meeting of the Congregation in the Church. I shall have the pleasure of hearing the new members for the Junior Committee of twelve elected; and all the other new members for all the other committees elected too. Bronson and I had to select the people for the Congregation to choose from."

A few days after the annual meeting, the Junior Committee met again.

Sunday morning there was a meeting of the Junior Committee, and such a meeting! We were all at sea without Mr. Runkle and Miss Shaw, and didn't know how to go about any thing. It is pretty hard luck to lose the Chairman and secretary at the same time, but they had to go willy nilly, for their term of three years is up. I am secretary now, and Bronson chairman, and I am worried to death that the committee will go to pieces. I have almost wept over it, and should have if I had not been afraid of spoiling Miss Shaw's neat records in the Secretary's book with my tears. When I told Mr. Runkle about our pathetic meeting, he just laughed and laughed, doubled up, and put his hands over his face; so I did not get much sympathy from him. Sunday afternoon I was feeling so blue that I decided I'd go to see Miss Shaw to get some points, but she wasn't at home. Then I went to Mrs. Gerould's and had a nice long talk,—for the children were in the kitchen with Mr. Gerould and we were not disturbed.

By Wednesday, I was evidently cheered up.

I must tell you about the fun we had last Wednesday evening down in the Parish House. Mr. Runkle called for us about quarter past seven, and laden with aprons, crackers, marshmallows,

*pop corn and popper we made our way to 1 Church Street. A great many came, at least more came than last time, and I will tell you their names in case anything more should come up about them.*

*Miss Shaw*

*Miss Gibbs (new member Junior Committee)*

*Miss Ethel Vaughan*

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*Miss Katharine Howe*

*Miss Frances James*

*Mary and I*

*Miss E. Arnold*

*Mr. Emerson* +

*Mr. Runkle* +

*Bronson* + + *like*

*Mr. Gibbs* \* *dont like*

*Mr. Doyen* + - *half like*

*Mr. Hohfeld* -

*Mr. Buckman* +

*Mr. Swazey* -

*Mr. Thornton Ware* \* *at least not last Wednesday*

*Stanley Howe* -

*Mr. Crothers* -

*Mr. Barrett* \* *but do not know him*

*Mr. Arnold*

*Mr. Runkle was so foolish that he kept every one in fits of laughter. You would have laughed if you could have seen him dancing around with my apron on, and then afterwards at the river of chocolate that went pouring down the front of it splashing up on all sides when it reached the floor, and covering my skirt and Miss Shaw's with a pretty decoration of brown dots. I am afraid that we had a rather too hilarious good time, for after we had finished the dish washing, and the corn popping (we didn't toast the marshmallows after all) we played Boston. I think only one chair broke. . .*

*I was dead tired when finally Mr. Runkle and Mr. Doyen said goodnight to us at our door. . . . After the door was just shut and we were about to lock it, we heard a knock and there was Mr. Runkle. Without a word he opened a paper, and there were four marshmallows, one for each of us. He had taken them out of the box, because Mary and I had said that we were so sorry we should not be able to go to the next Wednesday evening because it came the day after the Junior Dance, and so we should miss the marshmallows when they toasted them.*

*Earlier in the season I had reported about Katherine Crothers. "Did you know that Katherine Crothers is in New York this winter? She has a kindergarten class among the Italians. Mrs. Crothers says they are the prettiest little things, and I can well imagine it." Now, on March third, I write: "Bronson Crothers has*

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*been seriously ill with pneumonia, but is getting well now, and every one is so glad and relieved." That same day, I was able to report that "Spring is really almost here, and the crocuses are in blossom. As for the dandelions I doubt if they have stopped blooming. The last one I picked in January. But hasn't it been a horrid winter—not a decent snow storm. . . . Tonight I am going down to Church to one of the informal Wednesday evenings. They are great fun."*

*[March twentieth.] Since I last wrote and said that Spring had come and the crocuses were in blossom, we have had four snow-storms,—more snow in two weeks than in all Nov. Dec. Jan. and Feb.*

*Just at present the Junior Committee is very busy in preparation for the Coffee Party which comes Thursday. I pop into the Almys almost every day to see how the acceptances are coming in. . . . We have asked almost every one under the sun to this Coffee Party whether Unitarians [or] not, so I hope we will make [money] on it. That is the question which is troubling us at present, for we cant afford to run short as we did at the last one. . . . I wish you were here to help the good cause along.*

*This letter of March twentieth ends with good news: "Bronson is out again. It is perfectly splendid the way he has picked up."*

*[Wednesday, March twenty-first.] In the evening Mary and I, and Gladys Livermore went down to the Informal Wednesday evening. . . . There were 20 there, and we divided into two groups and played clumps. There was an over abundance of girls, but that only made the few men there seem more attractive. . . . Mr. Doyen the one man to be relied on was as smiley as ever, and accompanied us all home, Mary Almy, Gladys, Mary and I. The next Wednesday evening will be the last, as the Crothers sail for England [in April]. Dr. Crothers is going to exchange pulpits with two English ministers for six months. For the first three months one minister is going to preach, and for the other 3 months the second minister. I am afraid they will be terribly stupid, but we shall soon have a chance to find out whether they are or not.*

*On Thursday March 22, several things happened but the greatest of these was the Coffee Party. I believe it was a grand success, altho' there were not enough men. People, however, managed to have a good time, and the money fairly flew in at the door. The greater part of the time before supper I staid outside the hall with Gladys . . . or whoever happened to be there, for we decided that it would make it easier for the*

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*ushers if some of us girls kept out of the way. . . .*

*I lost my temper so completely at the dance that it makes me cross still. [One of the ushers] suddenly announced at 12 that the dance would last an hour longer if people would chip in to pay for the Hall. It was none of his business, nor [of the person] who put him up to it. The dance was supposed to be over at 12, and it set a very bad precedent to have it last later, but of course I couldn't stop it all by my lonesome, & so it lasted till one. I was so tired that I could not dance, and so I 'spect I fumed around making myself disagreeable. Mr. Thornton Ware and Mr. Runkle both agreed with me about having it end promptly, but being only ushers they did not feel they had any say. . . .*

*Sunday, as usual Sunday School, Church and Class. ... I hardly dare say it out loud, but I haven't missed a single Sunday this year, for the simple reason that I have not had a single cold, sore throat, head ache or any thing else. I am wondering if it is due to my sulphur bag which I have worn constantly around my neck.*

*[Friday, March thirtieth.] Last evening Gladys and I went to a lecture of Dr. Crothers, called the Ignominy of Being Grown Up. Every one was convulsed with laughter. I do not see how he can be so funny [and yet keep such a solemn face]. You 11 probably have a chance to read it some time in the Atlantic, and you certainly must.*

*Wednesday April 4, was the last of the Informal Wednesdays. It was very amusing for there were about twenty men, and only about four girls, viz Mary Almy, Ellen Arnold, Gertrude Swan, and myself. Poor Gertie must have missed her dear Johnnie C. R.; but perhaps Philip Sharpies made up for him. We divided into two groups, and played dumb crambo. [Your admirer] was there, and inquired tenderly for you. He remarked to me in his gentle little voice, "Doesn't Mrs. Crothers make a corking hostess for an affair of this kind," at which mighty effort of him I felt like patting him on the back. To be sure the "corking" came out rather hesitatingly, but it came.*

*Then came Thursday the fifth, and in the evening was the reception for Dr. and Mrs. Crothers. Mary, Aunt Sarah and I went, and had of course a rather stupid time. I met one very pleasant gentleman of about fifty, a Mr. Hellburn who talked and talked, until some one else was introduced. Later he came up and apologized for deserting me so suddenly. Mrs. H. remarked to one of the girls that it was easy enough to remember her name, for all you have to do is to think where you go if you're naughty, and then what happens to you after you get there. I prefer my own name to hers.*

*[The Crothers family sailed for England on April eighteenth.] A per-*

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*fectly beautiful day! Bronson is not going at all. He lost so much when he was ill that he is going to make it up during the summer. He is also going to work in a hospital, I believe. Very likely we shall see him this summer for he expects to visit the Almys. . . .*

*Easter here was rainy, and people who turned out in their Spring finery looked quite ridiculous. In the afternoon we had a service at the old ladies home. Tell your Grandmother that [the "awful one"] has taken it into her head not to leave her room. She isn't ill, but she's just*

*decided for the last two months that she should like to be waited on. So she was not present at the service. . . .*

*Mr. Hall preached Sunday [April 29]. Next week the English minister Mr. Wood will be here. I do hope that people will go to hear him. It's been perfectly awful the last two Sundays, there were so few people at church. The Sortwells seem to be coming to our church now. They always have been Universalists.*

*The end of April, Ruth Emery was married in our church. Living next door, we watched the arrival of the wedding presents with great interest. "One team from Bigelow, Ken[n]ards, took in a clothes basket filled with presents. ... I think it is awful to have so many. I hope there will be a reaction before our day comes." On the day of the wedding Hubbard Park*

*looked beautiful, for the forsythias are in their prime now, and the grass is the most beautiful green. . . . The wedding march was sung by a choir of boys. It may not sound as impressive as the March alone but it was lovely. Ruth looked just as sweet as she could be, and so did the bridesmaids. . . . The Pulpit was covered with greens and pink roses, and on either side were palms and Easter lilies. I never saw the church look prettier. Mr. Hall married them. I thought Mr. DeNormandie would, because he is a connection of the family. We went afterwards to the Wedding Breakfast, and there had a better look at Mr. [Lewis] Ledyard. He has a good, kind face, but is not handsome. ... It is impossible to begin to describe the presents, there were so many, and they were all so beautiful. There was one after dinner coffee set of gold. I cant imagine wanting such a thing, but it certainly was lovely, and not so showy as it sounds. The house was all trimmed with yellow forsythia, and laurel and some white, where Ruth stood, was used too. After we got home we saw Ruth and Mr. Ledyard driving off amid the cheers of the people still left, and amid an avalanche of confetti and flowers; and they took it most good-naturedly.*

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*After my letter telling about Mr. Crothers's amusing lecture, my friend replied as follows: "You spoke of going to a lecture of Mr. Crothers called the Ignominy of Being Grown-up.' Is that the title or is it the Ignom. of Growing Old'? Gran, wants very much to read it. We have seen several mentions of it."*

*Tell your Grandmother [I answered on May second] that Mr. Crothers lecture is the Ignominy of Being Grown Up, and that he felt terribly to have it printed in the papers as the Ignominy of Growing Old. For he says of course there is no ignominy in growing old, that everybody must grow old. The point is that we must never let our selves grow up, in the sense of getting narrow. We must always look forward to the good in the future, must always be ready for the new things, ready to accept them; and must not get so far away from the thought of a child, that we are unable to sympathize with the child and see his point of view, and the beauty of the world as it appears to the child, beauty which we are so used to that we no longer think of it or appreciate it. In other words, to keep young altho' we are growing old. This is not well expressed, but it will give you an idea of what I mean to say. The time I heard the lecture Mr. Crothers started by speaking of the misprint of the title, and explained just what I have tried to explain; and then he told of one paper that asked him for the title over the telephone. . . . The title was misunderstood, and was written down as the Ignominy of Being Brought Up. The editor did not think that there was any sense in such a lecture as that, so he changed the words to the Ignominy of Being Bought Up, and printed the notice of the lecture among the articles on Graft and Wall Street.*

*And this letter ends with a sentence, which may also serve as the conclusion of this paper: "I have lots more to talk about, but I just must stop, for I am going in town to do errands."*

*Elizabeth Woodman Wright (1885-1961) was the daughter of Dr. Walter Woodman and stepdaughter of his second wife, Anna C. Cutler. She had one brother, Cyrus, and two sisters, Mary and Anna, all children of Dr. Woodman's first wife, Mary E. Weston, who died in 1888. The*

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*family lived at 4 Hubbard Park (now Number 14). She married C. H. C. Wright, professor of the French language and literature at Harvard, in 1914. Besides being active in the First Parish, she was for many years a board member of the Avon Home. Her paper was originally prepared in May 1942 and read to a gathering of friends at the First Parish. It was read to the Society on October 1, 1978, by her son, C. Conrad Wright, professor of American church history at the Harvard Divinity School.*

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## *Jared Sparks and His House*

BY PETER J. GOMES

**Y***OU do me the honor of joining me this afternoon in Sparks House in order to pay some consideration to Jared Sparks, whose house this was from 1847 until his death in 1866 and under whose handsome gaze we sit this afternoon. I am happy to share with you the graceful proportions and elegant echoes of this most interesting residence, where I have now been living for three years. My focus today will be on Sparks in Cambridge. I could have wished, however, that there was less to this endeavor than there is. In many ways, we know more than we want to know, or at least need to know, about Jared Sparks. His papers and correspondence consume two ranks of drawers in the Houghton Library catalog, and the prospect of wading through that material is as fearful to me as the thought of a similar expedition through the Red Sea was for Moses, in the contemplation, and for Pharaoh, in the consequence. Rather than a full-fledged expedition, this afternoon's venture is in the style of an exploratory foray, an attempt to look at what is there and to offer a modest proposal so that those with better equipment and more stamina will indeed be able to undertake the major journey and bring back treasure for us all.*

*As an American historian and man of letters, no man was more highly acclaimed in his own time than Jared Sparks. From his study, first at Craigie House on Brattle Street and then in this one, he turned out articles and volumes which in their totality created*

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*the field of American history as a reputable scholarly discipline and nourished a public increasingly eager to consult the documentary sources of its history. In the quarter-century between 1825 and 1850 the thirst for such historical knowledge reached enormous*



*proportions, and it was both stimulated and satisfied by such energetic entrepreneurs as the Reverend Jared Sparks. Hermann Ludewig, whose Literature of American Local History: A Bibliographical Essay, published in 1846, is a fascinating account of American historiography of that period, notes:*

*No people in the world can have so great an interest in the history of their country, as that of the U. S. of North America; for there are none who enjoy an equally great share in their country's historical acts. . . . There is no lack of local histories, especially in New England, whose sons may justly be called a "documentary people." . . . There is hardly a town of some extent in New England, the historical events of which have not been recorded in some work, particularly written for that purpose, or in centennial sermons, lectures or notices garnered up in the collection of their historical societies.*

*Of the documentary sons of New England, lo, Jared Sparks's name led all the rest. Edward Everett, reviewing his Life and Writings of Washington in the October 1838 issue of the North American Review, declared: "The American press has produced no work of higher value."<sup>1</sup>*

*Of this period, Lyman Butterfield, in his engaging "Bostonians and Neighbors as Pack Rats," has written:*

*The second quarter of the nineteenth century I have called the Age of Sparks because for several decades the Reverend Professor and President Jared Sparks bestrode the historical scene like a colossus. Sparks adopted [Jeremy] Belknap's principle of collecting, which was that one must not wait "at home for good things to fall into the lap, but [must prowl] about like a wolf for the prey."<sup>2</sup>*

*And prowl he did: but he was no local antiquarian, celebrating the*

1. Ludewig, pp. vii, xvi; N.A.R. 47 (Oct. 1838): 319.

2. American Archivist 24 (Apr. 1961): 151.

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*parochial and often deserved obscurity of little villages and minor heroes. His scope was as large and as ambitious as the young nation whose Herodotus and Thucydides he saw himself to be. Although he was a product of that period in which local history and the founding of societies to celebrate the same was near to a national craze, he went far beyond the frequently limited institutional vision. Comparing the work of such societies with that of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, Sparks wrote in the North American Review for January 1826:*

*Amidst the numerous societies, which are almost daily shooting up around us, with pompous titles and long lists of officers, with constitutions, and bylaws, and boasts of great projects in hand, but which sink away and go out of sight, after a little vain bustling on the part of a few zealous candidates for the offices at the next election, when their names may appear at full length as part of the news of the day, or perhaps at the bottom of a report detailing with great formality, what the society intends to do; we say, in the midst of all this empty parade and pretence, it is with sincere pleasure that we can look up to the Philosophical Society, and the Academy of Natural Sciences, in Philadelphia, as institutions creditable to themselves and the*

*country, by the dignity of their objects, and by the steady and substantial efforts with which these objects are prosecuted.*

*Lest he be misunderstood, however, by those whose labors are necessary but perhaps unappreciated, he added:*

*We do not object to literary and scientific associations; on the contrary, we believe they may be made the means of vast improvement to individuals and to the community; but we confess that we have no patience with the growing fashion of building up these associations, and enlarging them, merely for a noise and a puff, as a convenient mode by which a number of persons may keep each other in countenance in making pretensions, which, singly, they would never dare to make, and which, under no circumstances, can they ever realise. The whole business is arrant quackery, and although it breaks no bones, nor administers any poison, yet it deceives the public, and as far as any effect is produced, it is to bring literature and science into disrepute.<sup>3</sup>*

3. N.A.R. 22 (Jan. 1826): 2-3.

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*Sparks was very much aware of the necessity for both individuals and institutions dedicated to the fine art of collecting and editing, and he himself roamed from Maine to Georgia in search of materials on the history of the republic, many of which lay neglected in dangerous condition and in the custody of apathetic or uninformed custodians. In an age of no federal grants for anything and certainly no private philanthropy or academic support for such ventures, the exploits and expeditions of Sparks in the area of preservation and publication of documentary sources of the republic are nothing short of miraculous. He convinced owners of papers that copies were as good as originals and, as Lyman Butterfield tells us, carried off the originals to Cambridge, where he worked upon them in his capacious study.*

*His greatest coup was to convince Judge Bushrod Washington that the papers of his famous ancestor, reposing in neglected splendor at Mount Vernon, would be put to better use for the good of the nation were Sparks to be permitted to take them to Cambridge to prepare his monumental biography of Washington. While this was perhaps his most visible native accomplishment, he was no less assiduous in searching out European archives for materials relating to his American concerns, though there it was his task to persuade equally unhelpful curators of manuscripts that a careful copy for the American scholar would do no harm to their precious original. Cambridge became for him the production center to which the raw materials were brought and out of which issued at periodic intervals the finished products in handsomely bound and reasonably priced volumes.*

*In an article in the North American Review for October 1826, commenting upon the publication of the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Sparks speaks once again on what he calls the "utility of historical societies" and the necessities of collection and preservation.*

*The importance of speedy exertions, in collecting the remnants of such scattered materials as we possess, and of securing them in safe and accessible depositories, needs not to be urged. Every day adds to the chance*

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*of their being destroyed or lost. Time besieges them with its wasting power, or the tide of oblivion rolls over them. Let them be brought together, arranged, and preserved according to their purpose and value, and be made fruitful sources of knowledge to future historians, and the efficient means of abridging their labors. . . .*

*A primary object of historical societies should be to collect manuscripts, to publish the best of them, and preserve those of less value in such a manner that they can be consulted by the historian and curious inquirer.*

*With an almost evangelical zeal, he closes this lengthy article on the "Materials for American History" with an appeal to individuals who possess manuscripts of public interest to deposit them in archives and institutions. Through such papers as those of Richard Henry Lee, then just recently deposited in the library of the Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, history will be well served.*

*Thus will these wise men, and warm patriots, speak to posterity through their writings, and the writings of their friends, which for many reasons it might not be expedient to publish in detail. As works of reference such collections will be invaluable to the historian; and members of historical societies, and of similar institutions, cannot exercise their influence or their industry in a more profitable way, than in gathering up from every quarter materials of this kind.<sup>4</sup>*

*Sparks's first choice of career had been the ministry. After graduating from Harvard College in 1815 he put some time into study at the Harvard Divinity School. But, though he entered upon the Unitarian ministry in the city of Baltimore in 1819—it was at his ordination service that William Ellery Channing preached the sermon that gave coherence to the liberal Christian movement soon to be denominated Unitarianism—it was not to this ministry that Sparks devoted his life, although he never renounced his vows. He served for a year as chaplain of the U.S. House of Representatives and was engaged from time to time in Liberal/Orthodox pamphlet warfare, but neither preaching nor the church satisfied his inclinations and gifts, which were historical*

4. *Ibid.* 23 (Oct. 1826): 286, 291, 294.

