

*The Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical Society, Volume 5, 1910*

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**PROCEEDINGS**  
**OF**  
**THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL**  
**SOCIETY**  
**THE SEVENTEENTH MEETING**

THE SEVENTEENTH MEETING of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-fifth day of January, nineteen hundred and ten, at a quarter before eight o' clock in the evening, in the building of the Cambridge Latin School, Trowbridge Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Upon the subject for the meeting WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD read the following paper:

**CERTAIN DEFECTS IN THE**  
**PUBLICATIONS OF**  
**HISTORICAL SOCIETIES**

IT was with deliberation that I selected my subject for this evening. The virtues of historical societies require no description or catalogue; it is the fault of the society if they are not apparent and known. Advertising consists in exposing the good points of the article advertised; and whether it be in the form of a car panel, a bill-board, or a volume of proceedings, the best is intended to be shown. But the defects we are all busy in trying to cover - perhaps to obviate. Having the honor to represent the oldest historical society in this country, the society with the widest experience, it will not be charged that I have no business to lift the edge of the curtain, and expose some of those heaps of rubbish which have

accumulated in a century, and which are too often copied by younger societies in the belief that the dust, cobwebs, and scrap constitute the best part of the society - the cause of its existence and the excuse for its activity. So I propose to speak of the defects - assuming the virtues to be great, numerous, and potent.

1. Have you ever dropped off at a city - a capital of a State on history bent, to find that the historical society rooms are opened only on rare occasions; but the librarian and key can be found some miles out of the city, and can be reached by driving, no trolley lines running in that direction? This situation becomes more interesting if you are invited in midwinter.
2. Have you ever travelled a hundred miles or more on a Monday, to find that the historical society rooms are open only on Fridays, between the hours of two and four in the afternoon? Any Monday will do.
3. Have you ever taken a night's journey to consult some book or manuscript, to find that the thing desired can be seen only on a card from a member of the society - you being a veritable Ishmael to the place - more so after than before the visit?
4. Have you ever been greeted cordially by the custodian of the society's treasures, but only to be told, on stating generally your wishes, that under the rules you must indicate the particular paper you wish to see? To assist you in this operation there is no catalogue or even a general description of the collection, the custodian knows nothing about manuscripts, and there is no one connected with the society who "does" manuscripts.
5. Have you ever penetrated into the inner rooms of the treasure house, to learn that the card catalogue is not open to the public?
6. Have you ever had the object of your search before you, memorandum pad at your elbow, and pencil in hand, only to be told that no note or notes can be taken without first applying to the board, councilor directors of the institution? If it is in early summer, so much the better, as the council holds no meeting till the fall, and by that time you will have forgotten all about your request, and can receive with philosophic calm the negative that comes from the council through the custodian.
7. Have you ever found six or seven letters in a collection, of little or no importance to the collection, but of good value to your

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particular purpose, only to be informed that copies cannot be taken, as the society hopes to print the collection? In your heart you know that the society, if it ever does publish, will be forced to make selections out of it, and among the first to be passed over will be the letters you have selected. If you live long enough, you will see that this comes true.

Here are seven mortal sins in the management of historical societies, and I have encountered as many as five of them in a single society and in a single day. In a career of more than twenty-five years I have met them in many forms and disguises, but always as hindrances, discouragements, and personal selfishness. They were applied in the Department of State of the United States as well as in the humblest collection in the land, and invariably originated in that good old comfortable prejudice that the collections were to be treated as the personal possessions of the custodian - to be used or not according to his whim. It was with keen pleasure that I received the aid of my then chief, Mr. Thomas F. Bayard, who had an interest in things historical, in breaking down the restrictions in the Department of State; and it was with as keen pleasure that I had the countenance of my chief in the Library of Congress, Mr. Herbert Putnam, in making a national bureau of archives free to any historical investigator - without any restrictions or red tape methods. In securing accessibility to material lies the corrective to nearly every one of the seven mortal sins I have detailed.

But outside of the federal government as represented in the Library of Congress, and a very few institutions which could be named, reigns Cimmerian darkness, more or less impenetrable, according to the charm you carry - a name of weight, a letter of introduction, a personal acquaintance with the custodian. The questions are ever present: what are the true functions of an historical society, and how far does this particular institution fulfill these functions? In nine out of ten cases the defects do not lie in the organization and by-laws, for the organization is practically the same in all, as are the by-laws, which are made to protect against abuse and against destruction. The errors lie at the door of the custodian, whose business it is to enforce or release the by-laws according to circumstance, but to lean on the side of liberality. Even though maintained by private subscriptions, an historical

society has quasi-public functions. Otherwise it becomes a tomb for the final and complete burial of material; and this process of entombing is greatly assisted by a rule which gives the use only to members of the society. I could form a small library of volumes in each one of which could be read the effects of this narrow policy - resulting in incomplete histories through lack of material on the one hand, and in incomplete histories through lack of ability on the other. The parable of the talents applies here with peculiar force. It is only necessary to name such institutions as the Pennsylvania Historical Society or the State Historical Society of Wisconsin to indicate two of the best conducted in the land, advanced, liberal and generous to all; and both have gained by their open-handedness.

For every sin of management there are a dozen sins of use in publishing historical material. It is one thing to collect, and quite another to publish. The necessity for collecting printed matter has been much restricted in recent years by the growth of the public library. The necessary tools of workers and the rare or unusual are proper objects of a collecting society. Yet even here there are limitations. Why, for example, should the Massachusetts Historical Society, or this Society, seek to obtain the rarities of

New England history by purchase, when copies are available in the Boston Public, in Harvard University, in the John Carter Brown and in the American Antiquarian Society libraries? These rarities cost from \$50 to \$1000, and no one short of a millionaire can hope to gather even a small number of them in a lifetime of ardent collecting. The Massachusetts Historical Society has directed its means towards publishing, and wisely; for many a society has been burdened with a few very good pieces, buried in eccentrically geographical situations, where they cannot be seen and their very existence is almost unknown; and many a one has been crippled at the outset by this ambition to have and to hold costly rarities. The mere possession and its cost have reduced them to a condition of helplessness in publishing.

Nor is this helplessness an unmixed evil. The older conditions were so restful. Once in three or four years a leading society would issue a volume. It would contain some set addresses, some original documents, and no index. The entire annual output of all historical societies could be counted on the fingers of one hand.

The general run differed but little, - some documentary material, more or less inaccurately transcribed and printed, some reprints of rare issues of the past, some crude facsimiles, more or less misleading, and some chats by members upon subjects of tremendously personal interest, but of no possible value to anyone else. The meetings were more of a social gathering, more informal than the conditions of to-day have imposed, less critical of what was presented, and really enjoying intelligently and enthusiastically the novelties as they were offered. And the field of history was much less a cultivated ground than at present. It was all so simple. In meeting the librarian announced that he had another volume of collections ready for the printer. Thereupon the president gracefully responded to the unspoken suggestion, and remarked that he would be happy to pay the cost of printing and distributing the volume. With such a machinery why raise any question as to the contents of the volume, or the manner of presenting the material? The librarian was sale judge of value and form; the president paid the cost. It was a one-man influence. Unconsciously we think not so much of the X Historical Society as of Mr. A. B. C. who pays the bills, who is supposed to have the greatest interest in the welfare of the society, and who is in reality the mainspring of the institution. We look upon him as an historical scholar, even though his interest in history is limited to his own name; he is treated reverentially by his colleagues; he becomes the honorary member of sister societies, the recipient of degrees from his college because of these publications, and so on - a little circle of activity that runs its course mechanically, until the great man passes away, and a new name and individuality takes his place, and by a well-recognized formula deflects the line of direction by a trifle, and announcing progress, asks leave, alas, to sit again.

This personal element favored sitting still, but it also favored defective publications. Editors were few, and gave their time and service voluntarily; they were not trained in historical methods, and their enthusiasm and knowledge could make up for only a part of their weakness. In the United States history as a study is only a matter of some thirty years in age. The older workers in societies had to encourage contributions, essays, and lucubrations upon the infinitesimally small. They were obliged to recognize the

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weaknesses of their neighbors as well as of their members by paying too great an attention to personal, family, and local matters. How many of us can afford (to use a bookseller's term) to keep in stock a file of the issues of more than a very few of the many societies printing their material.

The mere mass is appalling, and the attempt has been made to measure it. We have a notably heavy volume, of equally heavy contents, giving a list of the papers printed by the historical societies of the United States. It is not complete, but it is issued upon a scale possible only with the national government. The volume contains a thousand odd closely printed pages, and an index of one third that number of pages. It is as cheerful reading as a cemetery list, and it chiefly marks burials, quite as complete as what is printed by the daily newspapers. Is it possible to trace from this formidable list the trend of such printing activity in historical lines? There could be found the variations I have just noted, periods of great activity and well-directed action alternating with periods of quiescence and perfunctory performance. Here they are, all jumbled together, historical, genealogical, and patriotic societies; one man, one cause, one locality societies; personal, family, and town societies; and all apparently having but one object in view, to print something, regularly or occasionally, once or often. The confusion is the greater when we examine the contents of the publications of a single society. What is the measure of interest, the principle of exclusion (if any), or the standard of judgment? Is there evidence of intelligent selection or careful preparation? Do the younger societies afford any proof of benefiting by the errors of their elders? If the truth were to be told, the saddest mistakes would be discovered in the most recent issues of the youngest societies. All past experience seems to have been for nothing. This tremendous catalogue of historical publications is all a maze, a puzzle; but it is instinctively felt that here may be found a very long chapter of horrible examples, things to be avoided; and with it a very much shorter chapter of things worthy of praise and imitation. The great fault is that the material is not only misleading in itself, but is used in a misleading manner, and often with an intent to mislead. A partial truth is dangerously near a complete lie, and becomes one when framed by interest, whether ignorant

or not. It is amazing to see how much time and ingenuity are expended in pulling down what others have set up, or in strengthening the tottering foundations of a possible tradition, an impossible history. A striking instance is the attempt to trace back to blooded stock on the other side of the water. Let me read a few sentences from one who was not a trained genealogist, but was blessed with sufficient humor to know what a trained genealogist should be.

"Perhaps in this place the history may pause to congratulate itself upon the enormous amount of bravery, wisdom, eloquence, virtue, gentle birth, and true nobility, that appears to have come into England with the Norman Invasion: an amount which the genealogy of every ancient family lends its aid to swell, and which would beyond all question have been found to be just as great, and to the full as prolific in giving birth to long lives of chivalrous descendants, boastful of their origin, even though William the Conqueror had been William the Conquered; a change of circumstances which, it is quite certain, would have made no manner of difference in this respect." <sup>1</sup>

Cannot this be read in hundreds of genealogies or local histories? Another good instance is the attempt to bolster up the so-called Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, peculiarly a local irruption in that county of North Carolina. Not one bit of good evidence has been produced to support the contention of the Declarationers, every historical point is against them. Yet there are a monument, brass plates, and a presidential visit; there are periodic explosions of supposedly new evidence, and much personality and abuse of those who question the tradition. The whole monument rests upon a false foundation - a desire to gain local and family renown; and starting with a possibility, its backers have refused to recognize the cumulative evidence against it, and treat it not as a question of history, but as a plank in a party platform - a good enough Morgan until after election.

It was said in the seventeenth century that a man who went in search of the philosopher's stone and dabbled in alchemy usually ended by being committed to the Gatehouse or prison as a coiner. This course is not confined to alchemy. It is so much easier and more pleasant to make a supposition that will meet the desired

1. Martin Chuzzlewit, Ch. I.

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condition than to dig out the facts and, possibly, find that they will not support your theory.