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*and literary. Nor did he find preaching wholly congenial. As he confided to a friend in October 1818: "I assure you this preaching is a great trial to me. ... It is one I should hardly go through with again, could I [have] foresee[n] the anxiety and pain it would cost me. But ... I have begun, and I have only to press forward. I will do it as well as I can."<sup>5</sup> Although he was conscientious in his ministerial duties, and to a certain degree successful in them as well, they were nevertheless not sufficient to sustain his lifelong interests, and in 1824 he returned to Boston as editor of the *North American Review*, in which he had just bought a major interest. Thus, from 1824 onward, Jared Sparks would devote himself to the life of letters and scholarship, which, with one notable exception, was to be the chief occupation of his life.*

*That one exception was his service to his alma mater. Three times Harvard called upon his services, and twice did he answer. In his journal for June 16, 1836, Sparks notes:*

*President Quincy of Harvard College called on me, and inquired whether I would accept the Alford Professorship, now vacant. This professorship includes Moral Philosophy, Metaphysics, and Natural Theology. Political Economy and Civil Polity are also brought into the same department. Mr. Quincy said, it was not proposed that I should have anything to do in the way of teaching by recitations from the books; that I should only be desired to take a general direction of the department; examining the classes at such times as I should think proper, and lecturing on any of the above subjects that I might choose. I told Mr. Quincy, that, if he required me to answer at once, I must decline, but that I was willing to think of it, and would soon give him an answer.*

*He indeed gave it some thought and was appreciative of both the latitude given in the nature of the professorship and the honor afforded him by the college, but he declined, noting, "after some experience, I have no partialities for the routine of a college life, as practised in our universities."6 President Quincy, like most col-*

5. Herbert B. Adams, *The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks* (2 vols., Boston, 1893), I, 109.

6. *Sparks Papers: MS. Journal, 1832-1840*, p. 109.

*lege presidents, was unwilling to take so gracious though firm a "no" for an answer and pressed Sparks on the matter, who replied that a professorship of history was more in keeping with his own inclinations. Quincy suggested that he keep the offer in mind and that when his pressing engagements were completed he might consider the service of the college in one department or another.*

*Two years later President Quincy returned, this time to discuss with Sparks the Harvard Corporation's desire to establish a professorship in history and elect him to it. The McLean Professorship of Ancient and Modern History, of which Sparks was to be the first incumbent upon his election in 1839, was founded by John McLean, a merchant of Boston whose desire it was, as stated in his will, that the professor on his foundation should deliver annually a course of public lectures in his department for the benefit of the students of Harvard College, to such classes and at such times as the President and Fellows might appoint.*

*As any good scholar might be, Sparks was zealous in his labors and jealous of his time. He proposed to accept the McLean chair only after he had extracted from President Quincy iron-clad assurances that he would have time for his own scholarly life, that he would have sole charge of the method and content of instruction, and that he would have no responsibilities whatsoever for discipline in the college. Though he recognized in the McLean chair an opportunity to put into practice the principles of public education concerning history and the American experience which he had long preached, he was not willing to do so at the expense of his own scholarly autonomy. He stated his terms clearly:*

*I understand the salary is to be two thousand dollars a year, and that I am not at any time to be called on to instruct in any other branch than that of history, according to the plan that shall be mutually agreed upon. I know not how much time it is thought expedient for a class to be occupied in the study of history, but I am willing to devote four entire months each year to teaching and lecturing; and I wish these to be four consecutive months. . . . During this period I will employ my whole time in the work, giving as many lectures each week as may be deemed advisable.*

*The remainder of the year, I shall not expect to perform any other duties than such as are naturally connected with the discipline and internal affairs of the college, although a large portion of this period, for some time to come at least, will of course be taken up in preparing lectures.*<sup>7</sup>

*He indicated that he wanted time to work on his publications and that such labors would enhance rather than detract from his teaching. Also, he wished in advance an understanding that he could travel from time to time in pursuit of the materials for his history both at home and abroad. These were rather stiff and explicit demands, but negotiations to accommodate them were soon completed, and Sparks was installed in Harvard College as the first professor of other than ecclesiastical history upon any foundation in America. He was then forty-nine years old.*

*In a letter of 1845, Sparks describes the organization of the teaching of history at Harvard:*

*You are aware that in all colleges it is necessary to assign the time for each department of study somewhat in proportion to its relative importance. In our college, history is studied as follows: A part of twenty weeks is given to it by each class, that is, three exercises a week during that time by the Freshman class; two exercises a week by the Sophomores, two by the Juniors, and two by the Seniors. The Freshmen are occupied with ancient history, the Sophomores and Juniors with modern, and the Seniors with American history. The two upper classes are taught chiefly by lectures, the others by text-books.*<sup>8</sup>

*Herbert Baxter Adams in his two-volume biography of Sparks hails the appointment as a new dawn for history in America. Samuel Eliot Morison disagrees. "He seems to have impressed rather than interested the students," observes Morison, in his article on Sparks in the Dictionary of American Biography; "and although we find him lecturing on 'the nature of historical evidence, and the rules of historical composition,' he trained no disciples, and his professorship proved to be a false dawn for modern history in American universities."*

7. Adams, II, 372.

8. Ibid., II, 433.

*After ten years in the McLean chair, Sparks was elected to succeed Edward Everett as president of Harvard. There was much discussion concerning this appointment, and Sparks accepted it only after making certain that he would be relieved of certain disciplinary duties and other administrative nit-picking then peculiar to the office of president of this and many other colleges. He was given these assurances and was duly inaugurated on June 20, 1849. To make certain that he would not find himself both inaugurated and inundated, he drafted legislation for the creation of the office of regent, whose responsibility it would be to relieve the president from every possible onerous duty.*

*Admirers though we may be of Sparks as a scholar and clergyman, we cannot help but heap upon him opprobrium for giving birth by this device to the ancestor of what all of us have*

come to recognize as the "administration." Sparks, in his zeal to preserve the purity of the office of president and the privacy of his own life, opened a Pandora's box of trials that have bedeviled his successors ever since. As president, Sparks was hailed as the successor to Kirkland and the paraclete of a new "Augustan Age." He resigned four years later after a skirmish with the General Court and an encounter with a runaway carriage on the West Boston Bridge. These, together with the normal demands upon his time as president, despite the services of a regent, caused him to look to days of quiet scholarship in his study on Quincy Street.

Of his presidency, however, we should comment on two matters, one major and the other interesting. When he entered office, he found the college records and archives in a deplorable state, and he resolved to do something about that. He got the Corporation to authorize him to organize these materials, and in his report of December 1852 he notes:

*Hitherto the papers, except the journals of the boards, have been kept in loose bundles, from the date of the foundation of the college, and many of them have been lost. All that remain have been classified, chronologically arranged, and substantially bound. A new case has been constructed in the library expressly for papers of this description, and a safe, of ample*

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*dimensions, has been erected in the president's office for such of them as are wanted for immediate use. . . . Since the papers are now all arranged in a methodical order, and bound in a permanent form, I would recommend that an index be made to the several volumes [63 in number], as affording a greater facility for consulting them and promoting their usefulness.<sup>9</sup>*

*The other matter of his presidency which might be of interest in these enlightened days is his response to the application of a young woman in Oberlin, Ohio, the home of American coeducation, who wrote in 1849 seeking admission to Harvard College:*

*I am not aware that any law exists touching this point, and, as it is a novel case, it would be decided by a vote of the corporation. As the institution was founded, however, for the education of young men, all its departments arranged for that purpose only, and its rules, regulations, internal organization, discipline, and system of teaching designed for that end, I should doubt whether a solitary female, mingling as she must do promiscuously with so large a number of the other sex, would find her situation either agreeable or advantageous. Indeed, I should be unwilling to advise any one to make such an experiment, and upon reflection I believe you will be convinced of its inexpediency. It may be a misfortune that an enlightened public opinion has not led to the establishment of colleges of the higher order for the education of females, and the time may come when their claims will be more justly valued, and when a wider intelligence and a more liberal spirit will provide for the deficiency.<sup>10</sup>*

*Sparks resigned early in 1853 and devoted the rest of his years until his death in 1866 to lecturing and writing.*

*It is to his private rather than his public life that we now briefly turn, for it is that private and societal life which is so richly reflected in this house known by his name. Sparks had enjoyed a rather long bachelorhood—he was forty-three when he first married—and if the portrait by Rembrandt Peale on this wall is any indication of its sitter in 1826, he must have been one of America's most eligible bachelors. His first wife, Frances Anne Allen of Hyde*

9. *Ibid.*, II, 468-69.

10. *Ibid.*, II, 455.

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*Park, New York, lived with him in Cambridge from their marriage in 1832 until her death in 1835. For most of this time they rented rooms in the Craigie House on Brattle Street—better known for its later and more famous incumbent, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. To Sparks's first wife was born a daughter who did not survive to maturity. In 1839, the year in which he was elected to the McLean Professorship, he took a second wife, Mary Crowninshield Silsbee, a lady of family and substance from Salem, daughter of Senator Nathaniel Silsbee and a descendant of the Salem Crowninshields. They had four daughters and a son. They lived in a house near the college yard in term time, and in the summer, when not traveling, at Nahant.*

*An event in 1838 in the vicinity of the college that Sparks could hardly have ignored was the construction on a commodious lot, on Quincy Street at the corner of Kirkland Street, of the house of Daniel Treadwell, inventor and Rumford Professor at Harvard. This large foursquare house sat well back from the road and assumed the air of a country house in the center of town. Kirkland Street with its faculty houses had long been known as "Professors' Row," and Quincy Street, running at a right angle to it, was the eastern boundary of the college lands. Mr. Treadwell's house, built for him by local builder William Saunders, was to be the adorning feature of this neighborhood.*

*How the house became available we do not know, but on June 28, 1847, Sparks noted in his journal, "Closed the bargain for the purchase of Mr. Treadwell's house." Subsequent entries record the engagement, on July 6, of "workmen to repair & paint the interior of the house" and the couple's move into "our new residence" on September 3. In October Sparks began the improvement of the grounds. "Two or three men have been employed for six weeks in cutting a serpentine path around the grounds, & in digging holes for trees & shrubs, and removing turf." At the end of the month he found himself "occupied in setting out trees & shrubs, ninety in all; besides buckthorn hedges. The hedge on the wall on Kirkland Street is now in full growth, having been planted*

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*by Mr. Treadwell seven or eight years ago." In April of 1848 he was "employed in planting trees & shrubs in various parts of the grounds around the house; 118 in all, of which 53 are evergreens— Pines, Norway Spruce, & arbor vitae, Bower at the North East corner of the grounds just finished." No further mention of the house or grounds is made until August 1851, when, while Mrs. Sparks and the children were at Nahant, President Sparks saw to further improvements: "Repairs on the House; the back part raised another story, with two new bed-rooms, & a bath room. Works [installed] for taking cold & hot water to the bath-room in pipes." It was indeed a country estate, and as an article on Sparks in the 1853 edition of the National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans put it: "Since his*

*resignation of the presidency [of Harvard], Mr. Sparks has resided as a private gentleman on the beautiful place which he owns at Cambridge."*

*In this house and on its grounds Professor and Mrs. Sparks entertained frequently and generously. He had done very well in his publications and was a man of dependable means. The second Mrs. Sparks was also a lady of substance and accomplishments, and they lived in the grand academic style, indicating that it was possible to do so below Brattle Street. Her portrait was painted by Francis Alexander shortly before her marriage to Sparks and has, since 1968, adorned the dining room of this house. That of her husband, painted by Rembrandt Peale in 1826, is one of three oils of Sparks. It ordinarily is in the Fogg Museum and is with us today on loan. I hope soon to reunite the happy pair here. The New Britain Museum of American Art in Connecticut owns a portrait of Jared Sparks by Gilbert Stuart which bears a resemblance to Stuart's Athenaeum portrait of Washington. A bust of Sparks by Hiram Powers, commissioned by the students of Harvard College upon his retirement from the presidency and completed in 1857, may be found, with those of other presidents, in Memorial Hall. A plaster cast adorns the faculty room of University Hall. Mrs. Sparks was also painted by George P. A. Healy, but the present location of that portrait is unknown, as is that of the portrait of*

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*Sparks by Thomas Sully, reproduced in the Adams biography. A word about this house, post-Sparks, is now in order. After the death of Mrs. Sparks in 1887, the property was sold by her executors to the Swedenborgian religious society, who soon constructed on the northern end of the property their Gothic church that still stands, and converted the mansion house into the headquarters for their theological school. Such was its use until the seminary closed in 1967. Harvard in that same year acquired the property, excepting the church. The future of the house was most uncertain, and many feared that Harvard, with characteristic indifference to its environmental responsibility, would level it to the ground in order to prepare the way for Gund Hall, the new home of the School of Design. In the strange fashion of providence, fire broke out in the then university preacher's house, located at number 21 Kirkland Street, known as the Farrar House for its first incumbent, the Harvard mathematician and astronomer John Farrar, and to more recent generations as the Edward Caldwell Moore House. While the house was not destroyed, the fire did provide an opportunity to consider the relative worth of the two residences. The publication in 1967 of the second volume of the Cambridge Historical Commission's Survey of Architectural History in Cambridge may have helped swing the balance. The volume noted the presence in Cambridge of an "important group of buildings" dating from the 1830s, "symmetrical, hip-roofed houses" largely free of ornamentation except for wide, plain pilasters without capitals. "The outstanding Mid Cambridge example of the type is the Jared Sparks House. . . . [Its] elegance and reserve . . . are reminiscent of English Regency architecture."<sup>11</sup>*

*Whatever the reason, Harvard decided to raze the damaged Farrar-Moore house and move the endangered Sparks House across the street to the now vacated cellar hole. This was done in the autumn of 1968, to the great delight of those who enjoy the unusual. The solemn old mansion was piled up on timbers, trundled across the street, and set atop its new foundations. The only*

11. Survey, II (Cambridge, 1967), p. 52.



*loss was the sacrifice of the southern wing of the house, which was original to it and had been the location for the servants and kitchen. The barn, however, now the garage, was spared and placed on the new site, providing a remarkable American accent to the Germanic contours of the Busch-Reisinger Museum. You are welcome to walk through the house and see it for yourself. The structural changes are perhaps obvious: the enlargement of these two rooms into one, the foreshortening of Professor Sparks's study to accommodate the rear stairwell and service area, and certain changes on the upper floor on what is now the north side as a result of the removal of the ell. The illuminated enclosed stairwell, however, is original, and the fanlight is a reproduction of the original one which was damaged at some point in mid-century.*

*To return to Jared Sparks as a sort of reprise: Lyman Butterfield has said on at least two public occasions that Jared Sparks ought to be recalled from the oblivion to which he was consigned as penance in part for his abuse of his scholarly trust as an editor. Indeed, all know of his sins of omission and commission: they were noted in his own day and are a part of the history of American history. However, while it is true that every saint has his past, every sinner also has a future, and I would join Lyman Butterfield in wishing well for the future of Jared Sparks.*

*It is nothing short of amazing to me that no modern biography of Jared Sparks exists. And, in these days of thesis-starved graduate students, it is even more amazing that no one has ever seen fit to bring out a complete edition of his journals, which repose in solitary splendor in Houghton. Indeed, many have combed the thousands of pieces of correspondence which are now happily catalogued under Miss Carolyn Jakeman's care, but in that process, no one has bothered to put together a comprehensive portrait of Sparks. Surely some historical body might initiate an editorial project of immense worth in the papers of Jared Sparks. His accounts of Revolutionary battle sites fifty years after York-town are themselves worthy of some attention.*

*While I offer this paper as a hospitable rather than a scholarly*

*piece, an introduction to the previous tenant rather than a full-fledged biography, it is intended to be suggestive of the larger need for attention in this matter. Under the benign gaze of these two Sparks, I could crave nothing less of you this afternoon who are still the beneficiaries of their hospitality.*

*A graduate of Bates College and the Harvard Divinity School, Peter Gomes is Plummer Professor of Christian Morals at Harvard and Minister in the Memorial Church. He maintains ties with his native Plymouth as a trustee of the Pilgrim Society. A resident of the Sparks House since 1975, he gave this paper there on November 26, 1978.*

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## Radcliffe's First Century

BY CAROLYN STETSON AMES

**RADCLIFFE** College started with high hopes and slender resources. It owes its beginning, as did the medieval universities, to a demand for education on the part of students. Let us turn back the pages of history to the year 1879, when the idea for this college first took shape.

"Old Cambridge" at that time was a provincial village, with Harvard College its chief claim to fame. It was linked to Boston by horsecar, via Massachusetts Avenue, Main Street, and the West Boston Bridge. The future locale of Radcliffe lay to the southwest of the Cambridge Common, in the block bounded by Garden, Mason, James, and Brattle Streets and Appian Way. An extraordinary glimpse of the block as it was in 1875 can be seen in a segment of a panoramic view photographed from the tower of the newly completed Memorial Hall (Figure 1). The Radcliffe site is clearly defined by Christ Church at one end and the Congregational Church at the other. Across Mason Street from the latter church stands Fay House, somewhat obscured by foliage and crowned at that time by a mansard roof. The block contained twenty small lots, with their main buildings and assorted sheds, barns, and stables. For the most part these were frame houses erected in the nineteenth century to house a growing population of professors and schoolteachers. Three of the buildings were dedicated to education. A two-story Cambridge public school stood at the corner of Mason and James Streets. A Mr. J. Kendall ran a

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small private school for boys on Appian Way. And a frame building on Brattle Street housed the Gilman School for Girls, later to become the Cambridge School.