The tendency of historical writing is to become monographic, the study of a single incident, a short period of time, or an individual in a narrow field of action. The larger part of historical publication lies in printing source material, the documentary evidence in full, with more or less extensive notes. The archivist supplies the essayist with his material, and the essayist offers to the general historian his portion of partially predigested history. There are few who have the means, inclination, and leisure to devote themselves to a great historical writing; but there are many who can turn out a monograph and do it well. The co-operative history is a development of this monographic idea, and the results are seen by comparing such works as those of Bancroft, or Hildreth, or Von Holst with Hart's "American Nation." The personality of the writer is diminished, but in its place we have a wider view, a more consistent plan, and a better arrangement of material.

This points out the proper sphere of activity of an historical society. It would be absurd for one to undertake a general history of the United States; it would be equally absurd for one in Massachusetts to undertake the history of South Dakota or a Mexican State. It would be going too far afield, when there is an abundance of good material lying at our very doors. For the material is abundant, - the more so because the very obvious has, as is not unusual, been passed over. We mourn the absence of reliable economic records, the bare facts which may serve as a basis of a great economic history of a land which has an economic history worthy of study. Have we a good sketch of the manner in which Massachusetts became settled, how and why population took certain lines, and what has been the effect in producing that great outward movement of population to the westward, evidences of which may be seen in nearly every State in the Union outside of the slaveholding States? Have we a good history of a village common, and what it meant then and means now to the cluster of houses of which it was the center? Have we the beginnings of the political history of any town, in its great changes from a few cottages to an important city? Have we a full history of a factory town, with its vital alterations in every part of its economy? Can you name a

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satisfactory study of a frontier town, of the settlement of a State or region, or of anyone line of development which may serve as a history of many, and give the economic historian a foundation from which to generalize?

Instances can be named of notable studies. There is a gentleman of this city who has made the study of the provincial paper money of Massachusetts his own, and by long, patient, detailed accumulation and treatment of material has given a history invaluable to one who would understand the social experience of the eighteenth century in the American colonies. For the results apply to any colony that experimented with its currency in the hope of being able to cancel a debt without an equivalent. In one of the volumes of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics are to be found tables of prices of commodities from the seventeenth century, taken from merchants' books - dry, fragmentary, and horribly unrelated, yet capable of being interpreted in a manner that will explain many a local revolution, many a migration, and many a social disturbance. That collection of disjointed items is far more valuable to history than the costly and useless compilation of names of those who served from Massachusetts in the War of Independence or in the Civil War. Costly it has been beyond question; useless it will be, as the United States government proposes to issue a similar list for the whole country, and has a force of four hundred compilers against the four or five that the State offers. A part of the same money expended in printing the Council Minutes, or the Journals of the House of Representatives, or the State Archives, would bring in much better and more permanent results.

Local history is not to be despised when the material offers. Salem witchcraft contributed to the world's experience in delusion. Is Harvard University an asset of Cambridge or of the entire country? Is Plymouth a spot on a pink map, or is it by inheritance a conviction, a moral influence? In naming Concord is it a locality that first comes to our minds?

Fortunately here we have some good models of treatment. The town of Quincy, Mass., was not a very promising subject for a history, yet it has in Charles Francis Adams's "Three Episodes of Massachusetts History" a work almost unique. This is not because it is a local history, but because it is sketched on such broad lines as

to be at once a history of the first years of the Bay settlement and the connection of a New England town with the current of the nation's history. It is thus much more than Quincy that is rated; it is the development of a town in certain of its activities, from the first grant until it became a city, and is in its main lines a contribution to the history of the people of any New England settlement. I set aside the fact that the writer possessed an unusual combination of qualities for such a work, - an antiquarian and historical spirit, tempered by a good sense of humor, and a strongly marked critical faculty. We may not agree with him in all his judgments, but it is difficult to question his facts or deny the skill with which he has used them, lifting the unpromising and as a rule forbidding subject of local history on to a plane where it becomes a necessary part of a people's history. The result is a very readable and vitalizing book. It is a great work when brought into comparison with the ordinary run of local histories.

It will be said it presents an exceptional instance, a writer unusual in equipment. True, but the best lessons may be learned from extreme instances. The very success achieved in that case emphasizes the necessity of inviting trained ability for preparing such histories, and just as good ability for editing original or source material. Look at the publications of the Camden or of the Selden Society, and there are found such names as Pollock, Maitland, Gardner, Gairdner, and Gross as editors, names which stand preeminent in the studies they made so distinctively their own. They did not consider it beneath their dignity to prepare these often fragmentary records, and by their labors they made the material valuable and accessible. That huge collection of genealogical facts - the publications of the Harleian Society - belongs to a somewhat different category, but stands just as high in its field. It is not the laudation of one or a number of families, but it is a great collection of facts useful and necessary to all kinds of historical writing. The nearest approach in this country to such societies is the Prince Society of Massachusetts, and it is unnecessary to make any comment upon the value to history of its publications.

The fault lies in this, that the work is left or entrusted to those whose general knowledge cannot compensate the defects produced by their enthusiasm. As Clarence King once said of the young,

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partially trained, and quite inexperienced geologists coming under his charge, "they are all the time rediscovering America." Certain great facts of history may be assumed with the same certainty as a mathematical axiom, - a date, a place, and an individual. Other so-called facts are subject to continual readjustment, not necessarily because they have become untrue or misleading, but because they are seen in new relations and with altered possibilities. All history is mosaic, a lot of separate and many-colored facts brought together. The resulting picture depends upon the skill and imagination of the writer. He frames the outlines, and arranges his facts. It would be very simple to do this were history a science. We could then compare the writing of history to the figures of the kaleidoscope, - a number of colored beads carelessly thrown into a box, where an arrangement of mirrors produces a series of beautifully correct pictures, and all mechanically. Fortunately history is not a science. We can now view with comparative complacency the attempts to turn saints into sinners and devils into angels. Under skillful hands a Borgia deals out health foods and not poisons, a Medici in France drank milk, not blood, a Nero was a wise administrator sacrificing his own comfort to the good of his people, and a Judas was a public benefactor in that he established a public cemetery. In our own history Benedict Arnold becomes a lovable drunkard, with a somewhat hasty temper; Thomas Paine or Pelatiah Webster challenges the authorship of the Declaration of Independence with Thomas Jefferson; Alexander Hamilton is made a debauchee, that Jefferson (as black to others) may shine; and after twenty years a city erects a monument to the boss whom it drove with curses from its limits. Time takes its revenge, and in the long run brings justice.

This tendency to question history again and again is a wholesome one, and does more good than harm. Contemporary judgments are notoriously harsh, and the charge lies against us as a people that the hero of to-day is the despised of to-morrow. The early history of Massachusetts Bay turned largely upon the clergy, - not that any real question of religious belief was at stake, but the position and consequent power of the clergy were dominant. At the time there was only one opinion, that the safety of the State depended upon the maintenance of this influence of the elders. Those who

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questioned their power or decisions were the pariahs of the community, to be hounded out and even killed, - pests to be eliminated. For two centuries this remained the general opinion, and few convictions are so deeply entrenched as inherited convictions. Can you name any clerical writer of Massachusetts history who seriously questioned the attitude of the magistrates and elders in the seventeenth century? Can you name any lay writer who could take a fair-minded view of the leading actors of that century? It required a sort of explosion to awaken this self-satisfied condition. It came in Brooks Adams' "Emancipation of Massachusetts," and since then no one would dare write of the elders as did our fathers or our grandfathers.

To yield the best results the personal or interested element must be eliminated, and the means supplied of questioning from time to time the conceptions of history we have inherited, imbibed from imperfect sources, or accepted because of a weighty name. This is, fortunately, not a question of money. It is hopeless to expect to obtain a profit from the publications of any society, however good they may be. The membership is as a rule small, and buying libraries are few. Just as good work was done in the early days of the older societies, when their funds were extremely limited, as later, when they began to use adequate publishing funds. Nor is the chance of profit increased by multiplying the publications reprints of rare pamphlets, first printing of manuscript collections, proceedings of meetings, or quarterly magazines. The proceedings and magazines must be more or less scrappy, consisting of unrelated parts and of such documents as cannot be made into a connected series. It is less expensive in the long run to issue a volume of good material than to issue many of scraps. The labor of consulting the magazines is already a burden, as the consolidated index is an almost unknown factor. One half of what has been published by societies could be wiped out without much loss to history; one half of what remained could be presented in a form very different from that in which it exists, and with great advantage to the student; and one half of that part could be so condensed as to offer a series of volumes, by no means occupying as much as five feet of shelving, in which could be found all of the essentials of New England history - and more too.

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So I come to what I should regard as the proper field of historical societies - to present under careful direction the great wealth of raw material that is at hand, but under limitations presently to be named.

There is a volume in the publications of the American Antiquarian Society called Thomas Lechford's Note Book - the work of a lawyer-trained bird of passage who was in Boston for a short term, less than four years. It is a collection of dry, formal documents in the law language of the day, with a few, a very few, letters and memoranda interspersed. Not at all a book to read, but one capable of affording much to the student. The description of a lot of land, the form of a lease, a contract for the hire or building of a fishing boat, - it is on its face of little importance. Yet we get the dimensions of a fishing boat of that time, and the pinnace, the shallop, and the pink played an important part in extending the sphere of Massachusetts influence. We get light upon the religious controversies of the day, and more than that we get the side-lights which often prove to be the best of illuminations. The sales of land by the Hutchinsons after Ann Hutchinson had been formally handed to the Devil and driven from Boston, are pathetic evidence of the extent to which the rancor of hate was carried. There is no collection of colonial material equal in historical interest to the Winthrop Papers, - a veritable

mine to one who approaches that period of our history. To come home, the two volumes of records published by the city offer a rich mine to be worked by many. <sup>2</sup>

In the earliest volumes of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society will be found a series of sketches of different towns and counties. The sketches are very brief, imperfect, and unscientific, yet made by a person competent to gather information of such a character as to give the matter a permanent value. The Cape Cod region was undertaken by James Freeman. <sup>3</sup> The sub-

2. I refer to the "Proprietors' Records" (1896) and "The Records of the Town of Cambridge" (1901), two excellent examples of a good publication of source material.

3. Rev. James Freeman, D.D. (1759-1835), wrote sketches of the Cape Cod towns in the early volumes of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Rev. Frederick Freeman (1800-1883), Presbyterian, afterwards Episcopal minister, was author of "the two weighty volumes of the History of Cape Cod" (Boston, 1860-1864).

jects treated were those given in a fair gazetteer, but in a more full manner, with an attempt to sketch the history of the locality. It is surprising to see how much those descriptions are still used, and how serviceable they have proved in recording what so rapidly passes from the memory, or becomes distorted by oral testimony from one generation to another. They offer a further interest in this, that the most modern effort in local history - I refer to the Victoria History of the Counties of England, now in process of publication - pursues the same method, but on a much larger and more scientific scale. Look at the first volume of the history of Nottinghamshire. The chapter headings are natural history, which includes geology, palaeontology, botany, and zoology. Then follow sections on early man, Anglo-Saxon remains, the county in Domesday, ancient earthworks, and political history. This completes the first volume. There yet remain to be treated, in three other volumes, the subjects of architecture, ecclesiastical history, topographical accounts of parishes and manors, agriculture, the social and economic history, - schools, arts, industries, and commerce, - and finally ancient and modern sports.