It was with the Gilmans—Arthur, a local historian and literary man, and his wife Stella—that the idea for a women's college in Cambridge originated. Their daughter Grace had finished her secondary education and was ready for college. They did not want to send her away to college, although women's colleges already existed—Vassar, Wellesley, and Smith, for instance—or commit her to that long ride by horsecar to Boston University, which accepted women. Why not, they thought, seek instruction from the Harvard faculty? Prodded by his wife, Arthur Gilman consulted his neighbor James Greenough, a famous professor of the classics at Harvard, and, since Mr. Greenough was receptive to the idea, President Charles Eliot himself, who offered encouragement. Years later LeBaron Russell Briggs said of Eliot: "From the first he gave Radcliffe College generous friendship and constant support."

That women were capable of absorbing higher education had been proven by Abby Leach. This young woman, a schoolteacher in Worcester, had gone as far as possible there and in her native town of Brockton with the study of classics. On her own, in 1878, she approached Professor William W. Goodwin of Harvard and asked him to instruct her further. He dismissed the idea; but when she appeared crestfallen he took down from his shelves a Greek text and asked her to read a page. This she did so ably that his doubts vanished. From then on he became her tutor. Had she been enrolled at Harvard, he later said, she

would have graduated with highest honors. She went on to head the Greek department at Vassar and become president of the American Philological Association.

Professor Greenough proceeded to round up his colleagues who were amenable to teaching young ladies—eminent professors as well as instructors—and made up a curriculum of college studies. For sponsors, Arthur Gilman turned to seven Cambridge ladies who were filled with enthusiasm for the idea of women's educa

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tion. Most important was Elizabeth Gary Agassiz (Figure 2), granddaughter of Thomas Handasyd Perkins, one of Boston's leading merchants. From an early age, Elizabeth Gary had been instructed by a governess and had become versed in polite accomplishments, but she had had practically no formal schooling. At the age of twenty-seven she had married one of the most fascinating men of his age, Louis Agassiz, a Swiss who introduced the scientific method into the teaching of science at Harvard. Since she had once founded and directed a school to supplement the family's finances, forever overtaxed by Louis's widening schemes for the museum at Harvard, it was natural that she should become chairman of the committee of seven ladies. Also a member of the organizing committee was Alice Longfellow, "grave Alice" in her father's poem "The Children's Hour." A student in the first class, she became treasurer and for the rest of her life was a trustee and benefactor of the college.

In February 1879 the seven ladies issued a circular offering private collegiate instruction to women by members of the Harvard faculty. To their surprise, twenty-seven applicants passed the Harvard entrance examinations and thus qualified for admission. In September 1879 this college without a name began to function. Two rooms for instruction were rented in an old house at 6 Appian Way. The girls from a distance were housed by twos and threes in Cambridge homes in the neighborhood. The members of the opening class chose freely from the twenty-four courses offered by twenty-two professors and instructors who had faith in the education of women and who augmented their salaries by taking on these new assignments. A number of the young women were attracted by special courses that would help them in their teaching careers. From the very start the college offered some courses at the graduate level. There were in fact two graduate students that first year, one from Smith and one from Vassar.

By 1883, when the first class was graduated, the college, familiarly known from the start as the Harvard Annex, had been incorporated as the Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women,

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with Elizabeth Gary Agassiz as president. These pioneer alumnae, four in number, were: Abby Parsons, the college's first applicant, later co-founder and co-principal with her husband, John MacDuffie, of the MacDuffie School in Springfield, Massachusetts; Annie Barber (Clarke), who became the first president of the Alumnae Association and a member of the Associates, the college's governing board; Grace Canfield, who became headmistress of the Bryn Mawr School in Baltimore; and Ethel Fisher. Their graduation took place in the

*Fayerweather Street living room of Ellen Hooper Gurney, one of the founding ladies and wife of the dean of Harvard College. Mrs. Agassiz presented each young graduate with a certificate for completion of four years' work equivalent to that at Harvard, as Arthur Gilman, the executive secretary, looked on. The first class to pose for its graduation picture was that of 1884, when five young ladies completed the required course (Figure 6). The sixth, Mary Frances DeQuedville Briggs, had that fall married a young Harvard instructor—later the president of Radcliffe—and had to postpone the completion of her degree until 1901.*

*After just two classes had graduated and the student body had grown apace, Fay House, the perfect "home" for this still embryonic college, came on the market. Nathaniel Ireland had bought the land in 1806 and had built a brick house with two oval bays in the Bulfinch style. It fronted on what is now Mason Street, since that was the principal thoroughfare. The earliest known picture, dating from the mid-nineteenth century, shows a fairly narrow house with a wooden wing, almost dwarfed by the famous Washington Elm (Figure 4). It was, however, imposing, both for its style and for its prized location—"Castle Corner" it was called in the 1830s. After Ireland came a succession of distinguished residents. The house was a center for music and literature and learning. The words to "Fair Harvard" were written in 1836 in a second-floor bedroom by the visiting Reverend Samuel Gilman. Sophia Dana conducted a school for girls there. By 1885 the current owner, Maria Fay, daughter of a Massachusetts judge, was ready to sell, and the "Annex" acquired this prize mansion for \$20,000—*

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*half of it subscribed by friends and the other half drawn from the college treasury. By then the bricks had been painted gray to resemble stucco, and the mansion had acquired the then fashionable French roof (Figure 5).*

*Mrs. Agassiz spoke of the "indescribable charm of Fay House when the Annex was first domiciled there." She herself, clad in black silk and wearing her widow's cap, served tea to the students every Wednesday in the parlor, with its oval bay and steps leading to a garden. The first library that the Annex could call its own was housed in a bleak room on the top floor. Harvard professors came to repeat their courses in Fay House classrooms, and the students who sat there acquired as much knowledge as their counterparts across the Common. "In fact," said William E. Byerly, Harvard professor of mathematics, "the average has invariably been higher in my classes at the Annex than in my classes in the College." There was a warm relation between teachers and students in those days. "In certain courses the Radcliffe student gets something like private instruction from the most eminent of American teachers," Dean Goes tells us.*

*It soon became apparent that the college had outgrown its quarters. In 1890 the architect Alexander Wadsworth Longfellow, Jr., nephew of the poet and cousin of Alice Longfellow, was employed to enlarge Fay House, and this he did with skill. Two years later he added an auditorium, so that by 1892 the building had more than doubled its original size. Gone was the mansard roof, gone the wooden wing. A full third story was now surmounted by a balustrade across the front. Porches framed the front and side entrances. The enlarged Fay House provided more classrooms, laboratories, lunch and administration rooms, and an auditorium with a twenty-foot stage. The library on the third floor became "the gem of the*

*building," as Arthur Gilman called it, with a skylit ceiling and lighting on winter evenings furnished by some thirty gas jets on brackets and hanging fixtures (Figure 7). In 1894 it seemed appropriate to stage scenes from Homer there, with the Ionic columns as a backdrop. Five scenes from the Odyssey were*

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*given in tableaux, with Professor George Palmer reading his translation and the chorus, grouped around a bust of Homer, singing to the accompaniment of flute and harp. At the side door of Fay House, which had now become the main entrance, students came and went on their bicycles—"damsels ... on two revolving wheels," as one of their number referred to them in a verse of the nineties.*

*In 1894 the college applied to the Massachusetts legislature for a charter that would enable it to grant degrees instead of certificates. Under the charter Harvard University would be the "Visitor" of the college; the diplomas would be countersigned by the president of Harvard University; and the institution would be self-supporting in all respects. At President Eliot's suggestion the newly chartered college was named "Radcliffe" in honor of Ann Radcliffe, Lady Mowlson, the first woman to give a substantial sum of money to Harvard College, then, in 1643, a young college struggling in the wilderness. This deed of £100, drawn up by Lady Mowlson's lawyer and signed by her, is preserved in the Harvard archives.*

*It was logical that Elizabeth Gary Agassiz, who had presided over the institution from its beginning, should be named president. Agnes Irwin, great-great-granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin, a woman of force and intellect and, as head of a highly regarded girls' school in Philadelphia, a proven administrator, became Radcliffe's first dean. She had wide contacts with influential people and with the world beyond Cambridge and Boston. Above all, in the judgment of LeBaron Russell Briggs, then dean of the Harvard faculty, she handled the delicate relations with Harvard with the tact the situation demanded.*

*Before the additions to Fay House had been completed, the growing college anticipated its needs by buying the adjoining building at 20 Mason Street. By 1893 it had taken over the building for its own use, adapting some rooms for laboratories and the remainder for a makeshift gymnasium. The back yard provided a basketball court, weather permitting. In 1896 the college bought the rambling frame house on the Garden Street side of Fay House,*

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*Vaughan House. The following year it acquired a great ark of a classroom building set back from Appian Way, built just three years before by the Browne and Nichols School but superseded by their newer building at Garden and Berkeley Streets. In 1898 the Radcliffe Gymnasium was erected on the 18-20 Mason Street site, the gift of Harriet Lawrence Hemenway, whose husband had given a gymnasium to Harvard. Neo-Georgian in style, designed by the architectural firm of McKim, Mead & White, the new gym blended with Fay House and set the style for the other brick buildings that were to follow. It was equipped with the latest Swedish apparatus and "provision for a swimming tank," which opened the following year. On the gymnasium steps posed a succession of basketball teams (Figure 8).*

*By the end of the century a majority of the lots in the present Radcliffe Yard, with the buildings thereon, belonged to Radcliffe.*

*For more than twenty years the girls who came from a distance had been housed with families in the area. But if Radcliffe was to draw from a wider area it needed dormitories, and land on which to put them. Elizabeth Agassiz and her son-in-law, Henry Lee Higginson, found suitable space in the Phillips estate, half a mile up Garden Street from the Yard and comprising most of the present Radcliffe Quadrangle. Radcliffe bought the property in 1900 and completed its first dormitory the following year: Bertram Hall, on Shepard Street, given by Mrs. David Kimball in memory of her son and designed by Alexander W. Longfellow, Jr. Mrs. Agassiz attended the opening. "I never saw a happier set of girls," she said, "dancing and singing after dinner till eight o'clock when all went to their studies."*

*From its inception there had been social activities as well as classes at the college. The Idler Club, although devoted primarily to dramatics, was in fact a social club comprising the whole student body. At the turn of the century it was presenting operettas written, staged, costumed, and acted by students, at Brattle Hall in Cambridge and Copley Hall in Boston. Men's roles were played by girls. The Banjo, Mandolin, and Glee Clubs provided outlets*

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*for musical talent in a lighter vein. Mrs. Agassiz promoted the formation of the Choral Society in 1899. She wanted the students "trained to sing fine music, appear in public and 'act on the stage as ladies.'" Other clubs in early days were Debating, Emmanuel (philanthropic), Philosophical, and clubs devoted to history and to languages.*

*By 1898, at the age of seventy-six, Elizabeth Agassiz was ready to resign. "I'm really too tired and I long to lay down the oars," she wrote. She ended by accepting the title of "Honorary President" while Agnes Irwin ran the ship. In 1902, on Mrs. Agassiz's eightieth birthday, came a wonderful surprise. Her friends and family presented her with a "fairy gift," the sum of \$117,000 which they had raised to pay for the student center she had wanted for so long and which they named Agassiz House in her honor. In 1903 she withdrew completely from the college that she had guided from its infancy.*

*LeBaron Russell Briggs, President Eliot's right-hand man, dean of the faculty of arts and sciences at Harvard and Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, became the second president of Radcliffe, a post he held, concurrently with his Harvard posts, for twenty years (Figure 3). He was the tangible evidence of the link with Harvard. "He made Radcliffe respectable," said William Allan Neilson, Harvard professor of English, later president of Smith College. During his Radcliffe years Briggs perforce left much of the day-to-day management of Radcliffe in the capable hands of Dean Irwin and the academic board. But he presided, carried much detail, and was always accessible. His Radcliffe wife, it was said, "by her understanding help and care enabled her husband to carry such a superhuman load of work so long."*

*Agassiz House, the new student center, designed by Alexander W. Longfellow, Jr., was built during the first year of the Briggs presidency and opened in June 1904. With the Ionic columns of its two-story portico it dominated the Radcliffe Yard. It housed lounge and*

*meeting rooms on the first floor; a large, high-ceilinged living room above; and on the Mason Street side a semi-circular*

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*extension with a cafeteria on the first floor and a theater and balcony on the second. The theater has remained in active use. At about this time Radcliffe purchased the Greenleaf estate across Brattle Street from the Yard. The mansion, built in 1859, became the home for Radcliffe presidents beginning in 1913.*

*Adjoining Agassiz on the Brattle Street side was the building of the former Gilman School, which from its acquisition by Radcliffe in 1896 until 1908 served as the college library. In 1906 Andrew Carnegie, a friend of Agnes Irwin, granted the college \$75,000, and the alumnae raised matching funds to build the new red brick library, which rounded out the college buildings at the north end of the Yard. The Gilman building was moved across the Yard to the former site of Vaughan House and equipped with chemistry and physics laboratories.*

*In 1914 Radcliffe established a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. All previous graduates with summas and all Radcliffe Ph.D.'s were automatically admitted to membership, along with twenty current high-ranking juniors and seniors. In all, sixty-one young women became charter members.*

*Several publications came and went. The Radcliffe Fortnightly, begun in 1914, was superseded the following autumn by a weekly, the Radcliffe News. The Radcliffe Bulletin, begun in 1906 by the Radcliffe Union, an organization of alumnae and graduate and special students, was replaced in 1916 by the Radcliffe Quarterly, published by the Radcliffe Union and the Alumnae Association. Once a staid magazine, devoid of pictures, the Quarterly has become increasingly lively and over the years has won a variety of medals and honors.*

*As extracurricular activities became more numerous and the clubs multiplied, so did student and alumnae involvement in the affairs of the day. Despite the anti-suffrage climate of her college days, Maud Wood (Park) 1898 became while still a student a confirmed suffragist—an organizer at Radcliffe, in Massachusetts, and at colleges throughout the country. By 1917 she was chairman of the national suffrage association's Congressional Committee, orga-*

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*nized to convert members of Congress to the cause. After the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment she was elected the first president of the League of Women Voters. Her papers, given to the college in 1943, formed the nucleus of what was to become the Schlesinger Library.*

*In 1914 the Radcliffe Bureau of Occupations was established to help the growing number of women seeking paid employment. Women were finding positions not only as teachers and*

*scholars but also as secretaries, saleswomen, journalists, and nurses and in domestic science, the law, and social service.*

*War clouds cast a pall over the college from the time when World War I broke out in Europe in 1914 until the Armistice in 1918. Radcliffe suffered all sorts of privations, and like the rest of the country was caught up in the war fervor. By September of 1917 the whole college had registered for war work. Three alumnae nurses lost their lives in service: two in France, one in Russia. In 1918 Dr. Augusta Williams, a former Radcliffe student, was sent overseas by the alumnae to direct all women workers under the American Red Cross in Paris. After the war seven more Radcliffe women did reconstruction work under the French Red Cross. Medals of returning workers attested to their effectiveness. As the government drew more scholars into war work, colleges struggled to maintain academic standards. At Harvard a war emergency measure permitted the temporary appointment of women instructors when no men could be found. Yet "the regular instruction was less unsteadied . . . than might have been expected."*

*Despite the hardships, the sacrifices, and the reduced personnel and enrollment attributable to the war, interesting experiments in education, begun long before, continued to flourish. Professor George Pierce Baker taught contemporary drama at Radcliffe, beginning in 1899, and at Harvard after 1900 (Figure 9). He found his Radcliffe classes eager learners. It was a petition from his Radcliffe class in playwriting that led Professor Baker to establish, in 1913, his world-famous 47 Workshop, an experimental theater. In similar vein, Harvard's Archibald Davison credited*

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*his Radcliffe singers with raising the standards of college choral music. The director of the Radcliffe Choral Society, Mrs. H. H. Gallison, brought about the first appearance of a Harvard-Radcliffe chorus with the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1917.*

*Harvard's elective system, which had prevailed from the start at Radcliffe, had serious disadvantages. In order to provide depth of knowledge in a narrow field and acquaintance with a wider field, President A. Lawrence Lowell in 1914 instituted a required system of concentration and distribution—a concentration of six courses in a chosen division and distribution of six other courses among humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. The departments of history, government, and economics formally inaugurated both the tutorial system in 1914, to integrate knowledge gained from courses, and general examinations in the field of concentration in 1916. By 1922 most Harvard departments had followed suit. "Harvard teaching," said President Briggs, "remains the peculiar distinction of Radcliffe College. Through good years and bad it has been more important than handsome buildings, spacious grounds, physical comfort, or what is commonly considered college life."*

*When President Briggs made it known that he would retire in 1923, Mrs. Marian Blackall Miller, a youthful member of the Radcliffe Council, was commissioned to interview the dean of Smith College about a possible successor. As she talked with Ada Louise Comstock it came over her that in Miss Comstock she had found the qualities the college was seeking. Members of the search committee confirmed her appraisal, and so it was that Ada Comstock came to be Radcliffe's first full-time president (Figure 10). Her term, like her predecessor's, extended through good times and bad. Like him she had to cope with the delicate and*



*unstable relations with Harvard, which evolved under her guidance into a historic concordat. In 1943, the last year of her presidency, the Harvard faculty agreed to take complete responsibility for supplying instruction to Radcliffe students. Radcliffe, which had hitherto made individual payments to Harvard faculty members, would*

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*hereafter pay a lump sum to Harvard, to be applied to Harvard faculty salaries.*

*When Ada Louise Comstock assumed the presidency, Bernice Veazey Brown was appointed as Radcliffe's dean, the youngest to hold that post. A graduate with an A.M. and a Ph.D. from Radcliffe, she had received recognition for her work on the United States Commission for Relief in Belgium and as director of a Training School for Public Service. Throughout her career as dean she took a personal interest in the students under her charge, in their social environment, their careers and achievements. Together these two women guided Radcliffe.*

*More funds were needed, more buildings, a better mix of students geographically and economically. In 1929 Longfellow Hall, named for Alice Longfellow and designed by the firm of Perry, Shaw & Hepburn, was erected to replace Browne and Nichols. It remained Radcliffe's main classroom building until it was sold to the Harvard Graduate School of Education in 1962. A grant of \$500,000 from the General Education Board financed a new science building to replace the aging Gilman Hall. Byerly Hall, completed in 1931, continued in use until the opening in 1973 of Harvard's new Science Center. A remodeled Byerly now houses the joint Harvard-Radcliffe admissions, student financial aid, and employment offices.*

*In 1928, in anticipation of the fiftieth anniversary of Radcliffe's founding, a renewed effort was made to broaden the geographic representation of the student body. Radcliffe clubs throughout the country took part by choosing Anniversary Scholars, for whom they raised \$200 apiece, augmented by \$300 from the college. From 1933 on, these students were known as Regional Scholars. When the campaign started, 71 percent of the freshmen were from Massachusetts; by 1944-45 the majority were from out of state.*

*The Great Depression made it increasingly difficult for students to finance their education. Edith Stedman, director of what was now called the Appointment Bureau, viewed the job market creatively. She introduced courses in photography, waitressing, and*

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*publishing procedures, a summer secretarial school, and a summer nursery school training program. She also initiated the Training Course in Personnel Administration for graduate students, begun in 1937 and later renamed the Management Training Program. It flourished until the Harvard Business School opened its doors to women in 1963.*

*World War II changed life at the Quadrangle. Between 1943 and 1945 almost a thousand Waves, in nine successive groups, lived there while training with the Navy Supply Corps at Harvard. Radcliffe graduates also served in various branches of the armed services.*

*Wilbur Kitchener Jordan, known to his intimates as "Kitch," became president of Radcliffe in 1943, two years after the start of the war (Figure 12). A Harvard Ph.D., then teaching at the University of Chicago, and a distinguished historian of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, he took on his administrative duties with the understanding that he could continue his research and teaching at Harvard. The scholarly Jordan turned his attention to the library, which during his regime was renovated and modernized. He inaugurated the Radcliffe Seminars, a continuing education program, to give mature women "a renewal of disciplined thought." Working closely with the Harvard historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., long a Radcliffe trustee, he founded the Women's Archives, housed at first in Byerly Hall. Renamed in 1967 the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, this continually expanding collection of books and manuscripts has become a national center for research on the history of American women.*

*President Jordan early implemented the policies of the 1943 concordat with Harvard. By 1945 the faculty offering instruction at Radcliffe and Harvard was, with minor exceptions, identical. The next step was joint instruction—integrated classes as opposed to separate but equal. This began as a temporary war expedient for the three upper classes, but by 1950 had become universal. President Conant could say: "Harvard does not believe in coeducation in principle, only in practice."*

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*One after another, the barriers fell. The great research collections at Widener Library became fully available for use by qualified undergraduates as well as graduate students. In 1950 women were admitted to the Law School. In 1958 the Harvard University Choir, ruefully considered by Willard L. Sperry, former dean of the Divinity School, to be the one masculine exercise left, opened its ranks to Radcliffe and other University women. Within the Harvard faculty itself women won new places. Samuel Zemurray endowed a chair in honor of his daughter, Doris Zemurray Stone, and his son, Samuel, Jr.—the first tenured professorship at Harvard to be held exclusively by women. In 1947 President Jordan welcomed the first holder, a fellow historian renowned in her native England, Helen Maud Cam. And in 1956 a historic first occurred at Harvard: Cecelia Payne-Gaposhkin, Radcliffe Ph.D. 1925, Phillips Astronomer since 1938, won promotion to Phillips Professor of Astronomy.*

*Bernice Brown Cronkhite, dean of the college since 1923, assumed a new role in 1934 when she became dean of the Radcliffe Graduate School, a position she held until 1959 (Figure 12). Her dream of a separate graduate center, an environment where Radcliffe graduate students could achieve greater maturity in their interaction with one another, came to fruition in 1954. Six years later Helen Keller, Radcliffe 1904, dedicated the fountain in the Graduate Center's garden, which had been presented to the college in her honor (Figure 13). For undergraduates the Jordan cooperative houses, across Walker Street from the Quadrangle, conceived in President Jordan's administration though not completed until 1962, have been a happy solution to the need of students to help finance their living expenses by sharing in household tasks.*

*Mary Ingraham Bunting served as Radcliffe's fifth president, from 1960 to 1972 (Figure 11). A graduate of Vassar with a Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin, and a*

*microbiologist by training, she had carried on research with her husband. After his death she raised their four children and continued to pursue her career as*



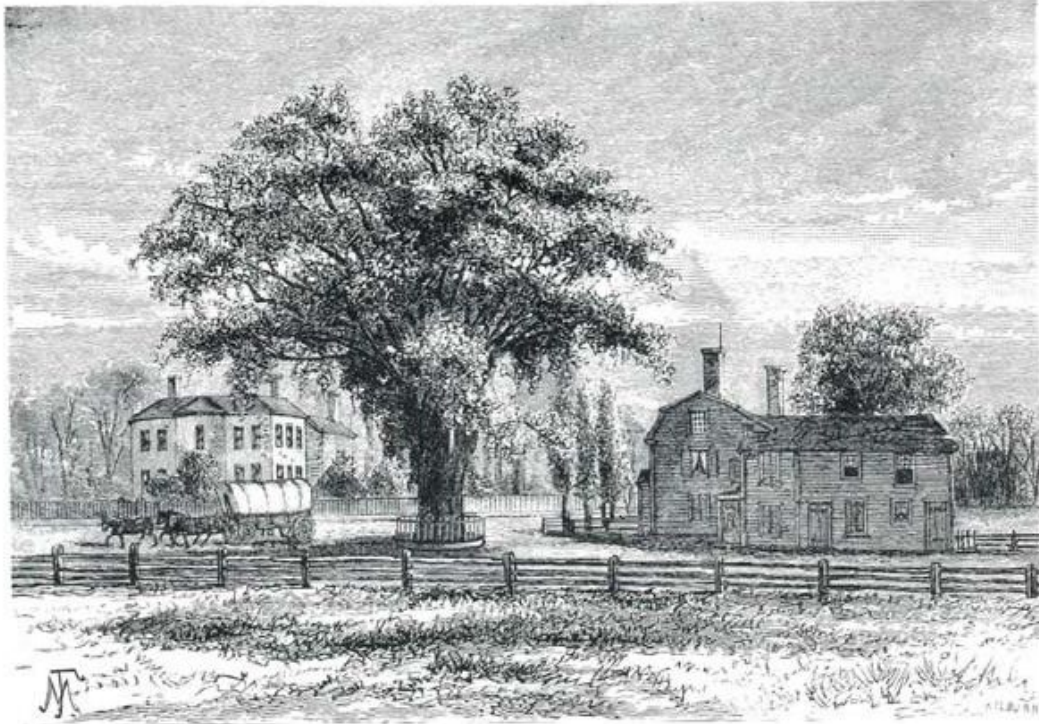
1. THE FUTURE RADCLIFFE YARD IN 1875, AS SEEN FROM THE TOWER OF MEMORIAL HALL. (Harvard University Archives)



2. ELIZABETH CARY AGASSIZ. (From Lucy A. Paton, *Elizabeth Cary Agassiz*, 1919)



3. LE BARON RUSSELL BRIGGS. (Radcliffe College Archives)



4. FAY HOUSE IN MID-CENTURY, WITH THE WASHINGTON ELM. (From Justin Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, 1881)



5. FAY HOUSE IN 1887. (Radcliffe College Archives)



5. THE RADCLIFFE CLASS OF 1884. Mary DeQuedville Briggs is third from the right. (Radcliffe College Archives)



7. THE LIBRARY IN FAY HOUSE IN THE 1890S. (Radcliffe College Archives)



8. CLASS OF 1901 BASKETBALL TEAM. (Radcliffe College Archives)



9. GEORGE PIERCE BAKER AND ONE OF HIS DRAMA CLASSES. (Radcliffe College Archives)



10. ADA LOUISE COMSTOCK. (Radcliffe College Archives)



11. MARY INGRAHAM BUNTING. (Radcliffe College Archives)



12. DEAN CRONKHITE AND PRESIDENT JORDAN BREAK GROUND FOR CRONKHITE GRADUATE CENTER. (Radcliffe College Archives)



13. HELEN KELLER DEDICATES THE FOUNTAIN AT CRONKHITE GRADUATE CENTER. (George Woodruff photo, Radcliffe College Archives)



14. THE VOICE OF PROTEST: STUDENTS OCCUPYING UNIVERSITY HALL, APRIL 1969. (Tim Carlson photo, *Harvard Crimson*)



15. PRESIDENTS BOK OF HARVARD AND HORNER OF RADCLIFFE SIGN THE 1977 AGREEMENT. (Radcliffe College Archives)



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*teacher and administrator. Perhaps it was this dual role that made her conscious of the ambiguities facing an educated woman in our society and led to the founding in 1960 of the Radcliffe Institute, a program of resident fellowships dedicated to the professional needs and special requirements of gifted women.*

*One of Mrs. Bunting's goals was to bring to Radcliffe undergraduates an important educational advantage of Harvard, the house plan. This involved upgrading the facilities of the Quadrangle. The first new building to be erected was the Hilles Library (1965), donated by Mrs. Susan Morse Hilles and designed by Harrison & Abramovitz, where functionalism and beauty were combined in the modern idiom. A million-dollar legacy from Mabel Daniels, Radcliffe 1900, financed Daniels Hall, first building of the new Currier House. The remaining buildings at the Quadrangle were combined into North House and South House to complete the scheme. The construction of Hilles freed the old library on James Street for other uses. It became the home of the Schlesinger Library and the Institute.*

*Mrs. Bunting served the college during a time of unprecedented turbulence. In December of 1968 she flew back from a conference in North Carolina to discuss with black students holding a sit-in in Fay House their demands for more recruiting of blacks, a black admissions officer, a pre-admission college program, and greater financial aid. The year 1968-69 was the high-water mark of student agitation against the university's involvement in the Vietnam War. When a group of students, both women and men, occupied University Hall (Figure 14), the Cambridge police were called to intervene. Then, for the first time in Harvard's history, the student body called a strike against the university, in which many faculty and students took part. Eight days later, at a mass meeting at the Stadium, the Students for a Democratic Society called for an indefinite strike, but the majority refused to go along. About one-third of the students arrested after the seizure of University Hall were women. There were women at the Paine Hall sit-in when the faculty met to consider the fate of ROTC on cam-*

*pus. Their bursar's cards were taken away, and seventeen of them were put on probation and required by the Radcliffe Council to prepare a symposium on dissent.*

*Another issue of these years was the growing student demand for co-residency. Harvard president Nathan Pusey took the position that if men and women were to be living in the same dormitories, the latter would have to be administered by one agency, Harvard. At the same time Radcliffe, faced with rising costs and increasing commitments to financial aid, feared unmanageable deficits. The result in 1971 was the "non-merger merger"—the arrangement, on a five-year trial basis, whereby Radcliffe was to hold onto its unique assets, the Schlesinger Library, the Institute and Seminars, the Alumnae Office and Career Services; it was still to be responsible for selecting students and for supplying financial aid; and Harvard was to assume the maintenance of buildings and, of course, the obligation to educate Radcliffe students.*

*In November 1972 Matina Souretis Horner was inaugurated as the sixth and youngest president of Radcliffe. A graduate of Bryn Mawr with a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, the mother of three children, at the time of her appointment she was an assistant*

*professor of clinical psychology in the Harvard department of social relations and a consultant to the University Health Services. Her interests in motivation and the psychology of women assisted her efforts to make the university a better place for women, to provide a continuous concern for students from admission to graduation, and to promote research on the special needs of women. Her concern also contributed to the equal-access or "sex-blind" admissions policy adopted in 1975. Whereas in 1971, when co-residency came into being, there was a 4-to-1 ratio of men to women in the entering class, in the class admitted in 1978 the ratio had dropped to 1.68-to-1, a more satisfactory arrangement for both sexes.*

*The Harvard-Radcliffe relationship was reformulated in May 1977. The new agreement was in many respects an extension of the 1943 agreement giving Radcliffe students all the rights and*

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*privileges of Harvard students; and, of greatest importance, it gave the president of Radcliffe, for the first time, an official voice in the establishment of policies affecting undergraduates (Figure 15). It also confirmed Radcliffe's status as a separate corporate institution and its right to conduct programs to promote the higher education of women.*

*Over the past century Harvard's objective—to produce an educated person—has remained the same, but the methods have varied. Under President Eliot there was a free elective system, followed in President Lowell's day by concentration and distribution requirements aided by the tutorial system. In 1946 President Conant introduced the General Education program, lest the distribution courses be designed for specialists. In April 1978 Dean Rosovsky's four-year campaign for a more structured "core curriculum" was accepted by the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Once again Harvard tightened the curriculum with the aim that every Harvard graduate would possess "basic literacy in major forms of intellectual discourse."*

*Radcliffe's "shining century," celebrated in 1978-79, marked steady progress from its tentative beginnings, when Radcliffe consisted of "a few back yards and an under-sized apple tree" and the only inducement to prospective students was a Harvard education. Coming from sheltered homes, scorned by many for their intellectual ambitions, the students proved that they were indeed equal to the challenge. The time of the founding was a decorous age, beset with rules for the proper behavior of "young ladies," and they stayed within the bounds society set for them. Mrs. Agassiz assured President Eliot that her students had no intention of sharing classes with Harvard. The Harvard Yard was off limits to Radcliffe undergraduates, as were the libraries, laboratories, scholarships, and organizations. So they set about to obtain their own resources. This college which grew up within Harvard's shadow sometimes outstripped Harvard, made innovations of its own, achieved its own luster*

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*The shortage of manpower in World War I led to the temporary employment of women on the Harvard faculty and foreshadowed, though it did not lead to, the eventual introduction*

*of women faculty in normal times. The need to double up in classrooms in World War II brought about the sharing of classrooms by men and women, an eventuality that neither Harvard nor Radcliffe had foreseen.*

*Gradually, almost imperceptibly, the position of women in society at large and within the college changed, and Radcliffe was in many respects in the forefront of that change. Interests and horizons broadened. More and more Harvard privileges were extended. As the Radcliffe Quadrangle became co-residential, so too did the Harvard Yard and the proud River Houses. The libraries, the laboratories, the sports facilities—all were opened to women. Women took their places on the Harvard Crimson and the Harvard Law Review. Helen Gilbert became chairman of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University; Anne M. Morgan, the first woman president of the Associated Harvard Alumni.*

*President Agassiz ushered this new college into being. President Briggs strengthened the bonds with Harvard. President Comstock saved Radcliffe from being cut adrift by Harvard and achieved the 1943 agreement. President Jordan continued to implement the agreement and fostered the Schlesinger Library and the Seminars. President Bunting inaugurated the house system and the Radcliffe Institute. Under President Horner the 1943 agreement was amended, spelling out the interdependence of Harvard and Radcliffe and giving Radcliffe an official voice in administrative policy. Each of her leaders advanced Radcliffe along the path of progress. The alumnae bear witness to their works. Many have gone on to win renown in the outside world, others to become unsung heroes in their families and communities.*

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*After graduating from Radcliffe, Carolyn Ames spent a year at the Columbia Business School, then took an M.A. in economics at Columbia and worked as research assistant for the Twentieth Century Fund; she was a contributing author of its study *The National Debt and Government Credit* (1937). She has recently been Curator of the Cambridge Historical Society. The slide lecture on Radcliffe's history which she gave to the Society on January 14, 1979, grew out of an earlier version prepared for the Alumnae Association. She expanded it for the college's centennial celebration, which she helped plan, and has adapted it here for the printed page.*

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## *Lake View Avenue: Early History, Architecture, and Residents*

*BY PATRICIA H. RODGERS  
with photographs by the author*

**I***N looking at the history of Lake View Avenue, one period stands out, the years from 1870 to 1894. Before 1870 the tract of land on which Lake View Avenue would make its appearance passed from open landscape to estate and then to farm. The year 1870 marked the beginning of Lake View's suburban development. By 1894 the essentially Victorian character of the street as it exists today had been established. The focus of this paper is on*

*the block between Brattle Street and Huron Avenue where the earliest development took place. My objective is to convey a sense of what was happening on Lake View during this quarter of a century.*

*A brief look at the topography and early history of this part of Cambridge is desirable. The City of Cambridge lies within the Boston Basin, a large geologic depression surrounded on the north and west by the granite hills of Medford, Arlington, and Belmont. Glaciers carved out the Cambridge landscape, forming hills and ridges and covering the flat land with sand and clay. At the time of its first settlement Cambridge contained streams, swamps, bogs, and ponds.*

*One of the most significant features of the glacial landscape is Fresh Pond, originally a mass of ice and later a spring-fed lake*

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*surrounded by hilly moraine. The Fresh Pond moraine forms a ridge running southwest from Porter Square to the Watertown line. Brattle Street winds its way between the ridge and the Charles River and then, about one mile west of Harvard Square, runs briefly along the ridge. At this high point in Brattle Street a side street heads northward for half a mile, at first rising slightly and then descending toward Fresh Pond. This is Lake View Avenue.*

*Where Lake View is now was originally part of Watertown, but the area was annexed by Cambridge in 1754. Cambridge, or Newtowne as it was originally named, had been founded in 1630. By the mid-eighteenth century there were several large estates extending from the King's Highway, later Brattle Street, to the southern shore of Fresh Pond.*

*Thomas Oliver, a Loyalist or Tory at the time of the Revolution and at one time a lieutenant governor of the Province, had in 1766 purchased one of these estates, which in his case extended from the Charles River to Fresh Pond. On it he built an imposing three-story mansion, Elmwood. As with the neighboring Tory holdings, Oliver's estate was confiscated in 1775. After the Revolution it came into the hands of Elbridge Gerry, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and the man associated with the term "gerrymandering." Eventually the property was purchased by the Lowell family.*

*In 1812 Brattle Street was extended from Elmwood Avenue to Mount Auburn Street. In that same year much of the Oliver-Gerry-Lowell property to the north of Brattle Street was purchased by Joshua Coolidge. His son, Josiah, built a farmhouse in 1847 (now 12 Lake View Avenue) and cultivated the forty-eight acres of land. The plan (Map 1) gives a good idea of Josiah Coolidge's farm, both the architectural features (house, barn, and cider mill) and the natural ones (orchard, pond, swamp, and pine trees). When Lake View Avenue was laid out it followed approximately the line of the old cart path shown on the plan.*

*By 1870 Cambridge had developed into a prosperous city of*

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*more than 40,000 people. Industrial prosperity, brought about by the Civil War, and the introduction of horsecar transportation were the two main reasons for this growth. More residents meant a demand for more housing. Prewar expansion of Cambridge had been mostly to the east and north of Harvard Square. Development came later and more slowly to the former Tory estates centered on Brattle Street, particularly in the area north of Brattle and west of Sparks Street. Subdivision of the area had begun before the Civil War, but only a handful of houses had been built by 1870—five of them on the former Fayerweather estate immediately to the east of the Coolidge estate.*

*Josiah Coolidge's farm was conveniently located on the Brattle Street horsecar line, which in 1856 had replaced an earlier omnibus line. In December 1870, following the trend of the times, Coolidge sold his farm to a firm or partnership known as Davis & Taylor. The new owners moved quickly. They had a surveyor draw up a plan for the "Coolidge Estate Lots" (Map 2), which was lithographed and recorded at the Middlesex County Courthouse in 1871. It was a grid plan which ignored the natural topography. The principal streets were Lake View Avenue, a parallel street to the west that was later named Lexington Avenue, and an unnamed cross street between Brattle and Fresh Pond which, when later extended, became the important artery Huron Avenue.*