There is a suggestion for ourselves in this definite purpose and method. We have no ancient ruins, but we have a choice assortment of modern remains; we have little older than a century and a half, but that period is more than enough to make history. We have a social organism before us that is ever changing, and yet leaving little to remind us of its past history; and we have a machinery of government, also ever changing, yet retaining a full record of its accomplishments and as full a record of its legal actions. Or, to pass to more local matters:

The panoramic changes in a city or town are always interesting, but rarely recorded. The newspaper and magazine can never give what we want, for they select on narrow lines and leave aside what are the most important features. The rarity of early views of Boston - or indeed of any city - is a cause for regret. There is an early sketch of Tremont Street along the Common, and it looks an impossibility. Equally unreliable is the appearance of the same street in the early days of photography. Its aspect as we know it will in less than fifty years be so changed that our great-grand children will scoff at the pictures of to-day. So many of the village

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houses having historic associations or architectural features have passed away that the one is drawn from the memories of the oldest living and the other is studied by architects in stately volumes, giving every detail of frame and fittings. Is there any excuse for permitting the memory of a street or house to pass away with the absurdly cheap appliances of the modern time? With a Kodak, and the picture is capable of any enlargement, a whole street can be taken at a very small expense and the films stored for future reference; and this offers what no city surveyor fire insurance map can give, - houses, trees, and relations of objects to one another. Once in ten years such a survey could be made, and would yield a most eloquent picture of the changes in localities and point to the social changes that have accompanied them. There is no limit to such a record.

Thus there can be, and I believe there will be, differentiation in the activities of historical societies. The real effect of military and patriotic societies upon the writing of history is yet to be measured; but there is a growing belief that such societies are doing greater harm than good. For they dwell upon only one item of interest, and unduly magnify its importance. There is the same tendency to be found in local or family history, - the oldest building, the oldest inhabitant, the leading family, the town traditions, - material good enough in itself, but needing judicious treatment to be made sufferable beyond a very small circle. It is generally left to the tender mercies of the profligate imagination of the genealogist, and the results are deplorable. The true historical society must be raised out of this round of petty subjects treated in a petty manner, and I admit this is a most difficult problem to be met. The true solution lies in closer co-operation among the societies. In the Western States the State funds and supports an historical society. The plan has its disadvantages, but it does offer this distinct advantage. As local societies are formed, the State society can exercise an advisory power, a control more or less effective, and in consultation divide the territory to be covered. A development upon this line is a possibility of the future and deserves careful consideration. As it is with us, the river overflows its banks and moves sluggishly over vast shallows. Confine it to its proper course and some use can be made of its motive force. This would

permit also a distribution of publishing activity, the general being reserved for the leading or central, the local for the local society. In this State such a graded series would be of advantage, and would at least prevent duplication of publication and the appearance in an occasional and very remote issue of material of really national importance. Organization and co-operation, mutual service, and a trained responsible editor will go far to remove the reproach so often uttered against the publications of our historical societies.

At the conclusion of the above paper, and as a result of questions asked by the President and others, Mr. Ford expressed the opinion that it would be of great advantage if the historical societies of the different States would supply a central society with lists of their original documents.

The meeting was then dissolved.

# THE EIGHTEENTH MEETING

THE EIGHTEENTH MEETING of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and ten, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in the building of the Cambridge Latin School, Trowbridge Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

For the first topic of the meeting ELIZABETH ELLEHY DANA. read the following paper:

## LIEUTENANT JAMES DANA AT THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

AMONG the men from Connecticut who marched to Cambridge for the relief of Boston, early in June, 1775, was a lieutenant in General Israel Putnam's regiment, to whom it must have seemed almost like coming home, for his father was a Cambridge boy, born and brought up here. The father had removed early to Windham County, Connecticut, settling first in Pomfret and then in Ashford. The son was one of the one hundred and twenty picked men from that county who, on the night of June 16, went under Captain Thomas Knowlton to Bunker Hill, worked hard all night, and fought next day at the famous rail fence. This man was James Dana,<sup>1</sup> great-grandson of the Richard Dana who settled in Cambridge soon after 1640.

Professor Edward Channing, in his "The United States of America, 1765-1865," tells us that "though the younger men among the colonists knew little of actual warfare, yet everywhere there were veterans of the French wars, who soon infused a knowledge of

1. James 4 (Jedidiah 3, Benjamin 2, Richard 1,) Dana was born at Ashford, Connecticut, Oct. 9, 1735.

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military methods into the masses of raw recruits." James Dana was one of these veterans. He had begun his military career in early youth, among the provincial troops under Sir William Johnson, twenty years before the Revolution. He had assisted in building Fort William Henry, at Lake George, in 1755, and was at Crown Point when Johnson was severely wounded and Baron Dieskau defeated and killed. After this Dana had returned home, had married and settled in Mansfield, Connecticut, which, like his birthplace, Ashford, was in Windham County.<sup>2</sup>

A large part of Windham County, which borders on our Worcester County, was originally included in Massachusetts and was settled by Massachusetts men, and many were the disputes between the

Colonies over the boundary line. In 1686 twelve men from Roxbury bought land in Windham County, but it was not until eight years afterwards, in 1694, that surveys having been made, the shares were delivered to the proprietors. By this time the rights of one of them, John Pierpont, had been bought out by three Cambridge brothers, Jacob, Benjamin, and Daniel Dana, none of whom went to Connecticut in person, but some of their sons removed there and settled in different towns in Windham County. These settlements were included in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, so that all their land deeds had to be recorded, and wills probated, in Boston, where, strange to say, they still remain.

Windham County had begun very early to show its patriotic zeal, and claims the honor of originating the system of Committees of Correspondence which proved so effective in promoting the Revolution, and which has been ascribed to Samuel Adams and other notable persons.<sup>3</sup> As early as December, 1767, at a full meeting of the inhabitants of Windham Town to consider a letter from the Selectmen of Boston, a committee was appointed to correspond with committees from the several towns in the county.

In the summer of 1774 many of these towns had shown their enthusiasm by sending flocks of fine sheep as presents to Boston. The first of these was apparently the first gift to arrive there,

2. Mansfield is now in Tolland County.

3. Samuel Adams laid his plan before a Boston town-meeting in 1772. Mercy Warren makes the claim that her husband had suggested it before that. But in Windham County towns it had already been in force for some years.

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and these expressions of sympathy were very cheering and comforting to our people. Windham County, though of the same Connecticut Freemen whom Chief Justice Marshall calls "that cautious people," was full of martial fire, and Israel Putnam and bodies of men from all its towns had set out the September before for Boston, but had turned back on learning that their assistance was not yet needed. A convention of delegates from Windham and New London Counties was held at once and recommended that the selectmen should supply every town with ammunition and military stores, and that every troop and military company should arm and equip themselves as soon as possible and should have regimental reviews and artillery exercises. In October the General Assembly enacted that the quantity of ammunition required to be provided should be doubled, and that every military company should be called and exercised in the use of arms twelve half-days between then and May, and new regiments were formed. And the farmers knew what they were fighting for, for at this time, when money was so scarce and books so rarely purchased, more than one hundred and twenty copies of John Carter's "English Liberties, or the Freeborn Subjects' Inheritance," were ordered, from Windham County alone.

When the actual breaking out of the Revolution came, James Dana was a volunteer - not this time from the enthusiasm of youth or love of adventure, for he was now about forty years old, a married man with a family of children - and his name is on the Connecticut list of men who marched on the Lexington alarm. The authorized "Record of Services of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution" says: "The response [of Connecticut] to the alarm was not the official action of the Colony, nor, on the other hand, an impromptu movement of individuals without previous organization. An 'uprising' of armed men might have partaken of a mob character, and the militia regiments as such could only be called out by the governor or legislature. It was rather a movement of the townsmen marching under their militia organizations. The gathering thus became orderly as well as spontaneous. It appears from

the records that in some cases the companies or train-bands collected and marched off under their officers without further orders; in other cases, the colonels, taking the lead, called

out a certain number of men ...; in a few cases volunteer companies were organized for the special service; in addition, many individuals, not belonging to the militia, joined in the march, either providing for themselves or going with the companies."

At ten o'clock on the morning of that fateful Wednesday, April 19, 1775, a post had been despatched by the Committee of Safety at Watertown, the bearer, Israel Bissel, being charged to alarm the people as far as the Connecticut line "that the British have landed two brigades, have already killed six men and wounded four others, and are on their way into the country. All persons are desired to furnish him 'with horses as they may be needed.'" A copy of this despatch was forwarded by the town clerk of Worcester to Daniel Tyler, Jr. (son-in-law of Israel Putnam), at Brooklyn, Connecticut, who received it at eight o'clock Thursday morning and sent it on to Norwich, while messengers on horseback, with beating drums, carried the news in all directions about Windham County. Friday was spent in active preparation. Officers rode rapidly about in every direction with warnings, bullets were run, accoutrements and rations provided, and powder furnished to the volunteers. Over a thousand men from Windham County were ready to meet the summons. The Committee of Correspondence wrote: "The ardour of our people is such that they can't be kept back."

Early on Saturday, April 22, Lieutenant-Colonel Experience Storrs, of Dana's town of Mansfield, led "sundry of ye troop" to Windham Green, where selected companies from Mansfield and two other towns were already on the ground ready to march. After prayers in the meeting-house, it was nearly sunset before they set out for Pomfret. On Sunday the officers found themselves much embarrassed by the numbers that presented themselves, and after prayer by Rev. Mr. Putnam, they held a council and agreed to select one fifth of the men out of the ten companies, the rest to return home. Meanwhile, a letter had been received from Concord, from General Putnam, saying that the Committee of the Provincial Congress begged" they would be at Cambridge as speedily as possible with Conveniences, together with provisions, and a Sufficiency of Ammunition." "The elect fifth, selected probably in consideration of their special fitness for military service, set out on the march at about 5 P. M." on Sunday, through Woodstock and

Dudley for Cambridge. "Their orderly and soldierly bearing attracted great attention on their march, and they were received at Cambridge with special distinction, as the first trained companies that had come from abroad to the aid of Massachusetts." Fortunately this section of the country was favored in the way of public roads, a new route to Boston having been established only the year before, and taverns were numerous on every road, many new ones having been opened.

After twenty-seven days' service as private, Dana at once on his return enlisted again, this time as first lieutenant in Putnam's regiment, the Third Connecticut, in Lieutenant-Colonel Storrs's company.

His commission as lieutenant is dated May 1, 1775. Many of those who had been on to Cambridge had no time even to visit their families before starting off again. If he was one of these, it may have been just as well, for his wife, Elizabeth Whittemore, who is said to have been a handsome, blue-eyed little woman, was a British sympathizer and much opposed to his going into the army. Lieutenant-Colonel Storrs, who, as I have said, was from Dana's town of Mansfield, had been devoting himself with energy to enlisting men, impressing blankets and arms, and securing and storing a quantity of powder for Mansfield. Storrs kept a diary, in which after describing the second march to Cambridge, by way of Ashford, Dudley, Westboro, and Framingham, when his men appeared to be in high spirits, he says that he left the companies in Waltham for the night (June 2) under the care of Lieutenant Gray; and adds: "Proceeded with Lieut. Dana to Cambridge, at Col. Lee's house, where we expected to have tarried; found 3 companies." Apparently there was no room for them, for he continues: "Went to headquarters <sup>4</sup> to Gen. Putnam, he came with us to our proposed quarters, looked for accommodations for my companies. Conclude to march in tomorrow. Came out to Watertown with Lieut. Dana; tarried there. 3d. Towards noon, the companies arrived [from Waltham]. Sat off with them to Cambridge; met Gen. Putnam on the road. Came to the house of Mr. Fairweather <sup>5</sup> where we make our quar-

4. Not the Inman house, as is often stated, but the Apthorp-Borland house familiarly called "the Bishop's Palace."

5. The Wells-Newell house, No. 175 Brattle Street, where years after, James Russell Lowell, William W. Story, Richard H. Dana, Jr., and Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson went to school.

ters; after dinner went up to headquarters to shew ourselves to the General; he recommends our being immediately provided for action .... 8. Mr. Fairweather came home last night out of humor as they tell me. No wonder, his house filled up with soldiers, and perhaps his interest suffers as it really must. Sent for me, yet appears to act the part of a gentleman .... 9. Went to Gen. Putnam to make return of my companies to draw soap, beer, &c., out of the Connecticut store; he declines coming to a settlement about it. My company uneasy for want of beer, and soap for washing. . . . 16. Expecting an engagement soon, P.M. Orders came for drafting 31 men from my company, and the same from all companies belonging to Connecticut. Sent off Lieut. Dana,<sup>6</sup> Sergt. Fuller, Corporal Webb and 28 privates. Who at 8 o'clock went down to Bunker's Hill together, with a large detachment of the troops of this province, where they flung up an entrenchment." A stone tablet at the side of the Harvard Gymnasium marks the place where they assembled, for prayers by President Langdon of Harvard, before starting. These one hundred and twenty men from Israel Putnam's regiment, under the command of Captain Knowlton, with thirty-one other Connecticut men quartered in Christ Church, which had then been erected about fourteen years, were the first to strike the spade into the ground for the redoubt.

After toiling unceasingly all night, Captain Knowlton and his men, at nine in the morning, exhausted from hunger, fatigue, and want of sleep, were ordered to take possession of the unguarded pass, where a low stone wall and the famous post-and-rail fence already stood. It is discouraging and yet interesting to see how the accounts of the battle vary and how little one can trust to tradition. In the case of Lieutenant Dana, it is the aim of this paper not to state anything as a fact that is not pretty well proved. The "History of Windham County" gives several anecdotes of the men from there, among

them, of course, the familiar one of its hero, General Putnam, calling out as he rode past, "Boys, do you remember my orders at Ticonderoga?" "You told us not to fire

6. In an account of the battle given in Heath's Memoirs and elsewhere, the four officers under Knowlton are stated to have been John Keyes, Thomas Grosvenor, Esquire Hills, and, perhaps, Huntington. It is now established beyond a doubt that the fourth was James Dana. Hill's first name should be Squier.

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until we could see the whites of the enemy's eyes." "Well, I give the same order now." And it adds, as does another local history, that Dana, who was second in command of the detachment, was posted in the centre of the rail fence and that an order was given "death to any man who fired before Capt. [Lieut.?] Dana." "Tough old 'Bijah Fuller, Dana's orderly sergeant," is said to have helped Gridley draw the lines of the fortification. His captain, Knowlton, with coat off, walked to and fro before the unique breast-work, cheering his men and discharging his own faithful musket till it was bent double by a cannon ball. Dana was the first to detect and give notice of the enemy's flank movement and is said to have been the first to fire. Of this, Captain John Chester, in command of the Wethersfield Company quartered in Christ Church, writes, June 22: "The men that went to intrenching over night were in the warmest of the battle and by all accounts they fought most manfully. They got hardened to the noise of the cannon . . . they tarried and fought till the retreat." "Lieut. Dana tells me he was the first man that fired and that he did it singly and with a view to draw the enemy's fire and he obtained his end fully, without any danger to our party."

One statement made is that on Lieutenants Dana and Grosvenor and Sergeant Fuller firing at a given signal, the head of the advancing British column, supposed to be Major Pitcairn, fell. I believe it has been proved that he was killed by a negro soldier, Peter Salem, but Hudson's article in defence of Pitcairn says that he was wounded twice, the first time at the head of his column. Both accounts therefore may be true. During the battle, a cannon shot struck the fence and forced a rail against Dana's breast, but he regained his feet and kept his ground until the line was ordered off, when he drew off his men and aided in covering the retreat, but on arriving at his quarters, he was confined to his room and unable to dress or undress himself for several days. Knowlton's men had double the number of cartridges of the other troops, having brought them from Connecticut. They were the last to leave the conflict and, retiring slowly, formed the rear-guard of the Americans in the retreat, during which a bullet lodged in Dana's canteen.

Holmes's "Annals of America" says: "The conduct of the Connecticut troops under Knowlton was much applauded." And

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Judge Prescott wrote what he had heard from his father, Colonel Prescott: "Never were men in a worse condition for action exhausted by watching, fatigue and hunger, and never did old soldiers behave better." Frothingham's "Siege of Boston" says: "The conduct of the Connecticut troops is mentioned in terms of high commendation in the private letters and journals of the time. Major Durkee, Captains Knowlton, Chester, and Coit, Lieutenants Dana, Hide, Grosvenor, Webb, Bingham,

and Keyes are specially named as deserving of credit." Simms's "History of Schoharie County" (N. Y.) states that Washington on his arrival was so struck with these accounts that in his first general order he gave out the countersign as "Knowlton" and parole "Dana." I have examined the orders all through July and do not find exactly that, but I do find that before Washington's arrival, in general orders for June 27, given out, I take it, by General Ward, the countersign was "Prescott" and parole "Dana," and on June 20 the countersign was "Windham." Knowlton and Dana were rewarded by promotion as soon as it was practicable, Knowlton being commissioned major and presented by a Boston admirer with a gold-laced hat, a sash, and gold breastplate, the latter still in the possession of his descendants, and Dana being commissioned captain the next September. It is related that with his usual diffidence he had at first refused promotion.

On the 18th of July there was a patriotic demonstration, on the occasion of the reading of the manifesto issued by Congress setting forth the reasons for taking up arms, and General Putnam's division was paraded in full force at Prospect Hill, the Declaration of Congress read, and a solemn and pathetic address made to the soldiers by Rev. Abiel Leonard, Chaplain to Dana's regiment, succeeded by a prayer. Then on a signal from General Putnam, the soldiers gave three cheers as an Amen, followed by the firing of a cannon from the fort, and the standard sent by Connecticut to General Putnam was exhibited. I quote now from the "History of Windham County": "Capt. Dana was ordered to receive and display the flag, but warned that in so doing he must not let the colors fall, as that would be deemed ominous of the fall of America. The great six-foot captain, who could face a hostile army without flinching, shrank like a child from this display and fain would

have declined the honor, but Putnam cheered him on by a friendly clap on the shoulder and 'Cuth it, Dana! You look like a white man; take the colors and clear away;' whereupon Capt. Dana advanced and received the colors from Washington's aid - and carried it three times around the interior circle of the parade amid the rapturous applause of the delighted soldiers. It was one of six flags ordered by Connecticut for her first six regiments. The ground of this was scarlet. 'An Appeal to Heaven' [then the motto of Massachusetts] was inscribed in golden letters on one side; Connecticut's armorial seal upon the other - three detached vines and the trustful legend, '*Qui transtulit sustinet?*'

In July Dana's regiment was adopted as Continental. It was stationed, during the siege, in Putnam's Centre Division at Cambridge, till the expiration of its term of service in December. The long period of inaction was a sore trial to the Connecticut soldiers. Bad fare, scant pay, misapprehension of their leaders' plans and of the true state of affairs so exasperated them, that many declined re-enlistment, subjecting Washington and his associates to most serious anxiety and peril. Even men in the Windham County regiment were infected with this spirit and some of them marched off home when their time had expired, without waiting for a formal discharge, but a majority of the regiment remained, and Dana, who was discharged December 16, at once re-entered the service and was here in Colonel John Douglas's regiment till March, when the seat of war was transferred to New York. During this time of inaction he must have had opportunities to meet his Massachusetts relatives, many of whom were living in Cambridge and Brookline. One of these, Lucy Dana, his first cousin, married, the next year, Jonas White of Watertown, and was the grandmother of Maria White, the lovely and talented poetess, wife of James Russell Lowell. But Francis Dana,<sup>7</sup> his second cousin (for whom Dana Hill and Dana Street are named), had gone to England to ascertain the state of feeling and the probable measures of the British Government, and so cannot have met him. Though Garden Street was not then laid out,

James Dana must often have passed the old burial ground and seen the graves of his grandfather, Benjamin Dana, his uncles and

7. Afterwards delegate to Congress, Minister to Russia, and Chief Justice of Massachusetts.

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other relatives. The gravestone of this Benjamin Dana, who was born in 1660, is still in good condition, near the street and just half-way between the "Sentinel and the Nun."

On the 9th of January, on which day the countersign was "Charlestown" and parole "Knowlton," Washington expressed his thanks to Knowlton and the officers and soldiers under his command for their spirit, conduct, and resolution on the occasion of the burning of the houses near the enemy's works on Bunker Hill the day before. We may hope Dana was one of these, but we have no proof of it. We next hear of him in Colonel Andrew Ward's First Connecticut Regiment, from May, 1776, to May, 1777, which joined Washington's army at New York and was stationed, at first, near Fort Lee. Marching to White Plains and afterward into New Jersey, it took part in the battles of Trenton, December 26, 1776, and of Princeton, January 3, 1777, and encamped with Washington at Morristown till May. In June he was recommissioned captain, and heads the list in Colonel John Ely's Connecticut State Regiment. He and his brother, William Dana, were at Valley Forge through that terrible winter of 1777-1778. He spent his own money in the care of his men and he is said to have been the only company there that had shoes. On one occasion, when they were encamped in the woods and he was looking for wood or game, he heard a voice and found that it was Washington praying for the soldiers and the patriot cause. At another time he is said to have saved Washington from capture, when or where is not stated. He was out reconnoitring, and, going up a hill through a wood, came to a bend in the road, where he descried some British soldiers coming towards him on horseback. He turned his horse and dashed down the hill, the British after him. As he was flying for his life, he met Washington riding towards the enemy; he shouted a warning to Washington, who thereupon galloped back to headquarters. But for this Washington might have become a prisoner to Sir Henry Clinton.<sup>8</sup>

In 1781 Dana had a company in Brigadier General Waterbury's State Brigade, which was raised that March for the defence of the Connecticut seacoast, and in July joined Washington at Phillipsburg near Dobbs Ferry, and for some time after was under Heath

8. J. R. Simms: History of Schoharie County, N. Y.

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on the Westchester line. While here, the celebrated William Eaton, also from Windham County (who afterwards distinguished himself in the war with Tripoli and became a general), having run away from home at the age of sixteen to join the army, his father prevailed upon Captain Dana to take the boy as his servant, and under him he learned the art of war, which he used to so much advantage later. Apparently Dana was at home again after this, perhaps on a furlough, and in September of that year

on hearing of the attack on New London by the traitor Benedict Arnold, he saddled his roan mare and hurried off to the fight.