*Between Brattle Street and Huron Avenue the plan created lots similar in size and shape. Those on the west side of Lake View Avenue were a uniform 15,300 square feet, with the exception of the Coolidge farmhouse lot and the area surrounding the farm's pond. Lots on the east side of the street were varied because of the uneven eastern boundary of the Coolidge tract. The appealing features of the Coolidge farm, such as the winding cart path, the pond, pine groves, and orchard area, gave way to the rigid grid plan. Although the pond is still shown on the 1871 plan, it too was eventually eliminated and replaced by four house lots. The long parallel street pattern of the subdivision echoes the shape of the old colonial fields, which in turn were based on a European medi-*

*eval agricultural system.*

*The origin of the name Lake View is not known. "Lake" could refer to the small pond on the Coolidge estate, but it is more likely a reference to Fresh Pond. Three of the older residents interviewed in the area remember being able to look down from Lake View over the meadows toward Fresh Pond. Some of the earlier street names in Cambridge have a simple, direct quality, such as Spring Street or Water Street. Later names refer to well-known individuals like Agassiz or Riedesel. The name Lake View conjures up the image of a country house overlooking a large lake. Perhaps this was just the image the developers wished to create.*

*The Lake View lots sold slowly at first despite the presence of the Brattle Street horsecar line. There were still many desirable lots closer to Harvard Square. Nonetheless, by 1873 six houses had been built. By 1886 there were eleven more, and by 1894 a total of nineteen.*

*In late nineteenth-century Cambridge, houses were either custom-built or built for speculation. Real estate entrepreneurs, often housewrights, bought tracts of land, then subdivided them into lots and built houses. One builder, William Smith, plays a major role in*

*Lake View's history. Boston and Cambridge city directories of the 1870s and '80s list him variously as carpenter, builder, and real estate dealer. A native of Nova Scotia, he was living in Roxbury when he began his work on Lake View Avenue.*

*An advertisement placed by Smith in the Cambridge Chronicle of June 22, 1872, conveys some of the flavor of this type of development. It refers to two of the earliest houses on Lake View Avenue (unfortunately I do not know which two).*

*Both houses are built in the best manner with hardwood finish to many of the rooms, water and gas throughout. They cannot be equalled by any other in the vicinity. Lake View has recently been opened up from Brattle to Fresh Pond and when fully completed will be one of the finest streets in Cambridge. The land is being sold with restrictions, so that the owners of the property may feel assured that nothing objectionable can be erected near them.*

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*The development of the Lake View area is reflected in three successive city atlases, those of 1873, 1886, and 1894. The first plan, from the Hopkins Atlas of 1873, graphically illustrates the earliest period of Lake View's development (Map 3). The first six houses are shown (three of them with carriage houses), as well as the existing Coolidge farmhouse. This small cluster of houses on the crest of the hill is surrounded largely by undeveloped land, some of it still owned by Davis & Taylor, some by individual owners. Of the latter, William Smith, the housewright, has the largest number of lots.*

*As for the surrounding area, there is an uninterrupted view to Fresh Pond as well as a view toward the Charles River. To the east are four houses on Fayerweather Street, each with substantial surrounding grounds. This easterly vista will remain virtually unchanged throughout the early period of development. To the west, even though the land has been subdivided, it remains open, and one could look across to the extensive John Chipman Gray estate.*

*The way in which these early houses are sited will set a precedent for later homes. Though it is not obvious from the atlas, the developers required a 25-foot setback, a standard practice for suburban development at this time. Each house is placed on the north side of the lot, allowing for a spacious lawn to the south and a drive leading to the carriage house at the rear of the lot.*

*Imagine that you were coming from Harvard Square in your carriage along Brattle Street in 1873 and turned down Lake View Avenue. The first house you would see on your left would be the old Coolidge farmhouse, now 12 Lake View Avenue (Figure 1), but then still oriented toward Brattle Street. Built in 1847, a reminder of an earlier era, the simple Greek Revival structure serves as a contrast to the later Victorian houses.*

*Continuing on down Lake View, you would see on your left, at Number 58, the home of William J. Irving, a baker who worked in Boston. His house and carriage house are in fact where Josiah Coolidge's orchard once was. The simple Mansard-style house*

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would in time undergo an interesting transformation. The carriage house originally had a loft, but the roof collapsed under a heavy load of snow in later years and was never replaced. Irving was apparently something of a speculator as well as a baker. The 1873 atlas shows him owning three neighboring lots besides his house lot. In 1886 he owned two more lots and two houses; by 1894 he had sold one and built or acquired two others.

Next door to Irving, at Number 68, lived Elijah Betts, a stair-builder in Boston, who from his house had a marvelous view all the way to Fresh Pond. His home, one of the first built by William Smith, shares with two others on Lake View a distinctive rope molding on the sloping corners of the mansard roof. Betts's carriage house (Figure 2) was typical of many on the street during this period, although few remain today. It follows an earlier, simpler style, although it does, like the house, have brackets. It was possible for a stableman to live in one of these carriage houses, but probably most lived in the nearby Huron Avenue area. As for Betts, his ownership unfortunately proved brief. He was unable to meet his mortgage payments in 1877, during the depression, and that is the last we hear of him.

Diagonally across the street was another of builder William Smith's houses, 57 Lake View, owned by Charles F. Walcott, a Boston lawyer. Next door, at Number 67, lived Walcott Richardson, a cattle broker with an office on Spruce Street (now Rindge Avenue). Richardson was the only one of these early Lake View residents who worked in Cambridge, in contrast to today when the majority of the residents work within the city. Originally Numbers 57 and 67, both in the Mansard style, had many similar details, such as the same dormer-window configuration and paired brackets, but both have lost much of their character in later alterations.

Perhaps the most impressive house in 1873 (and today as well) was the one on the other side of the Richardson house, at 77 Lake View (Figure 3). This Mansard-style house with its projecting central entrance tower was built and owned by a Boston carpenter, William Soule, formerly of Bent's Wharf in East Cambridge. Soule

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gave his house some fine details, such as Gothic drip moldings over the second-floor windows and Italianate flush siding, but like his neighbor Betts he could not meet his mortgage payments, and in 1879 his house was sold at auction to Frances P. Adams of New Hampshire.

Next beyond the Soule house, at Number 87, was still another house built by William Smith (Figure 4). It has the same rope molding as the Betts house and is in fact the same basic house, but with a different porch configuration. The house is today one of the best preserved on the street, with its distinctive entrance and balustraded front terrace.

These early houses with their mansard roofs, brackets, and bays dominated the landscape then and still do today. Their appearance on the land signaled the beginning of a new pattern for the upper Brattle Street area, one which was no longer farm, nor small estates, as on Fayerweather Street, but a structured suburban development. Except for the Cambridge cattle broker, the residents commuted to Boston. There were several transportation alternatives. Mr. Irving could drive his own horse and carriage into town; he

*could take the horsecar on Brattle Street; or he could catch the train from Fresh Pond Station, on the Watertown Branch line, near the lower end of Lake View Avenue.*

*By 1875, according to city records, the housewright William Smith has built three more houses, one of them for himself. He has also acquired two additional lots, and eventually he squeezes seven lots out of the original six. Edward B. James, a lumber dealer with an office in Boston, lived in one of the new houses, at 88 Lake View. Unfortunately the house was stuccoed in the 1920s and hence has lost much of its original stickwork charm. Next door, at Number 94, Smith built a Mansard-style cottage for himself, moving there from his previous home in Roxbury. Though only two stories in all, his new home had many fanciful details including a three-story entrance tower (Figure 5). In this industrialized age, new technology made possible a proliferation of decorative trim at relatively little expense. Smith's third new house, at*

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*104, was another Mansard-style cottage with a simpler exterior. The carriage house with its center gable represents another style that was common on Lake View Avenue.*

*The Hopkins Atlas of 1886 (Map 4) shows how the original cluster of houses on the block has now expanded to a total of eighteen. William Smith has built at least twelve of them, one on the site of the former farm pond. The western side of Lake View is almost completely developed. There are new houses, new residents, and a change in the architectural style, away from mansard roofs and blocky outlines toward more irregular silhouettes with gables, projecting towers, and angled porches.*

*As for the surrounding area, Lexington Avenue is still meadow, Fayerweather Street is virtually unchanged, and there is still a view toward the Charles River, but the relationship with Fresh Pond has changed. There are now nine houses on the lower part of Lake View Avenue, beyond Huron Avenue, and hence no longer an unobstructed view toward Fresh Pond.*

*The formerly open space between the Coolidge farmhouse and William Irving's house has now been filled in by two houses very similar in character, Numbers 38 and 48. They are of a simple, earlier style, with a peaked roof, gable end to the street, and simple brackets.*

*Farther down the street, William Smith has built at Number 78 a house with a projecting tower and a fashionable porte-cochère (Figure 6). Its asymmetrical facade and deep porches with slender, turned columns reflect the newer Queen Anne style. Theophilus G. Smith, a lawyer in Boston, lived here for many years. The finial on the tower serves as a reminder that originally many of the houses on Lake View had ironwork details, and there were also many iron fences. But nearly all has vanished, most of it in the scrap-iron drive of World War II. The Theophilus Smith house is of particular interest today because it retains both its front and side porches. The majority of the houses would have had several porches, but many have disappeared. In the Victorian era porches were really used and enjoyed. They provided a place from which to*

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*observe what was happening on the street as well as in one's own garden.*

*Of the newer houses farther to the north, three more were built by William Smith. Number 112 Lake View still retains its unusual porch configuration, although the porch roof has been removed. The next and rather modest house at Number 120 belonged to William H. Ward, a brass founder working in Boston. In contrast to the more stylish carriage houses on the block, Ward had a rustic barn with a natural shingled exterior; it still stands, in its original condition. Next door, at 128 Lake View, Smith built a new house for himself, one that reflected his growing prosperity. Located on a large lot (where the pond used to be), it is even more ornate than his earlier house, with Queen Anne features such as patterned shingles and protruding gables, bays, and, in the end gables, hoods with elaborate brackets (Figures 7 and 8). He also had a large carriage house, since replaced by a thriving vegetable garden.*

*Across the street are two more of Smith's houses, at 97 and 107 Lake View. Edward Chapin, a salesman in Boston, lived in the first, a simple frame house with bracket details. Like its neighbor next door, Number 107, it has been greatly simplified over the years, with front and side porches removed. Possibly built by a Scottish carpenter, John Kinnear, Number 107 still retains such decorative details as drip moldings and Eastlake-style brackets.*

*The Bromley Atlas of 1894 records a third stage in the development of the Lake View area (Map 5). Lake View Avenue itself, between Brattle Street and Huron Avenue, looks virtually as it did in 1886, but there have been significant changes in its surroundings. The street no longer has the visual link it once had with Fresh Pond, the Charles River, or the meadows to the west. Lower Lake View has become more built up; there are now twelve buildings between Huron Avenue and Fresh Pond. Lexington Avenue is no longer open space. Development of the lots on its east side is well under way, with ten houses and a new fire station between Brattle Street and Huron Avenue. Fayerweather Street*

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*has changed slightly, with the addition of a house at the corner of Brattle. The view toward the Charles River has been obscured by the development of the Traill Street area.*

*The year 1894 also saw the end of public transit on Brattle Street. Cambridge's horsecar lines were being electrified, but Brattle Street residents rebelled against having trolley cars on their street. As a result the new trolley lines were located on nearby Huron Avenue and Mount Auburn Street.*

*As for architecture, the last house and carriage house of this era were built later in 1894 at 47 Lake View, diagonally across the street from William Irving, the baker (Figure 9). The house, with its large gambrel roof, was designed by the architectural firm of J. T. and H. G. Smith and built by John Nesbit. Uniquely for Lake View Avenue, it faced toward the south and the Charles River rather than toward the street. The architects incorporated many colonial details into their design including a Palladian window, corner pilasters, and an ornate trumpet-cornice. Both the house and the carriage house were of an imposing nature and were intended to impress. In fact, they did. Irving was so impressed that he remodeled his own house at Number 58, taking off the mansard roof and replacing it by one*

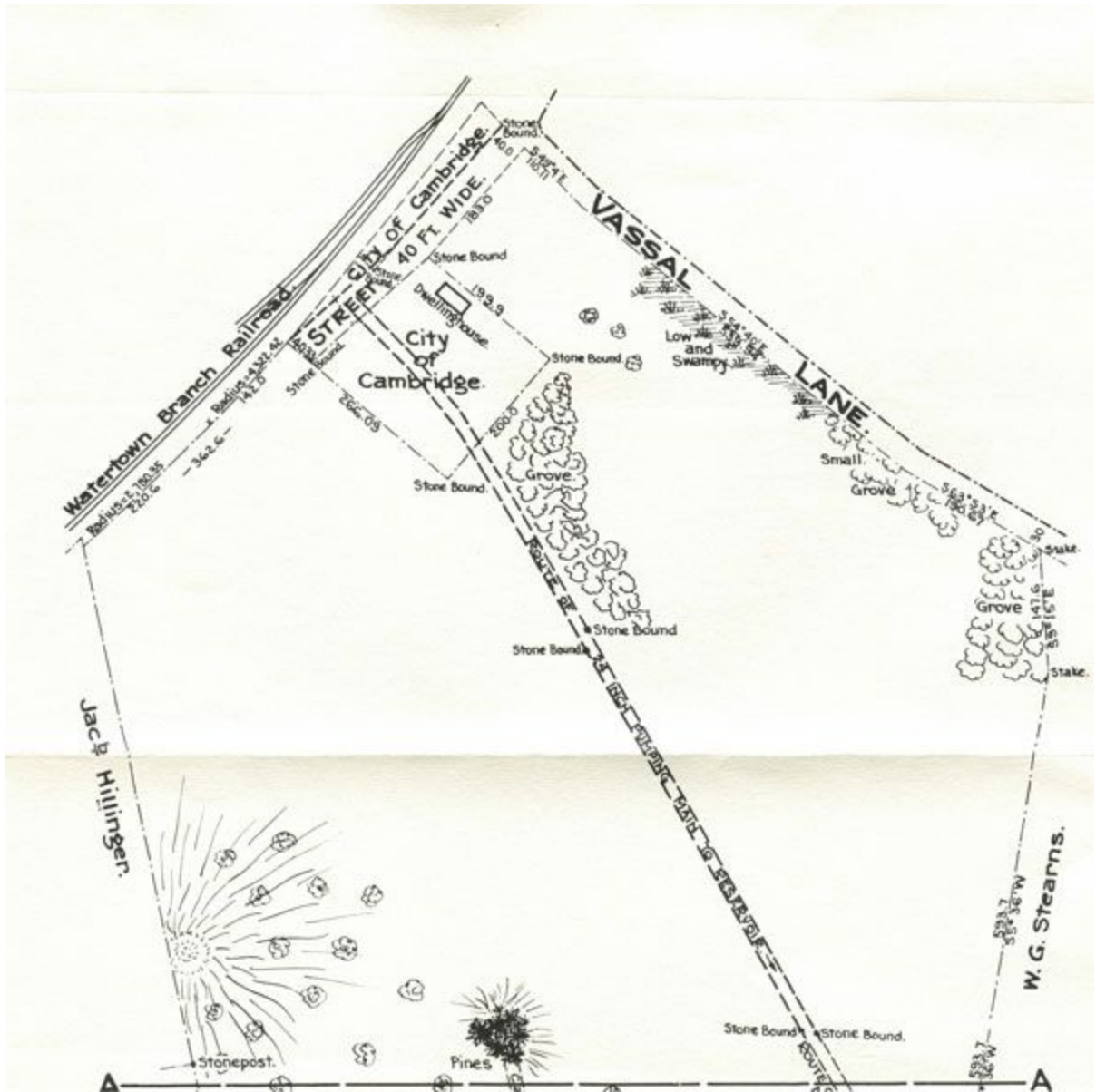
*similar to that across the street and incorporating many of the same or similar details (Figure 10). By 1894, also, the Coolidge farmhouse had grown to its present proportions and the orientation had been changed from Brattle Street to Lake View Avenue, with a side entrance.*

*Thus, by 1894, just twenty-four years after Josiah Coolidge sold his farm for development, Lake View Avenue had achieved a definite, lasting pattern. Seventy-five years later, in 1979, that pattern was still clearly visible.*

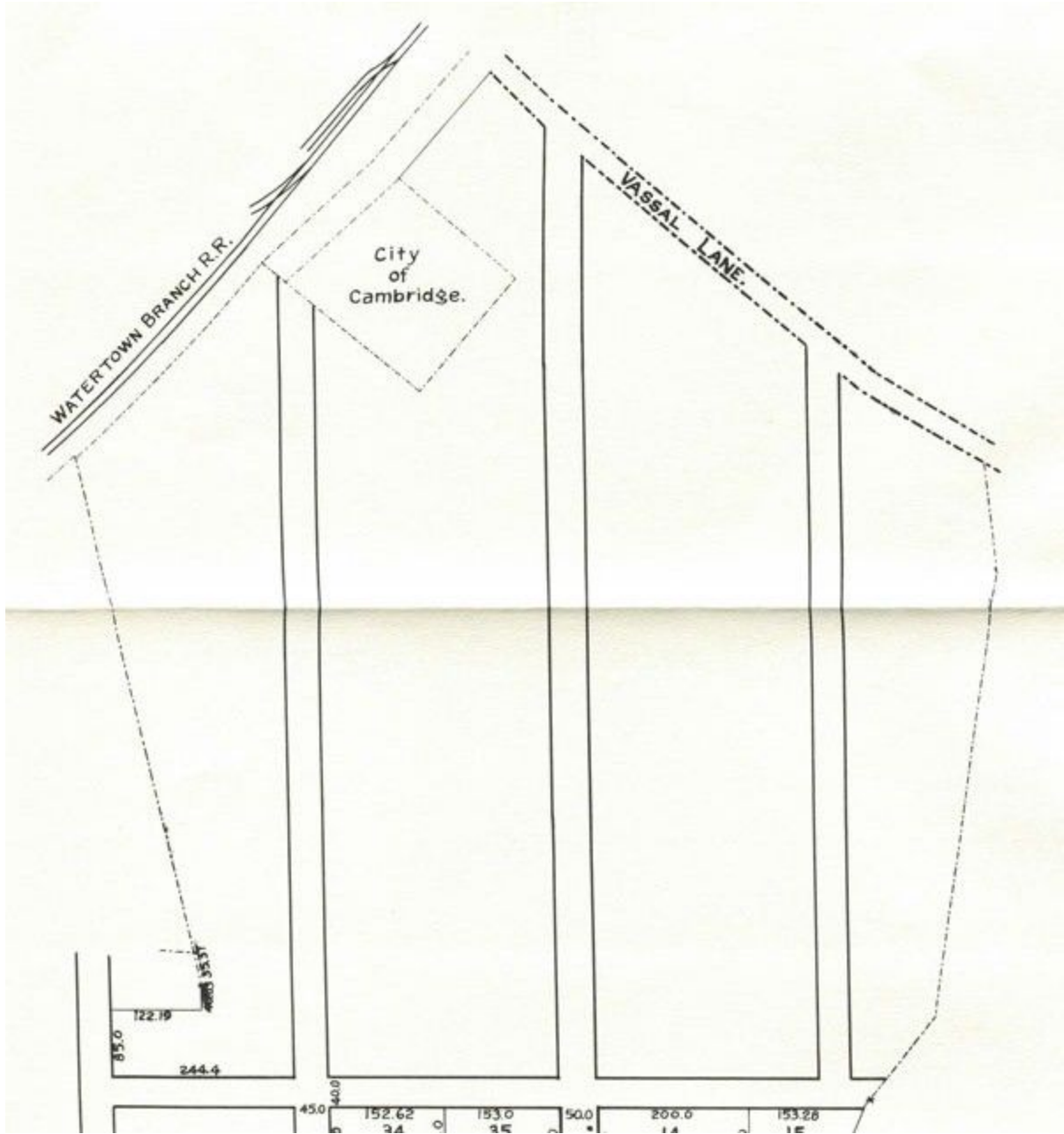
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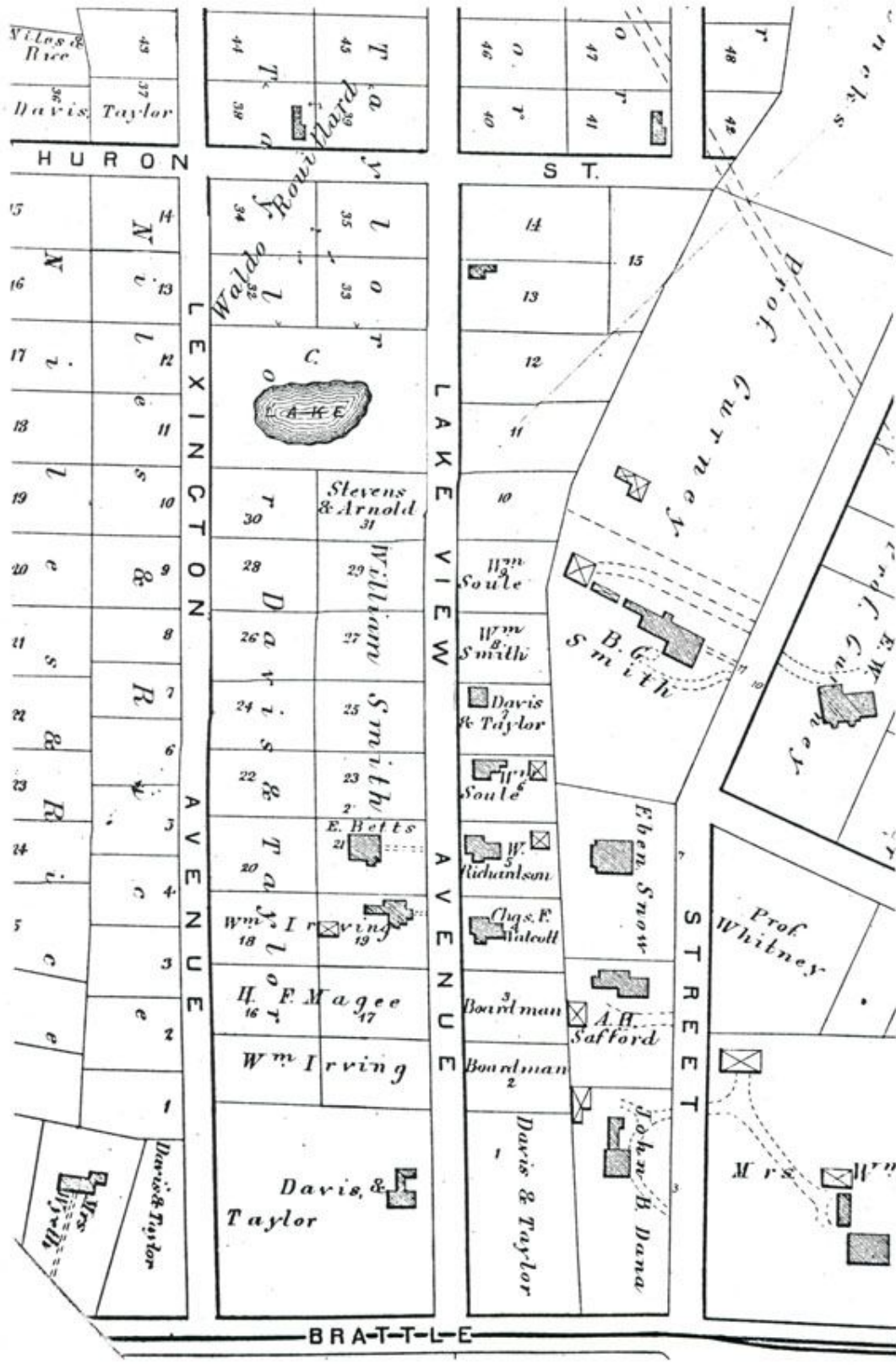
*Boston and Cambridge city directories, 1872-1900.*

*Bromley, George W. Atlas of the City of Cambridge. Philadelphia, 1894 and 1903.*









Map 3. LAKE VIEW AVENUE AREA IN 1873. (Detail from Hopkins Atlas of 1873)



Map 4. LAKE VIEW AVENUE AREA IN 1886. (Detail from Hopkins Atlas of 1886)







Figure 1. COOLIDGE FARMHOUSE (1847), NOW 12 LAKE VIEW AVENUE



Figure 2. CARRIAGE HOUSE AT 68 LAKE VIEW AVENUE



Figure 3. 77 LAKE VIEW AVENUE



Figure 4. 87 LAKE VIEW AVENUE



Figure 5. 94 LAKE VIEW AVENUE



Figure 6. 78 LAKE VIEW AVENUE



Figure 7. 128 LAKE VIEW AVENUE



Figure 8. SOUTH GABLE OF 128 LAKE VIEW AVENUE



Figure 9. 47 LAKE VIEW AVENUE



Figure 10. 58 LAKE VIEW AVENUE, AS  
REMODELED CA. 1894

**Cambridge. Assessors Office. Assessment records, 1870-1894.**

**-----, Building Department. Building permits, 1886-1900.**

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## *Putting the Past in Place: The Making of Mount Auburn Cemetery*

BY BLANCHE LINDEN-WARD

**When in 1831 a group of prominent New Englanders created Mount Auburn Cemetery, four miles west of Boston, they did more than institute burial reform to solve suspected public health problems. They created a complex landscape of history that defined their past in three ways: in terms of family or kinship as a "cult of ancestors"; through commemoration of individuals or heroes in whom the region and the nation could take pride; and through symbolic art and architecture, an aesthetic historicism. Initially, neoclassicism and forms borrowed indirectly from the pastoral English garden provided an idiom for the innovative cemetery that would prove a model for similar institutions and landscapes created outside of city after city, large and small, across antebellum America.**

**New Englanders led Americans in efforts to create a usable past through the arts. Merchants of the region imported cosmopolitan tastes along with material goods, and Boston became a major port of entry for both following the Revolution. Americans bristled when British critics, especially those of the Edinburgh Review, asserted that their political**

*system "must come to a speedy end, and the people be left in a deplorable state of mental and moral degradation" precisely because there was no evidence of a long history and high civilization. The British maintained that only a "gradation of ranks, hereditary titles and wealth, and a church*

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*establishment" could save the new nation. Americans rejected these ideas, but they recognized the stabilizing influence of material commemoration in the form of monuments. When the United States survived the War of 1812 intact, the era of monument building began. A new, secure generation of Americans celebrated the semicentennial and mourned the passing of the last of the major Founding Fathers in 1826. In Boston, the spirit of the past was distinctly in the air.<sup>1</sup>*

*In an 1816 address at Harvard, Jacob Bigelow, a young Boston physician newly appointed to a professorship at Harvard's Medical College, proclaimed the uses and importance of recognizing and preserving the memory of great Americans. Commemoration would attract "the honorable notice of foreigners" and reflect "lustre upon the country of their birth." Failure to perpetuate the memory of such individuals made the country seem weak and insubstantial. Daniel Webster came to a similar conclusion. In his address on the 1820 bicentennial of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth he declared that "a moral and philosophical respect for our ancestors . . . elevates the character and improves the heart." And at the cornerstone laying of the Bunker Hill Monument in 1825 he exhorted his audience to "cherish every memorial of [their] worthy ancestors."<sup>2</sup> The creation of commemorative monuments would instill a sense of social continuity precisely at a time when Webster and members of his generation feared the consequences of its absence. The age seemed too turbulent and socially chaotic. Would-be Whigs feared democratic excesses in a nation that had yet to withstand the test of time.*

*Another Bostonian, William Tudor, considered that one way to objectify a common past was through creation of alternative burial*

*1. Neil Harris, *The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790-1860* (New York, 1966), pp. 102, 152; Fred Lewis Pattee, *The First Century of American Literature, 1770-1870* (New York, 1935), pp. 268-69.*

*2. Jacob Bigelow, *Inaugural Address Delivered in the Chapel of the University at Cambridge, December 11, 1816* (Boston, 1817); also reprinted in *North American Review* 4 (Jan. 1817): 271-83; *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster, I* (Boston, 1903), 182, 236. Webster's Bunker Hill address, published in Boston in 1825, went into four editions in that year alone.*

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*landscapes to replace the crowded, neglected graveyards that dated from the colonial period and characteristically had a "desolate look of abandonment." As Tudor saw it,*

*A reform in our cemeteries would be honourable to public feeling. An ample piece of ground selected in the vicinity of large towns . . . should be devoted to this purpose. It would be easy,*

*without great expense, to give the walls and entrance an appropriate appearance. The cypress, the willow, and other funeral trees, would form suitable ornaments within. A sufficient space might be allowed to different families to decorate as they choose, and where their remains would repose for ages untouched. . . . Such a cemetery would be an interesting spot to visit.*<sup>3</sup>

*Writing in 1820, Tudor set the tone and described the form that would reappear in pronouncements of other advocates of material commemoration and burial reform through the decade. Both Tudor and Bigelow knew of Wordsworth's advocacy of pastoral cemeteries through their frequent readings of the romantic poet at the Anthology Club.*

*Bostonians did not need foreign critics to tell them that problems existed with their traditional burial places. In the city, their graveyards were nearly filled to capacity, and no new space was available. Urban land values increased dramatically in the first two decades of the century, leading many townsmen to speculate about wasted space taken by old graveyards. The town received authority to regulate burials within its limits in 1810; and the following year, officials ordered disinterment of some old remains in crowded graveyards dating from the seventeenth century. Public outcry prevented the action, but many citizens were so offended by the idea that the incident was not easily forgotten. Some townsmen even used it as justification for their opposition to incorporation of Boston as a city in 1822.*<sup>4</sup>

*Still, Boston burial grounds proved increasingly problematic. Many prominent physicians held that miasmas or foul air—espe-*

3. [William Tudor], "On Certain Funeral Ceremonies," in *Letters on the Eastern States* (New York, 1820), p. 17.

4. Blanche M. G. Linden, "Death and the Garden: The Cult of the Melancholy and the 'Rural' Cemetery" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1981), ch. 5.

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*cially that emanating from graves—engendered disease like the epidemics of yellow fever that ravaged Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore in 1819 and 1822. Major controversy over new as well as old practices occurred in 1823 when the prosperous congregations of St. Paul's Episcopal Church and the neighboring Congregational Park Street Church received permission from the city council to erect tombs in their basements. Despite testimony by eight local physicians that tomb burials would not endanger public health, intense controversy raged in the local press through the summer. The opposition to church crypts used arguments of anti-elitism and the Puritan tradition of disassociating burials from proximity to churches.*<sup>5</sup>

*In the midst of the 1823 burial controversy, Dr. John Gorham Coffin published his tract, *Remarks on the Dangers and Duties of Sepulture; or, Security for the Living, with Respect and Repose for the Dead*, signing it merely "A Fellow of the Massachusetts Medical Society." Coffin presented lengthy arguments, based on the miasma theory of disease causation and European experience, against any urban burials and suggested instead an extramural cemetery modeled on the one established at New Haven in 1796 by James Hillhouse. Coffin felt that "a cemetery like this, in our vicinity, would probably prevent the inducement to bury any longer in our city and churches, and prepare the way for a removal of the contents of those tombs, which are already sending forth no equivocal admonitions into some of our*

*temples." Coffin suggested selection of a suburban location where sufficient space could be found to permit burials in single graves for the safe decomposition of bodies. He desired burials like that of Aristides in a field, that of Homer on the seashore, or that of Lysander on a rural plain.<sup>6</sup>*

5. "Sacred Ground," *New England Galaxy*, Jan. 31, 1823.

6. *Remarks on the Dangers and Duties of Sepulture* (Boston, 1823), pp. 61, 64-65, 72. This pamphlet has been erroneously attributed to Dr. Jacob Bigelow in the Harvard Medical School's Countway Library and elsewhere. A close reading, however, offers evidence that, based on Bigelow's life, the authorship could not have been his. Richard Wolfe of the Rare Books Room of the Countway Library offered valuable suggestions leading to identification of the true author, as affirmed by Joseph T. Buckingham in the *New England Galaxy*, July 4 and 11, 1823.

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*Mayor Josiah Quincy, by that time, had espoused the new cause. On taking office in July of 1823, Quincy created and headed a commission to consider prohibition of any further burials within Boston and the provision of "some common place of burial for all the inhabitants . . . beyond the limits of the City." A new sort of cemetery could also provide a symbolic center for the community. "There let all classes meet together, and let a common interest in the place be fortified and perpetuated by the sympathies and affections common to all." Although the mayor wanted to form a second commission to choose an actual site, his administration became preoccupied with other issues.<sup>7</sup>*

*The burial controversy of 1823 spurred other Bostonians to speculate on the form and location for an extramural cemetery. One anonymous letter to the editor of the *Columbian Centinel* proposed a lofty pair of hills in South Boston for making a "Field of Repose, as that of Pere la chaise at Paris." The author, who signed himself merely "A Traveller," wrote,*

*When we should behold from afar, a lofty column or the more humble testimony of affectionate remembrance, a white stone, reared amidst waving willows, often would our feet thither turn, with mournful satisfaction. . . . We should then pass some of our most pleasant and improving hours in "converse with the departed." . . . Such a spot, would teach us effectually the lesson of our own mortality; and that, from those we love, even death itself cannot separate us. When we saw the last rays of the setting sun illumine the summits of these beautiful hills, the recollection that there was laid in peace the remains of a dear husband, or wife, or child, would assuage our grief.*

*Site itself would prove symbolic. Hills or mounts had been considered sacred by the ancient Greeks and Romans. Positioned west of the city, towards the setting sun, such a cemetery would represent romantic notions about death and appeal to the mentality of the times, attuned to symbolism and the cult of the melancholy. Furthermore, "A Traveller" suggested to Bostonians that a new*

7. Josiah Quincy, *A Municipal History of the Town and City of Boston During Two Centuries* (Boston, 1852), pp. 96-100; "City Council: Burial of the Dead," *Columbian Centinel*, Aug. 6, 1823, p. 2. The City of Boston did not establish an extramural municipal cemetery until 1849.

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*cemetery planted with trees and flowers, and decorated with marble monuments, in contrast to the appearance of their old graveyards, would become an important local amenity. It would attract the admiration of visitors and indicate to them the virtues, taste, and prosperity of its citizens. He noted that all visitors to New Haven automatically visited the New Burying Ground (later named the Grove Street Cemetery); and that no one went to Paris without seeing Pere Lachaise.*<sup>8</sup>

*Although Mayor Quincy's initiative had flagged, Bostonians, as Alexis de Tocqueville observed, knew how to solve problems and found new institutions through voluntary association. In November of 1825, Dr. Bigelow invited about a dozen prominent local citizens to his home to propose that they create an ornamental cemetery within the distance of an easy carriage ride from the city. Judge Joseph Story, General Henry A. S. Dearborn, John Lowell, Edward Everett, John Tappan, and others present readily agreed with Bigelow's suggestion that such a cemetery be "composed of family burial lots, separated and interspersed with trees, shrubs, and flowers, in a wood or landscape garden." Nathan Hale, who had been a Yale classmate of James Hillhouse, undoubtedly was familiar with New Haven's New Burying Ground and recommended a similar project for Boston. Yet Bigelow's advocacy of a site shaped by landscape gardening implies reference to Pere Lachaise Cemetery or to the prevalent placement of tombs, monuments, and cenotaphs in the pastoral settings of English gardens.*<sup>9</sup>

*Although everyone at Bigelow's meeting enthusiastically agreed with the cemetery proposal, the project languished for the next five years. Bigelow, Tappan, and George Bond could not locate a proper site, although they considered estates in Brookline and elsewhere west of the city. Bigelow became preoccupied with publishing his *Elements of Technology* (1829) and with other civic*

8. "Interment of the Dead," *Columbian Centinel*, Aug. 2, 1823, p. 2.

9. George E. Ellis, *Memoir of Jacob Bigelow, M.D., LL.D.* (Cambridge, 1880), p. 54; Jacob Bigelow, *A History of the Cemetery of Mount Auburn* (Boston and Cambridge, 1860), pp. 2-3.

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*ventures such as helping to found the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.*

*Nevertheless, Bigelow continued to speak publicly on burial reform in terms similar to those used by Dr. Coffin. In an address at the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge, he decried new burial practices that would arrest decay, a prospect he found "revolting." The dead, in his view, should be "committed to the earth under the open sky, to become early and peacefully blended with their original dust." Such certainly was not the case either in the new church crypts or in the old graveyards of Boston. Bigelow argued in favor of naturalistic burial as much in terms of changing sensibilities, romantic notions of death, and aesthetics as of public health. Burials, he said, "should take place peacefully, silently, separately, in the retired valley or the sequestered wood." Travelers and mourners alike would be drawn by the place where "the scenes which, under most other circumstances,*



*are repulsive and disgusting, are, by the joint influence of nature and art, rendered beautiful, attractive, and consoling. . . . When the hand of taste shall have scattered among the trees . . . enduring memorials of marble and granite, a landscape of the most picturesque character will be created."*<sup>10</sup> No longer would burials be marked by the grim, gray slate slabs symbolic of pessimistic Puritanism. Most prominent New Englanders in the 1820s and 1830s subscribed to a more liberal theology, even if they did not formally identify themselves as Unitarians. They also were eager to apply art and architecture within the context of nature in order to create a usable past for themselves, their families, their city, their region, and their nation.