A family tradition is that at the disbanding of the army in 1783 Dana was again appointed, this time by Washington himself (probably at Newburgh, New York) to carry the flag at the celebration. A particularly fine white horse was provided, seventeen and a half hands high, and a complete new outfit. Captain Dana was six feet one inch in height, well proportioned, and with black hair and eyes; and, though retiring in manners, he was of commanding appearance and of great strength and endurance. He is said to have held the flag throughout the day, without allowing it to droop or waver, and with no food or drink to sustain him. When he returned, Washington presented him with the horse and accoutrements and flag, and in his orders next day expressed approbation of his conduct. The descendants have a statement made by one of his granddaughters that when a child she had not only seen them all, but had been permitted to ride the horse. As this could not have been before 1815, it must have been a wonderful horse, - thirtysix years old at least! Still, horses have been known to reach that age and even forty.

Dana is spoken of in the local histories as a popular leader and as having served through the war, distinguishing himself in the different campaigns and performing gallant exploits. He retired as brevet-major and afterwards the title of Brigadier General of Militia was conferred on him by the Governor of New York State, where he settled.

Many Connecticut families had emigrated to Vermont. New York, and Ohio, and Dana decided to make himself a home at Cobleskill, Schoharie County, New York. As we know, the Government was very slow in paying the army, and when he was

finally paid, it was in Continental money, which was absolutely worthless. It was given him in two grain bags, from which he emptied the money on the floor, keeping the bags as the only things of value. He was followed to Cobleskill by several of his men, among them the William Eaton of Tripoli fame. Another settler was Captain Redington, who had also fought under Washington and had endured terrible sufferings in the British prison in New York, the Sugar House.

Dana built a log house two miles from the village of Cobleskill in a part now called Lawyersville, and was soon joined by his wife and children. Here he lived, highly esteemed by the community, until his death, October 16, 1817, at the age of eighty-two. General Dana and Captain Redington lie within a few feet of each other, in the quiet cemetery just behind the church at Lawyersville.

A great-granddaughter, Almeda Anthony, now Mrs. Snyder, has sent some relics of her ancestor, General Dana, to be presented to the Cambridge Historical Society - a silver knee buckle and a little green flask, both used by him in the Revolution.

For the second topic of the meeting JOHN ALBERT HOLMES read the following paper:

## THE ANCIENT FISH WEIR ON MENOTOMY RIVER

FISH and the fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland and New England played a very important part in the founding of the plantations about Massachusetts Bay, and were the purpose for which a large part of the funds of the Massachusetts Bay Company was adventured. Thus it very naturally came about that the General Court of the Colony should control the taking of fish in its waters, both in the rivers and the sea.

The Pilgrims came to Plymouth indentured to certain English merchants, who, interested in the fisheries here, had furnished the funds which enabled the Pilgrims to make the voyage, and true to their agreement they engaged at once in fishing.

How important and even vital to the very existence of the Plymouth Colony in its first years were the fish, is told by Sabin, who

says, "In 1623, without relief from abroad they were reduced to a single boat"; "and that," writes Hubbard, "none of the best," yet "it was the principal support of their lives," for "it helped them to improve the net wherewith they took a multitude of bass, which was their livelihood all that year." "Few countries," Hubbard continues, "have this advantage, Sometimes fifteen hundred of them have been stopped in a creek, and taken in a tide." "Such," says Sabin, "were their resources to prevent absolute starvation, and as they spread a part of the fish they caught upon their corn lands as manure, they were compelled to watch their fields at night, during seed time, to preserve them from the depredations of wolves."

The fish cured and exported the following years were taken principally from the sea, but there was another branch of the industry fully as important, and this was the taking of shad and alewives in the smaller rivers and streams for fertilizing the planting grounds.

Squanto taught the men of Plymouth to "fish" their corn, pumpkins, squash, and beans, that is, to place a fish in the ground with the seed. He also instructed them in the manner of taking fish.

Winslow writes: "We set the last Spring - 1621 - some twenty acres of Indian corne and sowed some six acres of barley and pease, and, according to. the manner of the Indians, we manured our grounds with Herrings, or rather, shads, which we have in great abundance and take with great ease at our doors," meaning the "Town Brook" at Plymouth, this being the first summer in the Colony.

The alewife<sup>9</sup> or "aloof" was the fish used principally for this purpose. "The Alewife," quoting Josselyn, "is like a herring, but has a bigger belly, therefore called an alewife."

Webster says: "The alewife is a North American fish of the herring family, and the name is properly 'aloof,' the Indian name of

9. Alewife; Branch Herring. *Pomolobus pseudo harengus* (Wilson). This is known also as wall-eyed herring, big-eyed herring, spring herring, blear-eyed herring, ellwife, gaspereau, and doubtless by many other names. It is found on our Atlantic coast from the Carolinas northward, and is very abundant. It enters fresh water streams to spawn and the run usually precedes that of the shad by two or three weeks.

a fish.

It is also called ellwif, ellwhop, and branch herring. "Webster's definition of "Alewife" is" a woman who keeps an alehouse." The "Century Dictionary" says: "A particular use of alewife, probably in allusion to their corpulent appearance; the form 'aloof,' as recorded in 1678, is said to be the Indian name of the fish, but is probably an error for alewife." But, as it is an American fish, the Indians doubtless had a name for it, and "aloof" is correct.

In Wood's "New England Prospect" (1629-1634), we find the following: "Alewives be a kind of fish which is much like a Herring, which in the latter end of Aprill come up to the fresh Rivers to spawn in such multitudes as is almost incredible, pressing up in such shallow waters as will scarce permit them to swimme"; and in Johnson's "Wonder Working Providence": "But the Lord is pleased to provide for them (the colonists) great store of fish in the spring time and especially Alewives about the bigness of a Herring, many thousands of them, they used to put under their Indian corn which they plant in hills five foot asunder."

Thomas Morton, he of the scandalous doings at Merry-Mount, tells of the methods and results of "fishing the corn." You may see in one township a hundred acres together set with these fish, every acre taking 1000 of them; and an acre thus dressed will produce and yeald so much corne as three acres without fish."

Palfrey says that the Indian method was to cover the fish over in the hill with the seed, and that the fish were taken by the Indians "with lines and nets, the cordage of which was made of twisted fibres of the dogbane or of sinews of the deer." They also took them in baskets and in nets like a pursnet put upon a round, hooped stick with a handle, and also in weirs.

The Indians' weirs for taking salmon, says Temple, in his "History of Palmer, Mass.," writing before 1889, "were simply rude stone walls built from opposite sides of the river, pointing down stream, till they nearly met each other. At this narrow opening a large cage was placed formed of twigs fastened to hoops by strips of tough bark."

"The existence of such weirs in Ware River was a matter of personal knowledge to men living 20 years ago." It was from these weirs that the river and town of Ware, in Massachusetts, derive their name.

The taking of land fish, that is, fish taken without the aid of boats, was from the first controlled by the General Court, as "The Ware att Misticke, granted to Governor Winthrop and Mathew Cradocke of London," March 4, 1633-1634, and "Att a Genrall Court holden att Newe Towne, Sept. 3, 1634." "There is leave granted to the inhabitants of Newe Towne to builde a weire vpon any place of Winotimies Ryver, within their owne bounds." The business was further controlled, when in the General Court "It was ordered that all weers shall be set open from the last day of the weeke at noon till the second day in the morning" (Saturday noon till Monday morning), Juue 6, 1639.

The weir granted to Winthrop and Cradocke in 1634 was at the outlet of Mystic Lake, where High Street, Medford, crosses Mystic River at what is known as Weir Bridge.

Israel Stoughton was granted the privilege of building a weir in Neponset River. He was to sell the alewives at five shillings the thousand.

A weir was built at Roxbury without consent of the court, as was pointed out by Winthrop in his controversy with Deputy Governor Dudley, regarding the permission by Winthrop to the inhabitants of Watertown to construct a weir upon Charles River.

Winthrop's reply is interesting as showing the necessity which they were under to secure fish for their corn. The Governor answered: "The people of Watertown, falling very short of corn the last year for want of fish, did complain, etc. and desired leave to erect a wear, and upon this the Gov. told them that he could not give them leave, but they must seek it of the court; but because it would be long before the courts began again, and if they deferred till then, the season would be lost, he wished them to do it, and there was no doubt but being for so general a good the court would allow of it."

In the foregoing I have endeavored to show somewhat the extent and importance of the alewife fisheries to the agriculture of the colonists.

To bring the matter nearer home, we may turn to the Cambridge "Town Records," where we find that Newe Towne soon took advantage of the privilege granted by the General Court, and on March 1, 1635, "agreed with John Clark to make a sufficient Weir to

Catch Alewives upon Menotomy River in the bounds of this Town before the 12th of April next, and shall sell and deliver unto Inhabitants of the Towne and no other, except for bayte, all the Alewives he shall take at three pence per thousand." On April 4, 1636, it was ordered by the town "That Walter Nichols shall pull up the boarded weire in Menotomy River," and "Andrew Warner and Joseph Cooke" were ordered "to make a rate for the deusion of the Alewives." Whether this order to pull up the weir was in anticipation of the order of the General Court, June 6, 1639, to set open the weirs from Saturday noon till Monday morning, to allow the fish to pass, or for its entire removal, is not plain, but probably the former, for on April 23, 1636, Andrew Warner was "Appointed to see a cartway made to the weire."

It was also agreed with him to fetch home the alewives from the weir for which he was to receive sixteen pence per thousand. Not all the fish were put upon the land. John Clark was required to furnish of the first run what fish the townsmen desired for eating at two pence per score.

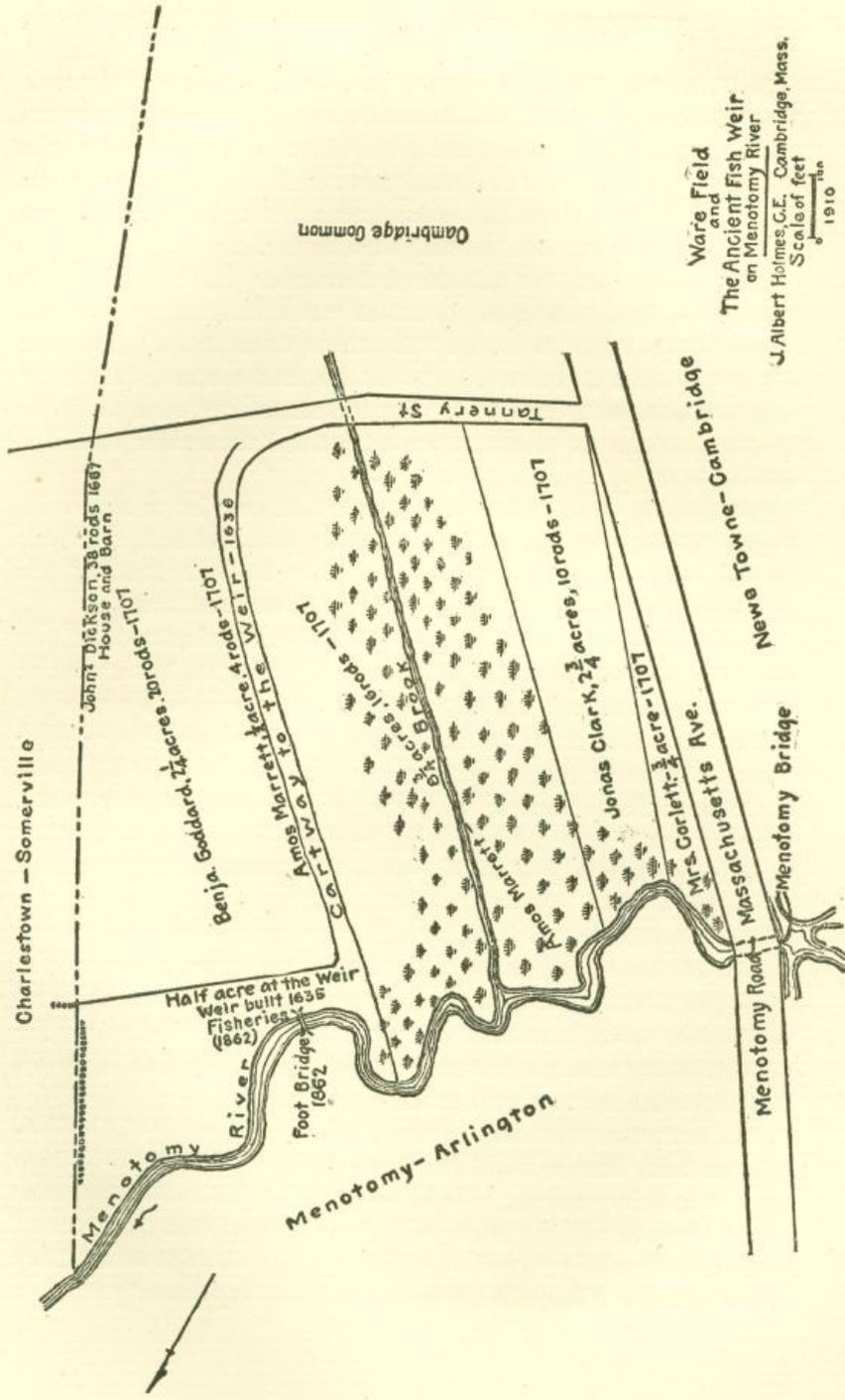
Town legislation regarding dogs was made necessary, because of the practice of fishing the corn. The owner whose dog was found in a corn field digging up fish was fined, and if he did not pay, the dog might be shot.