*Many Bostonians worked towards these ends. Bigelow and Dearborn brought an aesthetic historicism to their work together on the Bunker Hill Monument Association. The creation of a repository of the wisdom and culture of the past was also the purpose*

10. Jacob Bigelow, "On the Burial of the Dead, and Mount Auburn Cemetery," in his *Modern Inquiries: Classical, Professional, and Miscellaneous* (Boston, 1867), pp. 119-21, 132-36.

*of the new Boston Athenaeum. George Watson Brimmer worked to make the latter institution the one place in Boston with works of art on display. The local elite strove to rid their city of provincialism, to make it as cosmopolitan as New York or even Paris. The creation of a new cemetery would also serve these ends.*

*In the late 1820s, George Brimmer purchased a large, old estate on the Cambridge-Watertown boundary near the point where the old "Tory Row" or Brattle Street ran into the main road between the two towns. It was a seventy-two-acre parcel of rolling land called Stone's Wood. Since the beginning of the century, Harvard students had referred to it as "Sweet Auburn," after the pastoral place described by Oliver Goldsmith in his poem "The Deserted Village" (1770). Bigelow and Brimmer had spent considerable time strolling through the old estate in their student days, as had Charles Francis Adams, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and other prominent figures. Brimmer said he bought the land primarily "to prevent the destruction of the trees and to preserve so beautiful a spot for some public or appropriate use." In 1830 he offered to provide the site at cost for the creation of a cemetery such as that proposed by Bigelow.<sup>11</sup>*

*The natural qualities of the land well suited it for the ideal landscape achieved only by extensive artifice in the English garden. It contained several acres of "wild-wood," separated by lawns that were actually wet-lands and shallow, rambling ponds. A glacial moraine crossed the property, which was also diversified by dells, bosks, copses, clearings, hills, and a mount arising 125 feet above the Charles River, commanding a panoramic view of Boston, its harbor, and the surrounding countryside.*

*Officers of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society immediately agreed to take the cemetery project under their auspices. After all,*

11. *Massachusetts Horticultural Society Transactions* [hereafter cited as *MHS Transactions*], 1832, pp. 60-61; Bigelow, *History*, p. 15; David B. Chase, "The Beginnings of the Landscape Tradition in America," *Historic Preservation* 25 (Jan.-Mar. 1973): 41; Albert Emerson Benson, *History of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society* (Norwood, Mass., 1929), p. 37; Ellis, *Memoir*, p. 64.

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*Bigelow was corresponding secretary and Dearborn the president of the society, founded in 1829. All the horticulturists asked was that a small piece of "Sweet Auburn" be reserved for an experimental garden where they could work on perfection of American plant materials, vegetables as well as ornamental and fruit-bearing trees and shrubs.<sup>12</sup>*

*Formal planning of the joint venture got underway in November of 1830. A committee of twenty leading Bostonians—including Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, Abbott Lawrence, and Charles Lowell—lent the prestige of their names and helped circulate subscription papers to persuade at least one hundred individuals to put forward sixty dollars apiece to defray the cost of the land and to reserve for each contributor his own 300-square-foot family burial lot. Cemetery promoters assured subscribers that they were committing themselves only for the price of the lot. Site location would be either assigned or determined by choice of the proprietor after payment of a premium. In June of 1831, the Massachusetts General Court passed legislation permitting the Horticultural Society to create a combined cemetery and experimental garden under the name of Mount Auburn, chosen by Jacob Bigelow with the advice of Edward Everett. Dearborn, Bigelow, and Brimmer formed a special committee to determine the design of the landscape; but first, they felt it proper to hold consecration services, despite their insistence that the cemetery would remain nondenominational.<sup>13</sup>*

*On September 24, 1831, a clear, early autumn day, more than two thousand people gathered in a natural amphitheater carved in the terrain in the middle of Mount Auburn. Unitarian ministers*

*12. Bigelow, author of *Florula Bostoniensis*, was not at all hostile to this project. Small portions of the garden were actually planted, and the Garden and Cemetery Committee hired a gardener. Yet horticulturists in no way began to realize their goal of creating a place to see what plants "could be naturalized to the soil and climate of New England." Henry A. S. Dearborn, "Cemetery and Garden Committee Report," in *MHS Transactions*, 1831, p. 48, and in his "Historical Sketch of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society," *Transactions*, 1847-51, pp. 69-70.*

*13. Dearborn, "Historical Sketch," p. 68; Ellis, *Memoir*, p. 73.*

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*Henry Ware, Sr., and John Pierpont offered prayers and verses, interspersed with singing and music from the Boston Band. Associate Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story delivered the consecration address, restating the didactic purposes of the project: "Our Cemeteries rightly selected, and properly arranged, may be made subservient to some of the highest purposes of religion and human duty. They may preach lessons, to which none may refuse to listen, and which all, that live, must hear." He described the cemetery as a pastoral asylum in contrast to the city beyond:*

*All around us there breathes a solemn calm, as if we were in the bosom of a wilderness, broken only by the breeze as it murmurs through the tops of the forest. . . . Ascend but a few steps, and what a change of scenery to surprise and delight us. . . . Below us flows the winding Charles . . . like the stream of time hastening to the ocean of eternity. In the distance, the City,—at once the*

*object of our admiration and our love,—rears its proud eminences, its glittering spires, its lofty towers, ... its curling smoke, its crowded haunts of business and pleasure.*

*Story recognized the creation of the new cemetery as a response to new notions of death that led to rejection of the crowded burial grounds in cities with their "painful associations." At Mount Auburn, art and nature would combine to "cast a cheerful light over the darkness of the grave." Moreover, Story concluded, the cemetery would represent a community in which rich and poor were buried next to those "who have died in the cause of their country."<sup>14</sup>*

*General Dearborn proved a leading force in the publicizing, rationalizing, and planning of Mount Auburn in its first three years. He stressed the commemorative functions of such a "public place of sepulture, where monuments can be erected to our illustrious men, whose remains, thus far, have unfortunately been consigned to obscure and isolated tombs, instead of being collected within one common depository, where their great deeds might be perpetuated, and their memories cherished by succeeding genera-*

14. Joseph Story, *An Address Delivered on the Dedication of the Cemetery at Mount Auburn, September 24, 1831* (Boston, 1831), pp. 13, 16, 17, 19, 21; also in *The Picturesque Pocket Companion and Visitors Guide through Mount Auburn* (Boston, 1839), pp. 74, 77-79, 80, 82; William Wetmore Story, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story, II* (Boston, 1851), 65, 67.

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*tions." He agreed with Story that old messages of memento mori on grim, colonial gravestones no longer imparted useful lessons to the living. Dearborn also knew that even the bones of the heroes of the Revolution, such as those of General Joseph Warren, had been lost in unmarked tombs in the old burying grounds. He wanted to create new material forms to serve as "eternal admonitors of the living,—teaching them the way which leads to national glory and individual celebrity." Dearborn predicted that Mount Auburn would "afford the means of paying a tribute of respect. . . to the names and memory of great and good men, whenever or wherever they have died/' He anticipated that the place would "gradually become the honorary mausoleum for the distinguished sons of Massachusetts."<sup>15</sup> It would become a place of history, America's Westminster Abbey. Precisely because such a place did not exist in New England or elsewhere in the young nation, one had to be invented and presented as a model for emulation.*

*Dearborn played upon neoclassical tastes of his times to gain support for Mount Auburn. He equated the new cemetery with the Elysian Fields where the ancient Greeks "supposed the souls of the virtuous and illustrious retired after death, and roamed through bowers, forever green, and over meadows spangled with flowers, and refreshed by perennial streams." Like the Ceramicus outside of Athens, it would contain "tombs and statues" of national heroes so as to "render them familiar to all, to animate every citizen to a love of virtue and of glory, and to excite in youthful minds, an ardent desire of imitating those celebrated worthies." The wooded Ceramicus served as "a public promenade," where Plato established his Academy and teachers "met their disciples and held assemblies for philosophical conference and instruction." Dearborn anticipated that the new cemetery, located so near Harvard College, would serve as a latter-day Ceramicus.<sup>16</sup>*

*Similarly, Alexander Everett, close friend of Jacob Bigelow and*

15. Dearborn, "Historical Sketch," pp. 68-74. Also see Richard Frothingham, *Life and Times of Joseph Warren*(Boston, 1865), pp. 524-25.

16. Dearborn, "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society," *New England Farmer* 9 (June 22, 1831): 385-87; also reprinted in his "Historical Sketch," pp. 71-72, and in *Picturesque Pocket Companion*, pp. 36-49.

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*brother of Edward Everett, cited classical precedents for Mount Auburn. He described it as "a public funeral ground . . . consecrated to the memory of the patriots and heroes of the Revolution" and to leaders of subsequent generations. As in ancient Greece, it would serve as catalyst for "high national spirit," "public virtue," and "fine arts worthy of a republic."17 Such functions of place were particularly important to New Englanders intent on fostering a cultural renaissance.*

*In addition to classical precedents, Pere Lachaise Cemetery, created outside of Paris in 1804, was a more recent example referred to by Mount Auburn's founders. In 1830, Zebedee Cook, Jr., vice president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, spoke for "a public cemetery, similar in its design to that... in the environs of Paris." Cook favored a picturesque landscape created by the "skill and taste of the architect. . . . Appropriate trees and plants should decorate its borders," with "the weeping willow waving its graceful drapery over the monumental marble." Dearborn was also confident that Mount Auburn would "rival the most celebrated rural burial grounds in Europe." While planning the new cemetery, he translated Marchant de Beaumont's description of Pere Lachaise, both for his own use and to whet the interest of other New Englanders in Mount Auburn.<sup>18</sup>*

*Although Bigelow had been one of the first theorists of American cemetery reform and had actually attempted to form a voluntary association to create such a new institution, Dearborn deserves prime credit for designing Mount Auburn's original landscape. He personally determined the location of roads and paths; and he was on the site to oversee realization of his design. Beginning in the fall of 1831, he worked daily at the cemetery, returning through three successive seasons when not busy in the legislature. Many witnesses described him, "hoe in hand, day after day . . . levelling and grading the walks" and helping a team of*

17. *MHS Transactions*, 1833, pp. 18-25.

18. *MHS Transactions*, 1830, pp. 27-28; Henry A. S. Dearborn, "The Cemetery of Pere La Chaise," *New England Farmer* 11 (Sept. 12, 1832): 65-68.

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*workers remove stumps and underbrush to create what the English would have termed a park. His eulogist, the Reverend George Putnam, said of Dearborn: "With an eye so keen to detect the beautiful, and a heart so warmly loving it, he knew how to make the most of every nook and dell, the tangled bog, the sandy level, the abrupt declivity, every tree and shrub and rock. In a word, he, after God, created Mount Auburn."<sup>19</sup>*

*The picturesque landscape of Mount Auburn and of its precedents, Pere Lachaise and English gardens, were based on the application of literary ideals and aesthetic theories to sites with varied topography. All that was needed for designing such a landscape was a familiarity with the literature and a sensitivity to the topography to which the "modern style of landscape gardening" was to be applied. Dearborn certainly had a good deal of practical expertise to help him implement the design principles he knew so well. He had had experience in surveying and civil engineering, and he had supervised construction of military fortifications. In addition, horticulture was his avocation and passion. In designing Mount Auburn, Dearborn wrote, he used*

*as a principle, the method pursued in England, in laying out the extensive ornamental plantations of forest trees, shrubs, and flowers. The chief object was to follow the natural features of the land in the . . . avenues and paths, and to run them as nearly level as possible by winding gradually and gracefully through the vales and obliquely over the hills, without any unnecessary . . . [bends or] sinuosities, and to accomplish this, ellip-*

19. George Putnam, *An Address, Delivered before the City Government and Citizens of Roxbury, on the Life and Character of the Late Henry A. S. Dearborn, Mayor of the City, September 3d, 1851* (Roxbury, 1851), p. 12. Dearborn transferred the outlines of his landscape design onto Mount Auburn's terrain before commissioning Alexander Wadsworth, a surveyor, to draw and engrave the "plan," meaning the map of the layout as it existed rather than a theoretical design for future use. Although Wadsworth provided technical assistance in surveying the grounds and providing an accurate map drawn to scale, he bore no responsibility for the actual design of Mount Auburn. The roles of Bigelow and Wadsworth are described in some detail in the manuscript book, "Records of Committees, Cemetery of Mount Auburn (November 3, 1831-January 12, 1835)" [hereafter cited as *Mount Auburn Records*], Office of Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Also see Linden, "Death and the Garden," pp. 440-42 and 587, n. 6.72.

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*tical curves were invariably used . . . instead of these stiff circular lines which are incompatible with elegance of form and a pleasing effect. This was a discovery of the Greeks; for all the mouldings in their architecture and the beautiful forms of their vases are profiles of the sections of a cone.*

*Dearborn knew and loved neoclassical form; he spent a good deal of his time writing and illustrating by hand a two-volume, folio-size "Treatise on Grecian Architecture," completed in 1828.*

*Bigelow and Brimmer served with Dearborn as a subcommittee charged by the Horticultural Society with the development of the cemetery. Brimmer's health had been progressively failing, however, and he resigned in 1832 to travel abroad, where he died in 1838. Bigelow made only minor contributions to the layout of the landscape, but his role in the formative years of the cemetery was major on the level of theory and architectural design.*

*In August of 1832, Bigelow presented his own Egyptian Revival design for a twenty-five-foot gateway, based on French archeological drawings of temples at Karnak and Thebes. Americans of his day looked to ancient Egypt along with classical Greece and Rome for architectural forms with which to fashion their public buildings as well as for metaphors for their new nation. Bostonians in particular had an intellectualized taste for the Egyptian, cultivated by a series of articles in the *North American Review* and the *American Quarterly Review* between 1823 and 1829. Many New Englanders made a point*

*of detouring through Egypt when traveling in Europe. One cemetery publicist in 1831 even traced the practice of "placing the tomb in the midst of the beauty and luxuriance of nature" to Egypt. Bigelow considered Egyptian architecture particularly appropriate for Mount Auburn, despite criticisms that it originated in the service of despotism and heathenism. Yet, in designing the gateway he was also careful to adapt iconographical detail—covering serpents' heads with lotus blossoms—so that it*

20. Letter from Dearborn, Jan. 18, 1842, in "Constitution, Reports, Addresses and Other Publications in Relation to the Massachusetts Horticultural Society and the Cemetery at Mount Auburn from 1829 to 1837," at the Society. His "Treatise on Grecian Architecture" is in the Rare Books Room, Boston Public Library.

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*would not offend New England sensibilities; intent on recreating Eden at Mount Auburn, Bigelow was loath to place a snake at the entrance. He carefully supervised construction of the original gate, built of wood painted and sanded to resemble stone, in 1832. The gate stood, along with a seven-foot-high fence of wooden paling, until 1843, when it was rebuilt in Quincy granite.<sup>21</sup>*

*Bigelow also submitted two models and drawings—one Grecian and one Norman Gothic—for a tower to crown the highest hill at the cemetery. Dearborn anticipated it would be "a prominent and imposing feature in the landscape, of which it becomes the centre," although he would have preferred "a stupendous monument, to the most illustrious benefactor of his country," George Washington.<sup>22</sup> Construction of the Norman tower, dedicated to the first president, did not begin, however, until 1852.*

*The founders of Mount Auburn planned to construct a third building on the grounds, a nonsectarian chapel for funeral services. Dearborn initially proposed a Doric temple to be located on one of the minor hills. Institutional difficulties and the Panic of 1837 delayed construction until the mid-1840s, after the taste for the Greek Revival had largely passed in the Boston area. Bigelow claims credit for the chapel's simple Gothic design, typical of many of the structures of the period, including Gore Hall, Harvard's*

21. Richard G. Carrott, *The Egyptian Revival: Its Sources, Monuments, and Meaning, 1808-1858* (Berkeley, Calif., 1978), pp. 87-88; Jacob Bigelow, *The Useful Arts Considered in Connexion with the Application of Science, I* (Boston, 1840), 57-58; "The Zodiac of Denderah," *North American Review* 17 (1823): 233-42; "Egyptian Architecture," *American Quarterly Review* 5 (1829): 13; William B. O. Peabody, "Mount Auburn Cemetery," *North American Review* 33 (1831): 401; Bigelow, *History*, p. 26; letter from Bigelow to Dearborn, Jan. 13, 1833, in the Rare Books Room, Boston Public Library; Mount Auburn Records. Bigelow's gate design was very similar to one by Alexander Jackson Davis, drawn in 1828 while staying at Bigelow's house in order to study architecture from books in the doctor's library and in the Athenaeum. Both Bigelow and Davis adapted their gate designs from an illustration in Dominique Vivant Denon, *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte pendant les campagnes du general Bonaparte* (Paris, 1802).

22. Henry A. S. Dearborn, "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society," *New England Farmer* 10 (Oct. 5, 1831): 90; Bigelow, *History*, pp. 16-17; Mount Auburn Records, June 23, 1832, p. 9; Cemetery and Garden Committee Report, *MHS Transactions*, 1831, p. 46.

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*library completed in 1841. Guidebooks described Mount Auburn's chapel as "a Westminster Abbey, Pantheon, or Valhalla, to contain statues, busts, and monuments of distinguished men." Bigelow insisted that it was the original intention of the cemetery founders that the chapel serve as a place of display for commemorative art, a sort of historical museum.*<sup>23</sup>

*Through its first two decades, Mount Auburn's landscape remained woody and picturesque. New trees were planted, and existing groves matured to create a heavy, green backdrop for the occasional monuments centered on family lots. New Englanders realized that taste as well as architectural style was symbolic. One guidebook to the cemetery reminded proprietors that "costly and highly decorative monuments and sculpture that may be seen in some of the cemeteries of Europe are not fit subjects for our imitation." While Bostonians may have emulated the landscape of Pere Lachaise, they were determined to have none of the monumental ostentation that quickly cluttered and obliterated the original pastoralism of the Parisian cemetery. At least through the 1840s, they clung to a tradition of aesthetic moderation rooted in regional character.*<sup>24</sup>

*The size of Mount Auburn prevented crowding of monuments for the first decades. In 1832, purchases of additional parcels of land increased the size of the cemetery to 110 acres. Furthermore, Bigelow actively encouraged simple, earthen burial; and Dearborn discouraged the building of mausoleums and vaults. Nevertheless, some Americans borrowed the traditional disfavor of the English elite for earthen burial and constructed subterranean tombs not evident from the surface of the cemetery.*<sup>25</sup>

23. MHS Transactions, 1831, p. 46; "Proceedings" in *New England Farmer*, as in n. 22, above; Sir Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America, I* (London, 1849), 171; "Proprietors' and Trustees' Records," MS. minute books in the office of Mount Auburn Cemetery, vol. 1 (Apr. 21, 1835-Oct. 2, 1853), pp. 99-100, 102, and vol. 2 (Oct. 9, 1853-Feb. 7, 1859), p. 85.

24. Wilson Flagg, *Mount Auburn: Its Scenes, Its Beauties, and Its Lessons* (Boston, 1861), p. 230. See also Frederic A. Sharf, "The Garden Cemetery and American Sculpture: Mount Auburn," *Art Quarterly* 24 (Spring 1961): 84.

25. "Mount Auburn Cemetery," *New England Farmer* 10 (Aug. 17, 1831): 38; Nicholas Penny, "The Commercial Garden Necropolis in the Early Nineteenth Century and Its Critics," *Garden History* 2 (Summer 1974): 61.

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*The Garden and Cemetery Committee of the Horticultural Society asserted that proprietors were free "to inclose their lots, or to leave them open, to erect costly monuments, or simple ones, or none,—to plant shrubs and flowers, or to leave the soil in a state of nature." No matter what individual lot owners did, it was obvious from the start that Mount Auburn would be quite different from any burying ground existing in America. Yet cemetery founders insisted on the regulation that no gravestones in the form of perpendicularly placed slate slabs be erected in the cemetery.*<sup>26</sup>*The shift from two- to three-dimensional stones paralleled the intellectual shift from orthodox dualism to a more modern perspective on the past and its commemoration.*

*The monuments erected at Mount Auburn in its first two decades tended to be variations on neoclassical architectural elements—steles, sarcophagi, broken columns, and stocky*

*obelisks fashioned of marble. Bigelow encouraged the placing of monuments on family lots as soon as possible, even if no actual burials had been made. He commissioned several designs for such stones from the architect Solomon Willard.<sup>27</sup> By the end of 1832, seven such monuments—including those of Bigelow and Story—were in place on the grounds. At the same time, proprietors placed fences of wrought or cast iron around their lots, a practice borrowed from some of the older burial grounds in which cattle were permitted to graze. At Mount Auburn, however, fences (and later the granite curbing of the second half of the century) symbolized family and property, aspects of the "domestication of death" that characterized the romantic period.*

*Through the first four years of Mount Auburn's existence, many proprietors proved indifferent if not hostile to the goals of the horticulturists, who, in turn, complained that proceeds from lot sales went to buy new burial land and to make "improvements" in the cemetery section rather than to develop the experimental gar-*

26. "Mount Auburn Cemetery," as in n. 25, above; Mount Auburn Records, October 1833, p. 16; "By-Laws," in Bigelow, *History*, p. 239.

27. Receipt from Solomon Willard in George Bond Correspondence, Rare Books Room, Boston Public Library; Mount Auburn Records, October 1833, p. 16.

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*den. Horticulturists worried that lot owners who had no interest in their activities and goals automatically received life memberships in their society.<sup>28</sup> The uneasy cooperation between the two groups—proponents of the garden and those of the cemetery— broke down when Dearborn resigned his position as president of the society in the fall of 1834.*

*Judge Joseph Story, whose legal career was characterized by persistent concern for property rights, headed the Garden and Cemetery Committee from 1832 through 1834. He was not an avid horticulturist like Dearborn or Bigelow; and he lent a sympathetic ear to proprietors' complaints that visitors with free access to Mount Auburn on foot, horseback, or in carriages at least disrupted the tranquility of the place and at worst perpetrated real damage. It seemed that a visit to the cemetery did not always have a moral and civilizing influence. Some lot owners worried that vandalism would go far beyond simple carved graffiti on trees and debris left by picknickers amid the tombs, to the feared body-snatching that occurred often in urban graveyards. Some potential lot purchasers told Story they would not take plots while such "indiscriminate admission" was given to visitors. When Story and his committee issued tickets to admit only proprietors in carriages, however, he incurred further hostility from some of the horticulturists and charges of elitism from the general public.<sup>29</sup>*

*But visitors found ways to circumvent the rules. In 1834 Story observed that "Mount Auburn has already become a place of general resort and interest, as well to strangers as to citizens." In order to regulate the "unusual concourses of people" that appeared on Sundays and to restore an atmosphere "of more seclusion, tranquility, and solemn religious feelings," Story's committee ruled to permit only proprietors to enter the grounds on the Sabbath; and it set sunrise and sunset as times for the opening and the locking of*



28. Letter from Brimmer to Dearborn, Dec. 9, 1830, Rare Books Room, Boston Public Library.

29. Joseph Story, "Report" (Sept. 1832), MHS Transactions, 1833, p. 47; Mount Auburn Records, Sept. 2, 1833, p. 15; July 19, 1834, p. 22; Oct. 27, 1834, p. 24.

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*the cemetery gates. Erroneous accusations appeared in the press that Mount Auburn was "a private speculation for the private benefit of the members" of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. Horticulturists, in turn, blamed the cemeterians for ignoring their interest, the development of the experimental garden.<sup>30</sup> By the end of Mount Auburn's third year, it became obvious to all concerned that the interests of the cemetery and the experimental garden were at odds and irreconcilable. Story negotiated a separation of the two institutions. On March 31, 1835, Story, Bigelow, and others received a new act of incorporation as the Proprietors of the Cemetery of Mount Auburn.*

*During the next century and a half of Mount Auburn's existence, the landscape was repeatedly changed by factors of taste and use, new notions of death and nature. Through its first two decades the cemetery remained pastoral and heavily wooded. By the 1850s, however, an accretion of monuments and more elaborate Victorian tastes transformed the original appearance of the grounds. Even the aesthetics of the picturesque became passé. In 1864, Bigelow, who succeeded Story as president of the corporation, declared that the "growth and gradual encroachment of forest trees during the last thirty years has been, by excluding the sunlight from the ground, a great and increasing evil." He and other trustees agreed to cut down about half of the existing plantings.<sup>31</sup>*

*By the 1860s, therefore, Mount Auburn was no longer called a "rural" cemetery; but rather, the terms "ornamental," "sculptured," or "garden" were increasingly used. Through most of the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the landscape appeared segmented by all sorts of lot divisions—ornate iron fences painted black or white, or heavy granite curbing. High Victorian garden furniture—arched arbors, urns, and settees—compounded the clutter of stones decorated with scrolls and carved flowers. Guidebooks and other publications encouraged proprietors to "improve"*

30. "Report of the Garden and Cemetery Committee," Sept. 17, 1834, MHS Transactions, 1834, pp. 26-29.

31. Annual Report of the Trustees of the Cemetery of Mount Auburn . . . January 1864 (Boston, 1864).

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*their family lots with elaborate flower beds, spreading vines, and other fixtures.<sup>32</sup> Only Jacob Bigelow seemed to remember the original goal of monumental commemoration in the name of the nation when he personally commissioned sculptor Martin Milmore to execute a sphinx in memory of the Union dead. Bigelow donated the sculpture to the cemetery shortly before his death in 1879.*

*The same Bostonians who created new land by filling in the Back Bay tinkered with topography at Mount Auburn during the 1860s and 1870s. Trustees decided to shorten some hills by as much as fifteen feet, to grade steep acclivities, to eliminate bogs with infill,*

*and to trim ponds to symmetrical shapes edged with granite in lieu of the wild, meandering sheets of shallow water that marked the original landscape. Only when almost every piece of the original cemetery had been divided and sold as lots was additional land added for burials.*

*Expansion of the cemetery beyond its 1835 boundaries as well as the applications of technology marked the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Tastes continued to change so that proprietors began to take down many of the fences that marked lot boundaries. They persuaded trustees to institute the "landscape lawn" plan in new sections of the cemetery by permitting only one major monument on each lot and by banning additional fences or curbing. By the end of the century, a newly professionalized cemetery superintendent had restored to Mount Auburn a landscape that would have been described as "the beautiful" in terms of eighteenth-century English landscape aesthetics.*

*Through the twentieth century, the presidents, trustees, and superintendents of Mount Auburn have struggled with problems of maintenance and preservation of landscape and structures in the face of increasing costs and natural deterioration, the toll of time and the elements. Today, remnants of the various periods of landscape change in the cemetery's history can be seen at Mount Auburn. New notions of death, the changing sociology of the region,*

*32. See, especially, the weekly newspaper, Mount Auburn Memorial, published from June 1859 to March 1861.*

*and a variety of taste cultures and periods can all be found in the material forms of landscape, structures, monuments, and plant materials. Above all, Mount Auburn remains a place of history.*

*The dawning of a national historical consciousness led to the creation of Mount Auburn Cemetery in 1831 as much as any other factor—public health, urbanism, religious liberalism, or the taste for high culture. New Englanders proved more concerned with the problem of the past than many other Americans during the antebellum period. Indeed, Mount Auburn was only one of many attempts to record or remember history during the period. It takes its place alongside the biographies of Jared Sparks and the multi-volume history of the United States by George Bancroft. Ralph Waldo Emerson began his 1836 essay "Nature" with the observation, "Our age is retrospective. It builds the sepulchres of the fathers." Mount Auburn Cemetery put the past in place to make history useful for family, city, region, and nation. Despite natural decay of elements of its physical landscape, the accretion of artifacts from several successive and distinct eras, and the applications of technology to meet the demands of new landscape aesthetics, Mount Auburn remains the historical repository, the asylum amid rampant urbanization, and the regional cultural institution intended by its founders in 1831.*

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been revised in the light of her subsequent research for *"Silent City on a Hill: The History of Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery."*

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#### ILLUSTRATIONS

**1. Map of Mount Auburn Cemetery in 1858.** *Since the opening in 1831 additional roads and paths had been added and the topography substantially altered. A horsecar line, inaugurated in 1856, now carried visitors to the entrance gate.*

**2. The Entrance to Mount Auburn Cemetery in 1847.** *The Egyptian Revival gate, designed by Dr. Jacob Bigelow, as it appeared after being reconstructed in Quincy granite. Only proprietors were permitted to enter the grounds with carriages, and a gatekeeper was on hand to inspect tickets of admission. Hitching posts were provided because of a ban on horseback riding in the cemetery.*

**3. Meadow Pond in 1847.** *In this engraving James Smillie captures the picturesque, naturally wooded landscape of Mount Auburn in its first two decades, before imposition of the taste for finely clipped turf, paved paths, neat curbing, and small stones marking each grave transformed the cemetery's appearance.*

**4. Consecration Dell.** *Perhaps more than any other place at Mount Auburn, this spot—the site of the inaugural ceremony of 1831 where Justice Story delivered his address—retains the feel of the original wooded, picturesque landscape. The neocolonial gravestones to the right, however, would not have been permitted under the original regulations.*

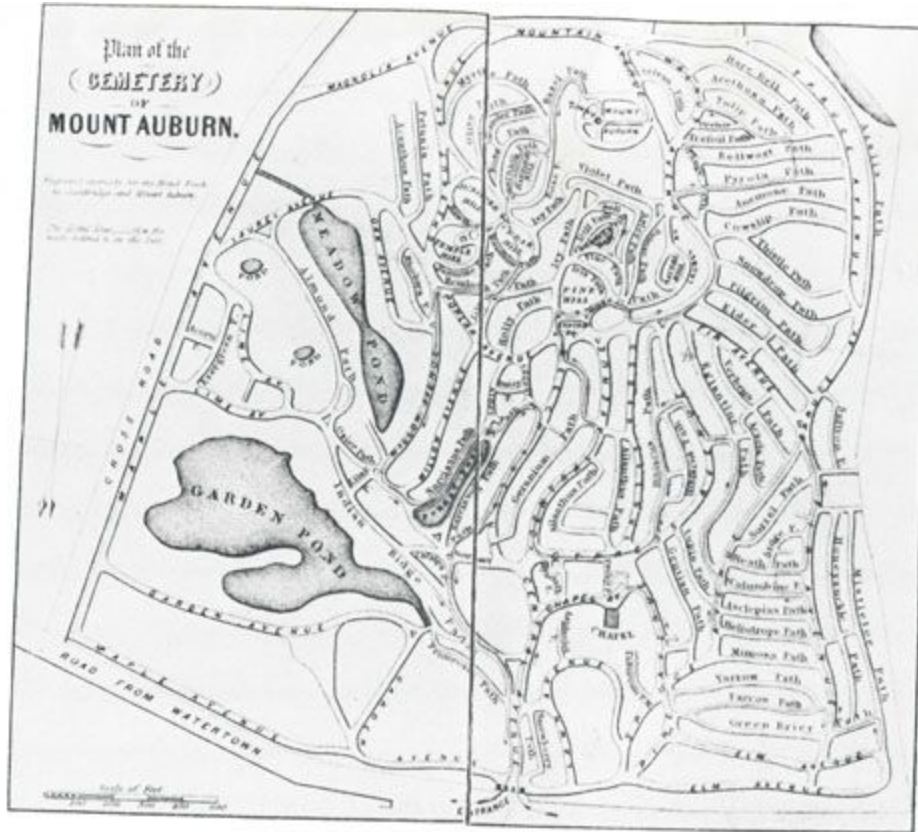
**5. Lowell Family Tomb Near Consecration Dell.** *Despite Bigelow's urging of the wisdom of earthen burial, many prominent families built tombs, often in the Egyptian style.*

**6. Bigelow Chapel.** *Designed by Dr. Jacob Bigelow and built in 1845, it was rebuilt to the same design in 1858. Elements of the picturesque landscape survive the proliferation of stones.*

**7. Halcyon Lake.** *The present lake was formerly part of the much larger Garden Pond that stretched across the northeastern corner of the cemetery. The flat area in the background was to have been the site of the experimental garden. Major monuments visible date from the early twentieth century. Recent maintenance has preserved aesthetics borrowed from the English garden.*

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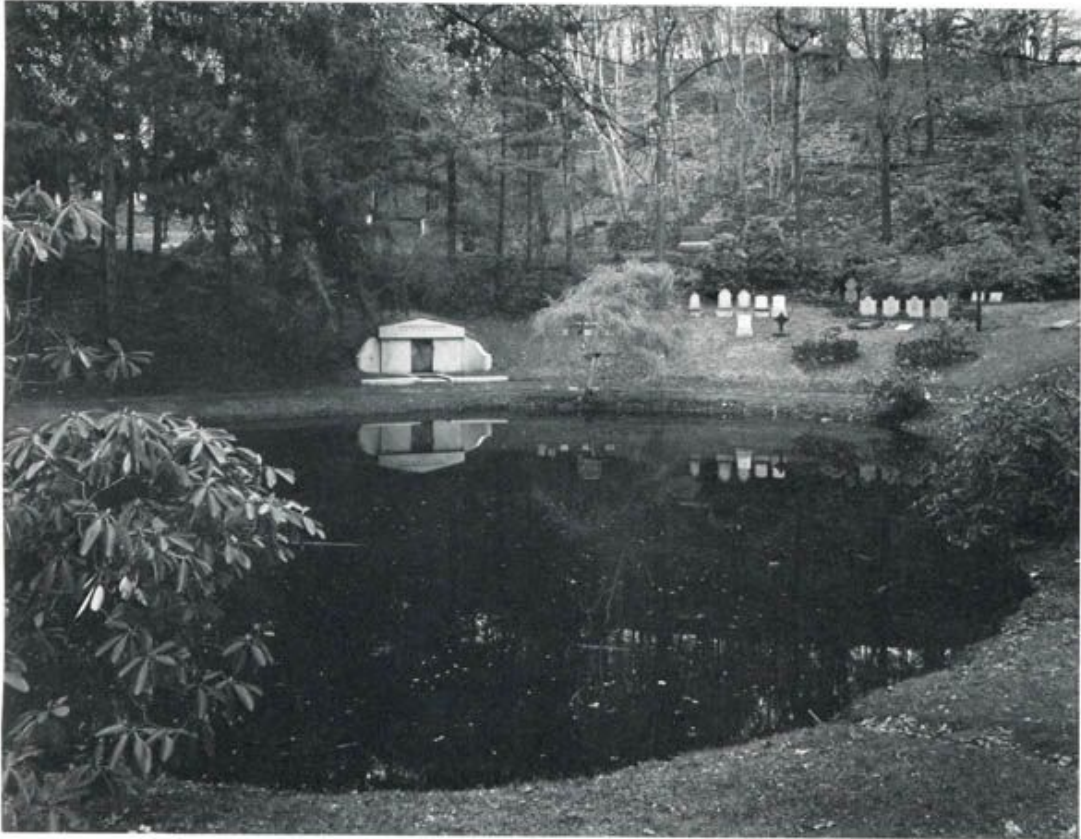
1. MAP OF MOUNT AUBURN CEMETERY IN 1858. (From *A Hand-Book for Passengers over the Cambridge Railroad*, 1858)



2. THE ENTRANCE TO MOUNT AUBURN CEMETERY IN 1847. (Engraving by James Smillie from Cornelia W. Walter, *Mount Auburn Illustrated*, 1847)



3. MEADOW POND IN 1847. (Engraving by James Smillie from Cornelia W. Walter, *Mount Auburn Illustrated*, 1847)



4. CONSECRATION DELL. (Alan Ward, 1978)



5. LOWELL FAMILY TOMB NEAR CONSECRATION DELL. (Alan Ward, 1978)



6. BIGELOW CHAPEL. (Alan Ward, 1978)



7. HALCYON LAKE. (Alan Ward, 1978)

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## *Other Papers or Presentations of 1976-1979*

*December 14, 1976.—An account by Robert P. Moncreiff of the work of the Cambridge Bicentennial Corporation, followed by a showing of its filmed record of the city's bicentennial pageant, "Washington Takes Command."*

*November 6, 1977.—G. B. Warden, "Treasures of Our Society." A slide lecture on the features and furnishings of the various rooms of the Hooper-Lee-Nichols House.*

*December 11, 1977.—Charles M. Sullivan, "East Cambridge Historical Insights." A slide lecture based on research findings of the Cambridge Historical Commission.*

*January 15, 1978.—David C. Dow, "Murder in Cambridge." Case histories from the work of two generations of County Medical Examiners.*

*February 26, 1978.—Joseph W. Chamberlain, "Gentleman Johnny Bur-goyne." On the Cambridge sojourn of the captive British general and his troops.*

*April 23, 1978.—Francis E. Wylie, "M.I.T. and Cambridge."*

*May 21, 1978.—Remarks by Rupert Lillie accompanying his presentation to the Society of his models of four Revolutionary houses on Brattle Street.*

*April 22, 1979.—A dramatic enactment, by Joanne Hamlin, of the life of Elizabeth Gary Agassiz, first president of Radcliffe College, from Doris Levi's *Belle of Radcliffe*.*

*June 3, 1979.—Garden meeting at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Randall Thompson, with informal remarks by Mr. Thompson about the house and about his music. November 18, 1979.—G. B. Warden, "Cambridge Firsts."*