It would be interesting to know how the "boarded weire" was constructed. It is the practice at present in taking alewives to impound them in a shallow pool, from which they are removed with scoop nets. The barrier is formed of boards built up to a height of a foot or eighteen inches, over which the fish

pass to the pool, and from which they will not return till they have cast their spawn. This construction is a true weir according to definition.

During the last years of taking alewives along Menotomy River, seines were used, and the fish sold in Boston for bait for cod fishing.

As evidence that there was land in addition to the cartway reserved early at the weir, it was agreed on the "20th of the 9th month," November 20, 1648, "that Natt. Hancocke should haue some wood out of the Weare, to be Cut out and fetched home by the Constables at ye Towne Charge." Hancocke was ill and unable to provide the wood himself; he died shortly after.



Ware Field and the Ancient Fish Weir on Menotomy River  
 J. Albert Holmes, C.E., Cambridge, Mass.

In December, 1648, the use and profit of the weir and the weir land were granted to John Gibson for the two years next ensuing, on condition that he serve the town with fish at nine pence per thousand. Evidently John could not fulfill the contract for, on March 11, 1649, a committee was appointed to arrange with Roger Buck regarding the weir for one year ensuing.

At a meeting of the Selectmen, November 12, 1666, William Dickson made a motion to the effect "that in letting the wares, care might be taken to secure Winottimes Corn fields." It is not quite plain from this record just what Mr. Dickson intended by his motion; perhaps it was to protect the Menotomy corn fields by fencing, perhaps to provide them with fish before other localities were served.

In February, 1685, the weir and weir field were let to Nathaniel Patten for thirty shillings for the ensuing year, and in April, 1686, he was chosen to look after the gate at "Notomie Bridge," for which service the rent of the weir was to be allowed him.

The foregoing is from the "Town and Selectmen's Records." In The "Proprietors' Records," under date of March 28, 1715, we find that a committee was appointed, one of whose duties it was to let the weirs, and on April 8, 1717, the same committee reported that they had "Let ye benefit of ye Wares to Catch fish, the high way & Common Land thereto belonging for this present year to mr. Henry Dunster & mr. Samuel Bowman for twelve Shillings, they to delivr. ye fish to ye Inhabitants of Said town at Eight pence p thousand."

The Proprietors voted, in June, 1719, to resign the privilege and benefit of the weirs for catching fish to the town, provided the town would defend the weirs against encroachment, and pay certain expenses, and that the fish be equitably distributed at a price not exceeding nine pence per thousand, and finally that the town make acceptance at its next public meeting.

Evidently the town did not accept, for at a meeting of the Proprietors held March 25, 1720, it was "Voted that the privilage of ye Wares for catching of fish, with the Lands thereto appertaining, belongs to Said Proprietors." "Also Voted that One Acre of ye Batts of Great Spy pond on ye North Side ye Bridge over Mills's Ware be laid out for ye better Securing Said Proprietors' privilage

of Catching of fish in Said Town." The "Bridge" carried Weir Lane, or Lake Street, Arlington, over the outlet of Spy Pond.

A committee of the Proprietors, on April 15, 1726, let to Colonel Edmund Goff and Lieutenant Amos Marrett the whole privilege of catching fish at Mills's weir for that year. This is the last mention of the weirs in the " Proprietors' Records."

"Ye half Acre of Land laid out for ye benefit of ye wares & ye high Way leading unto it thru Ware field" was under consideration by the Proprietors during the winter of 1723-1724, and at a meeting held

May 15, 1724, it was voted that John Dickson have the improvement of the half-acre of land at the weir and the highway leading to it through Ware Field during the year for six shillings.

In his "History of Cambridge" Paige tells us that at an early period the Dickson family occupied an estate on the easterly side of Menotomy River, extending from North Avenue (now Massachusetts Avenue) to the Winter Hill Road (Broadway, Somerville). On July 24, 1687, pursuant to a vote of the town, the selectmen laid out to John Dickson about one-fourth acre of land, on which to build a house and barn, "in our ware field next Charlestown line;" the northwest boundary was next the Ware Field, on which boundary he was to maintain a fence.

Apparently the half-acre at the weir and the highway leading thereto were never definitely laid out by a vote of the Proprietors, but were reserved. In 1707 four lots were assigned, "In the Ware field." The lot numbered thirty-six, falling to Amos Marrett, was divided by the highway to the weir. That part of Marrett's lot on the easterly side of the highway was bounded northerly by the half-acre, while the portion on the westerly side bordered northerly on Menotomy River.

Massachusetts Avenue in Cambridge, above the Common, was in use as a path or road as early as 1635, and perhaps earlier, and was called the "highway to Menotomy," also, the "Great Road," and "Concord Road."

From the foregoing records we learn that in 1635 a fish weir was established on Menotomy River, and that in the following year a cartway was made to the weir, leading from Menotomy road, a part of which was doubtless Tannery Street. Amos Mar-

rett acquired other land in Ware Field and disposed of his holdings there to John Dickson. Marrett's southeast boundary was on Cambridge Common, meaning common land. Dickson soon acquired all the land between what is now Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, and Broadway, Somerville, though how he came into possession of the weir land I have been unable to ascertain. He died March 22, 1736-1737, and his estate was divided among his sons. In later deeds that portion of the estate next Massachusetts Avenue is described as bordering southeasterly on an open way or lane, leading to Dickson's house, the present Tannery Street.

Tannery Street would be the natural route around the head of the swamp bordering Tannery Brook to the high ground beyond, and thence to the Weir. We also learn that the bridge over the river was called Menotomy Bridge, and that there was a gate at that point; that the weir and the right to take fish thereat, also the weir land and the cartway leading thereto were leased to various residents of the town from time to time, and that the designation for the lands between Massachusetts Avenue and the Somerville line east of Menotomy River was "Ware Field."

There is a plan in the Cambridge city engineer's office at City Hall, bearing date of 1862, on which is shown a foot bridge crossing Menotomy River about seven hundred and forty feet northerly or down stream from Massachusetts Avenue. Just below this bridge appears on the plan the word "fisheries."

This is the spot where the early land grants show the ancient fish weir to have been located, where shad and alewives were taken by the colonists for "fishing their Indian corn." The foot bridge was just at the point where the high land draws close to the river on either side, forming the outfall of the

basin in which lie Fresh and Spy Ponds and the Fresh Pond meadows. It would be the natural place to locate a weir, for above the "great swamp" spread out on either side, while a short distance below the river was crossed by the Charlestown line, beyond which the weir could not be located according to the grant. The land is now owned by the Commonwealth and is just within the lines of Menotomy River Parkway. The Cambridge Poor Farm occupies a part of Ware Field.

There was another weir of later date called "Mills's Ware," at the outlet of Spy Pond, and a resident of Cambridge informs me

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that he very well remembers a fish house which stood over the brook just north of Concord Avenue, where the fish were taken as they passed through a plank flume.

A committee appointed in 1767 to make a survey of Charlestown streets, and to assert the town's rights where encroachments had been made, reported that "There is a fishing place at Menotomy Bridge, South Side" (Broadway, Somerville) "which appears to belong to the Town, but Mr. Dickson has put up a fence & enclosed the most of it."

That the land belonged to the town is no doubt correct, but their right to take fish there was denied by the County Court in 1681, as appears in the records of the Court: "The selectmen of Cambridge, plaintiffs against Capt. Lawrence Hammond and John Cutler, jun., defendants, do humbly declare as followeth, &c. In the year 1634 the General Court granted them liberty to erect a ware upon Minottomy River, and they accordingly so did, and have had quiet possession of the same from that time until now, without any disturbance of their neighbors of Charlestown or any other; and hath been in a manner the stay and support of the town by fishing their Indian corn, which is the principal part of their husbandry and livelihood .... The defendants have both violently and contempuously proceeded to obstruct the passage of the fish to the wares, which they so long possessed, as above said, to their great damage and loss of two hundred thousand fish, which we judge will be a hundred pounds damage to the town in their crop, and tending to the inevitable impoverishing of divers poor families."

Paige says, writing in 1877: "The practice of 'fishing their Indian corn' was long ago abandoned by cultivators in Cambridge; but the privilege of taking fish in Menotomy River remains valuable. It has been subject to occasional controversies and litigations since 1681, in all which Cambridge has preserved the rights originally granted; and to the present day 'fish officers' are annually appointed by the city council to take care that those rights suffer no infringement." The superintendent of sewers and the superintendent of the water-works are now the "fish officers" of Cambridge.

Russell Cook, an old resident of the neighborhood next Menotomy River, and living there at present, states that alewives were so plentiful in the river during the spawning season that "one could

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walk across on them." In 1875 tide gates were built in the river near Broadway, which practically put a stop to the fish ascending above that point. The great abundance of alewives taken from the river

during the first two hundred years of settlement very naturally lead to its being referred to as the Alewife Brook, and so in the Commissioners' Records we find, under the survey of 1802, the bridge carrying Menotomy Road, now Broadway, Somerville, over Menotomy River referred to as the Alewife Bridge.

The stream was sometimes called "the Little River" and "Little Mystic" as the Mystic River was called the "Great River." We find it called Little River in 1826 and 1848.

Little River has remained as the name of the outlet of Spy Pond, which was sometimes called Menotomy Pond, while Menotomy River was the outlet of Fresh Pond.

In the "History of Arlington" Cutter says: "The names of Mystic and Menotomy rivers are apparently aboriginal designations, and, like all Indian names, probably describe the locality to which they were affixed. Trumbull gives the origin of the name Mystic anciently written Mistick, as applied to the Medford River, thus: 'Tuk' in Indian denotes a river whose waters are driven in waves by the tide or winds. With the adjectival missi, 'great,' it forms missituk, now written Mystic - the name of the 'great river of Boston bay.' The origin of the name Menotomy yet awaits explanation. The spellings of the word have been various."

In the Cambridge Town Records, 1630-1703, we find the river Called "Menotomies," "Menotomy," "Notomy," and "Winattime"; in the Proprietors' Records, 1635-1829, it is given, "Menotmy," "Manotomie," and "Menotamye"; the Commissioners' Records, 1638-1802, give "Winotamies" and "Menotomies" River. Paige calls it "Menotomy" River, and Wyman refers to "Menotomy" River no less than forty times between 1637 and 1808, and once to Alewife River, in 1818.

Cutter gives "Menotomy" River, and there have been found in the Middlesex registry no less than thirty deeds, between the years 1646 and 1794, in which Menotomy River is mentioned.

"Menotomy" is the form of spelling used by far the greater number of times in the above records, and, as the records show, Menotomy River was the name by which the beautiful little stream,

winding its way through the marshes and meadows from Fresh Pond to the Mystic, was known for nearly two hundred years. Its waters were clear and of considerable depth, and at the old weir below Massachusetts Avenue it had a width, in 1862, of about twenty feet, while above it had a less and below a greater width. That the river was used for boats is shown by the following Revolutionary record. On May 10, 1775, the Committee of Safety voted "that Mr. Watson be directed and empowered to remove to Cambridge the boats now in Menotomy river."

At the conclusion of Mr. Holmes's paper the meeting was dissolved.

# THE NINETEENTH MEETING

## BEING THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE NINETEENTH MEETING, being the Sixth Annual Meeting, of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-fifth day of October, nineteen hundred and ten, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in the building of the Cambridge Latin School, Trowbridge Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The following persons were chosen a committee to consider and report a list of nominations for the officers of the Society for the ensuing year: HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY, FRANKLIN PERRIN, and STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES.

On behalf of the Council MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI submitted its Annual Report, as follows:

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THE By-Laws of the Cambridge Historical Society call for a report from the Council at each October meeting. In accordance with this custom we herewith submit the Fifth Annual Report. Another year has passed over the head of the Society and we are still bewailing our youth. Had our Charter been dated fifty years ago how much we might have saved from the wreck of time! How many noted names we might have shown on our roll of membership I But regretting the past avails little now; we must take courage and do what we can with our material.

This year we have not much to report. No centenaries of famous sons of Cambridge have brought our name prominently before

the public, no great work has been accomplished, we have not even yet obtained a permanent home.

There have been three meetings of the Council, one at the Latin School on October 26, 1909, two at the house of the President, November 30, 1909, and May 27, 1910. The Society has held three regular meetings, all, by the courtesy of the authorities, in the Lecture Hall of the Latin School. The Annual

Meeting came on October 26, 1909, when the elections were held, Frank Gaylord Cook going out of office as Secretary and Francis Hill Bigelow being chosen to fill his place.

An amendment to the By-Laws was passed, so that Article XVI now reads: "Any regular member shall be exempted from the annual payment if at any time after his admission he shall pay into the Treasury fifty dollars in addition to his previous payments; and any Associate Member shall be similarly exempted on payment of twenty-five dollars. All commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses"; thus providing for Life Membership in the Society.

The speaker for the evening was Mr. Stephen Pascall Sharples, who read an interesting paper on the Lawrence Scientific School, this institution having passed into history. Mr. Sharples was an early pupil and later was instructor in this school, so that he was able to give a full account of its origin, history, and work, and tell of its famous teachers and pupils.

This meeting occurring just as Harvard College was inaugurating a new president, the following timely letters and records were read, all telling of former elections and inaugurations of presidents of Harvard: Extracts from the journal of Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, daughter of President Quincy, 1816-1838; a letter from Edward Everett Hale to George J. Abbot, of Washington, D. C., telling of the acceptance of the presidency by the uncle of the writer, Hon. Edward Everett, in 1845; also letters from Willard Phillips to Octavius Pickering written at the time that Jared Sparks was elected and inaugurated, 1848-1849.

The regular winter meeting was held at the Latin School, January 25, 1910. It was unfortunately a very stormy night, so that only about thirty persons were present to enjoy the able paper read by Mr. Worthington Chauncey Ford, of the Massachusetts Historical

Society, on "Certain Defects in our Historical Societies." Mr. Ford sketched for us an Historical

Society as it should not be, and then gave several suggestions as to how we could work to the best advantage. He thought it would be a great help if the historical societies would supply the central society with a list of all original documents owned by them, if indeed they did not deposit the documents themselves with the State Society. He said that the Massachusetts Society could mend and care for documents much better than the local societies, and that they would be carefully catalogued and could be consulted at all times.

The remainder of the session was occupied by an informal talk on old documents in historical societies and county courts and how badly some of them were kept, and it was voted that the Council be asked to ascertain what unprinted documents of historical value are in the hands of the City Clerk, and to see that they have proper care and arrangement, also to ascertain if it would not be possible to have a list printed of the wills before 1700 that are in the Middlesex Probate Office, no such list ever having been published.

The third regular meeting was held April 26, 1910. Owing to a severe storm, only twenty-five members were present. A paper was read by Miss Elizabeth Ellery Dana on Lieutenant James Dana of Connecticut, who was quartered in Cambridge during the first year of the Revolution and who fought

at Bunker Hill. Several small articles, formerly the property of Lieutenant Dana, were presented to the Society by Mrs. Almeda Anthony Snyder, of East Worcester, N. Y.

Mr. J. Albert Holmes read an exhaustive paper on "The Ancient Fish Weir on Menotomy River." Alewives, the fish that abound in this river, played an important part in the early days of Cambridge, and mention of them is found several times in the records of town meetings. The Indians taught the early settlers to plant alewives in every hill of corn to make it productive.

The bronze Longfellow medal was awarded to Gilbert Franke by the Society, in February of this year, for the best essay on "The Patriotic Poems of Longfellow." This is the second time this medal has been given, and this year, as well as the first year, it went to a son of a professor in Harvard. Both winners were

pupils in the Browne and Nichols Preparatory School. The successful competitor read the essay before his fellow pupils, the members of the Committee on Medals, and a number of parents of the scholars, as well as the President and members of the Council.

The Society has lost by death six regular members: James Barr Ames, John Rayner Edmands, William James Rolfe, Emma Griscom Smith, Alvin Foye Sortwell, and Sarah Hodges Swan. Three Associate members have also passed to the great majority: Alexander Agassiz; Arthur Gilman, who as a Charter member was most active in the formation of the Society; and William Harmon Niles, who at our celebration of the Louis Agassiz Centenary, May, 1907, gave us a paper on the great naturalist from the standpoint of a pupil. Since the last Annual Meeting twelve members have signed the By-Laws, and if there are any present to-night who have not signed it is hoped that they will kindly do so after this meeting.

So much for the year passed; now what are we going to do as to the future? It was voted at the last Council Meeting to have an Index made of the Proprietors' and the Town Records. This is very important, as at present anyone trying to get information regarding early settlers is obliged to read much of the books, and owing to the eccentric spelling of the scribes of those days may even then overlook the most important items. It is hoped that this work may be completed during the coming season.

We are gradually accumulating many objects that will be of interest to our descendants, as your Curator will tell you. And now let me urge on every member to try to do something to further our aims this coming year. Your Council is composed of more or less distinguished men and women, all very much engaged in varied pursuits, but here are nearly two hundred members, many of whom have until now done nothing for the common good. What will you do this year? Do you not know of some old record in a family Bible, some old letters written from Cambridge, a scrapbook perhaps? Even if these things do not seem very important to you they may furnish facts that we wish to know. We do not ask for the originals, copies will answer our purpose. Have you no old obituaries or biographical sketches of Cambridge citizens? We should be glad to have them. In these days when everyone photographs are there no views of Cambridge streets and houses of which

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you could give us copies? Mr. Ford suggested that Cambridge streets should be photographed every few years and prints filed away for future reference; had that been done in the past many knotty points would be cleared up. Have you no sketches of houses long gone? Is there not some record of the past known to you that you could send to the Curator, who will receive anything, no matter how small the gift? Do not sit idle and leave all the work to others; show us what you can do. If everyone will cheerfully do his best, our Society will not exist in vain.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

THE past year has not had the noteworthy events to make it as interesting as the previous ones, and the duties of the Secretary have been of minor importance.

Many suggestions have been made before the Society and to the Council at its meetings which should bring results of considerable consequence.

There remains, of course, much to be accomplished by the Society, but with the hearty cooperation of the members the future has much of interest in store.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR

IN accordance with the plan of arrangement for the Society's collection of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, curios, etc., which was determined upon a year ago, and stated in the last Annual Report, the Curator has had, this year, a definite course to follow, and he has had the good fortune to secure, at a moderate expenditure, the services of an expert cataloguer, Miss Ella S. Wood, by whom the work has been completed and brought down to this date.

Interesting statistics have resulted from this completed work. The collection now has 135 bound volumes; 759 pamphlets; 123 pamphlet holders, containing 1,917 letters; 33 photographs and portraits of Cambridge people, of which 7 are framed; 24 views of or in Cambridge; and 9 curios, etc.

The additions during the period covered by this Report were 72 bound volumes, 98 pamphlets, and 1 curio. Notable among the earlier gifts was the chair of Washington Allston,

obtained from the income of a fund in the hands of Mr. Richard H. Dana as sole trustee.<sup>1</sup> Among the later donors, as listed in this year's Proceedings, were Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who gave an album of photographs of Cambridge men of note during the last century; our Secretary, Mr. Francis H. Bigelow, who gave a considerable number of books, pamphlets, and a framed group of tiles from the Todd house; and Miss Mary E. Saunders, who turned over to the Society a miscellaneous collection of books, pamphlets, and newspapers which had belonged to her father, the late George S. Saunders, of 9 Concord Avenue.

A glance at the shelf-list will make the plan of arrangement clear, and by its use, for some time to come, the collection is easily accessible. Following the custom in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the books are not themselves numbered. The simplicity of the plan of arrangement there, as here, makes a detailed classification unnecessary, that being left to the card catalogue proper, which now comfortably fills a two-tray case, with a total of some 1,500 cards.

The shelf arrangement by cards, showing some variations from the original plan, and suggesting some later modifications, is as follows:

1. General reference works (the few needed).
2. General histories: Societies, etc.
3. Collected biographies and genealogies: Societies, etc.
4. Histories by States (except New England), including cities, towns, and counties: Societies, etc.
5. New England States (except Massachusetts), including cities, towns, and counties: Societies, etc.
6. Massachusetts cities, towns, and counties (except Cambridge): Societies, etc.
7. Cambridge: (a) Historical and other Societies: Proceedings, etc.  
(b) City publications.  
(c) Books, pamphlets, views, etc.  
(d) Books, etc. by and about Cambridge people.  
(e) Early imprints.  
(f) Harvard University: Reports, etc.  
(g) Radcliffe College: " "

1. This fund was made up of the net proceeds of the exhibition of Washington Allston's picture of Belshazzar's Feast, in 1843, with accumulation of interest. (See account in Suffolk Probate Court.)

(h) Other institutions.

(i) Curios, relics, souvenirs, etc.

8. Miscellaneous.

Adherence to the plan of arrangement and choice of material adopted for the Society's collection, and observance of its proper scope and necessary limitations will unavoidably make its growth slower than that possible for other collections of larger scope, but it is believed that there will be a compensating gain, as was stated in the Report of last year, by reason of the development of the collection along exclusive lines as drawn; and it is hoped that there will be sufficient material forthcoming, not only to add to the value and size of the collection, but also to make imperative, beyond further delay, the provision of adequate quarters, and eventually of a building of its own.

# ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER CASH ACCOUNT

IN obedience to the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer herewith presents his Annual Report of the Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1909-1910.

## RECEIPTS

Balance, 26 October, 1909 --- \$170.83

Admission Fees --- \$16.00

Annual Assessments: Regular Members --- \$531.00

Associate Members --- 18.00 --- [subtotal] 549.00

Commutation of the Annual Dues:

Regular Member --- 50.00

Associate Member --- 25.00 --- [subtotal] 75.00

Society's Publications sold --- 45.00 [subtotal] 685.00

[total receipts]--- \$855.53

## DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press, printing Publications IV, By-Laws, and bills --- \$313.73

Bureau of Printing and Engraving, printing notices and postal cards --- 10.50

Hobbs and Warren Company, letter book --- 3.50

Massachusetts Historical Society, pamphlets and reprints --- 2.40

Harriet L. Horne, clerical services rendered the Treasurer --- 25.00

Edna M. Bullard, stenography and typewriting --- 22.74

**[subtotal] \$377.87**

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### **Expenditures brought forward --- \$377.87**

Sarah L. Patrick, typewriting --- 19.00

Thomas F. Cahir, janitor service --- 5.00

Walter K. Munroe, services --- 1.25

Postage and expressage --- 23.55

[subtotal] \$426.67

Cataloguing the Collections:

Ella Sites Wood, services --- \$99.25

Stuart N. Hotaling, services --- 2.40

Library Bureau, cards, oak tray and catalogue case --- 10.88

Amee Brothers, stationery --- 11.68

H. C. Dimond and Company, rubber stamps --- 1.49

[subtotal] 125.70

General Fund, Commutation Fees received during the year --- 75.00

Balance on deposit 25 October, --- 228.46

**[total disbursements] \$855.83**

HENRY H. EDES, Treasurer.

CAMBRIDGE, 25 October, 1910.

# REPORT OF THE AUDITOR

I HEREBY certify that I have examined the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Cambridge Historical Society for the year ending this day and find them to have been correctly kept and to be properly vouched. I have also verified the Cash Balance.

ANDREW McF. DAVIS, Auditor.

CAMBRIDGE, 25 October, 1910.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was read and accepted and the Committee was discharged.

The following persons, nominated by the Committee, were elected by ballot for the ensuing year:

## The Council

CLARENCE WALTER AYER, HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY, FRANCIS HILL BIGELOW, RICHARD HENRY DANA, ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS, HENRY HERBERT EDES, MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, EDWARD HENRY HALL, THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW, WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

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President --- RICHARD HENRY DANA.

Vice-presidents --- THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS, ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE.

Secretary --- CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

Treasurer --- HENRY HERBERT EDES.

Curator --- CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

The SECRETARY-ELECT was duly sworn.

On behalf of the Committee on Early Settlers' Descendants the following report was presented by Mary Isabella Gozzaldi:

# REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EARLY SETTLERS' DESCENDANTS

THIS Committee was appointed in the first year of tile Society, but never before has made a report. The members who have filled out their papers are:

MISSES ELIZABETH HARRIS and ALBERTA MANNING HOUGHTON. Descended in the eighth generation from Major Simon Willard, 1632.

In the ninth generation from William Manning, before 1638.

MRS. EMMA MARIA (CUTTER) MITCHELL (MRS. JOHN). In the eighth generation from Richard Cutter who came to Cambridge about 1638; Thomas Fillebrown, admitted to the Cambridge Church in 1666.

MRS. MARY GERTRUDE (PARKER) SHEFFIELD (MRS. GEORGE). In the seventh generation from Richard Hildreth, here before 1644; Edward Winship, 1635; John Poulter who lived at Cambridge Farms in 1697.

MRS. MARY ISABELLA (JAMES) GOZZALDI (MRS. SILVIO). In the ninth generation from William Adams, who had a land grant in 1635, and was made freeman May 22, 1639.

MISS MARION BROWN FESSENDEN, descended from twentythree early settlers; twice (both in maternal and paternal lines) from seven of these. In the eighth generation from Nicholas Fessenden, before 1674; Lieut. David Fiske, about 1646; John Brown, before 1656; William Munroe, (two lines) 1652; John Mason, (two lines) before 1676; Thomas Fillebrown, admitted to the Church in 1666; John Rolfe, before 1656; John Spring, (two lines) before 1657.

In the ninth generation from Lydia Cooper, before 1636; Henry Prentice, before 1643; Nathaniel Bowman, 1650; Roger Wellington, 1638; James Cutler, (two lines) 1649; Elizabeth Cutter, (two lines) about 1640; Nicholas Wyeth, about 1645; John Ward, about 1643; Thomas Sweatman, 1645; Thomas Cheney, before 1656; George Reed, 1635.

In the tenth generation from Edward Jackson, before 1643; Gregory Stone, 1637.

In the eleventh generation from John Bridge, (two lines) 1632; Nicholas Danforth, (two lines) 1635.

MISS SARAH ALICE WORCESTER. In the eighth generation from Governor Thomas Dudley, 1631.

MISS SUSANNA WILLARD. In the seventh generation from Major Simon Willard, 1634.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON WHITTEMORE. In the sixth generation from Samuel Whittemore.

In the eighth generation from President Henry Dunster, 1640; Governor Thomas Dudley, 1631; Mrs. Elizabeth Cutter, 1638.

MRS. ISABELLA STUART WHITTEMORE (MRS. WILLIAM R.). In the sixth generation from Abraham Ireland.

JOSEPH HENRY BEALE. In the ninth generation from Thomas Fillebrown, 1666; Henry Prentice, before 1643; Nicholas Wyeth, about 1645; John Ward, about 1643.

In the tenth generation from Mrs. Elizabeth Cutter, 1638.

WILLIAM EBEN STONE. In the eighth generation from Gregory Stone, 1637; John Champney, 1638.

FRANCIS HILL BIGELOW has eighteen ancestors among the early settlers. In the sixth generation from Joseph Hill, 1727.

In the seventh generation from Owen Warland; Josiah Parker.

In the eighth generation from Henry Prentice, before 1643; John Ward, about 1643; William Reed, 1718; Richard Dana; Nicholas Wyeth, about 1645.

In the ninth generation from Lydia Cooper, before 1636; John Benjamin, 1635; Lieut. David Fiske, about 1646; Francis Whitmore; John Brewer, 1642; Edward Jackson, 1643; John Champney, 1638; Thomas Blodgett, 1635.

In the tenth generation from William Manning, before 1638; Richard Parks, 1638.

JOHN HERBERT BARKER, of Waltham, Associate member. In the eighth generation from Richard Francis; John Cooper; Nicholas Wyeth.

In the ninth generation from Henry Prentice; Nathaniel Hancock; John Ward; Nathaniel Sparhawk.

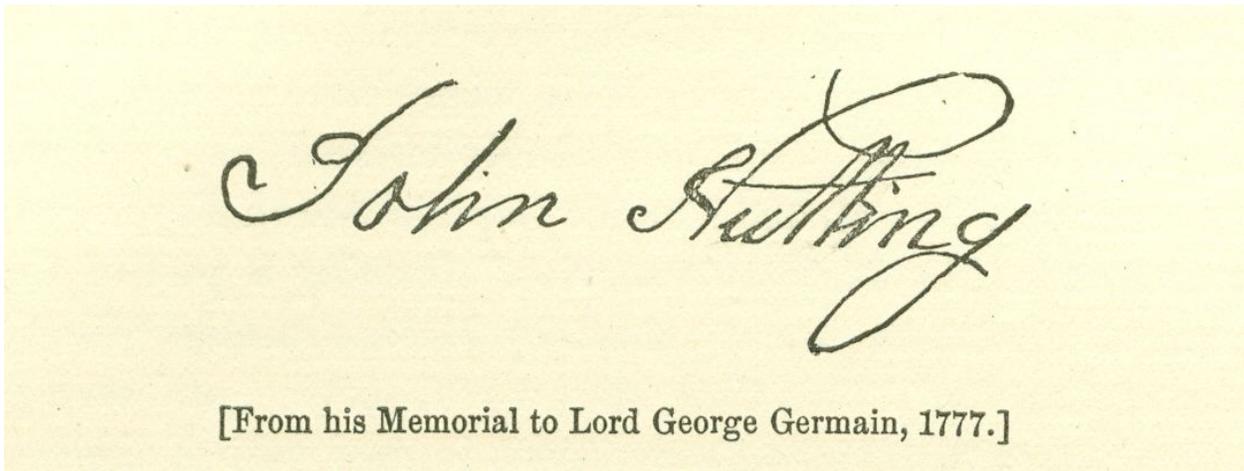
In the tenth generation from Edward Jackson; Jonas Clarke.

Only fourteen members of the two hundred have sent in their papers. I know that it is considerable trouble to make them out, but it is also very interesting. I have blanks for anyone who will use them, and shall be glad to make out the papers for members who will send me their line from anyone mentioned in Paige's History of Cambridge.

Although only fourteen members have reported, they represent nearly fifty of the early settlers. There are a great many more than this represented by their descendants in our Society.

Upon the main subject for the meeting SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER read the following paper:

# ADVENTURES OF JOHN NUTTING, CAMBRIDGE LOYALIST



*Signature of John Nutting. From his Memorial to Lord George Germain, 1777*

To paraphrase Cowper, hymning the surprising adventures of another John:

John Nutting was a carpenter

Of credit and renown.

A train-band captain eke was he

Of famous Cambridge town.

His father was James the locksmith, of humble but respectable pedigree, - so humble that only his wife's first name, Mercy, is recorded.<sup>1</sup> Young John was born 14 January, 1739, Old Style.<sup>2</sup> Within the week he was baptized<sup>3</sup> after the prompt, Godfearing fashion of his day, and named for his uncle, the aristocrat of the family, who held the double distinction of a Harvard degree and the Collectorship at Salem.

Six years later his father died,<sup>4</sup> and the lad, on reaching suitable age, was apprenticed to John Walton,<sup>5</sup> housewright, of Reading. This worthy was destined to play an important part in his career,

1. Cf. L. R. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 616, etc.

2. From data collected by John's grandson, the late Charles Martyr Nutting, K.C., of Halifax, most kindly placed at my disposal by his nephew, Henry Haliburton Robinson, Esq., of London. Hereinafter referred to as Nutting Papers.

3. 21 January, 1739. Register of First Parish, Cambridge.

4. Administration granted to the widow 27 Jan. 1745-6, with an allowance for the three youngest (sic) children "one of which was sickly." Middlesex Probate Records, No. 16138. It seems impossible to suppose John was the invalid.

5. 96 Massachusetts Archives (Muster Rolls), 420.

at least in that portion of it connected with Cambridge. He is often called Captain Walton,<sup>6</sup> and we may surmise that it was through his influence that his apprentice, when only seventeen, marched from Cambridge in Captain Fuller's company of Colonel William Brattle's regiment "on the alarm for the relief of Fort William Henry."<sup>7</sup> He served but two weeks on that expedition, getting no farther than Springfield, where the news of the final disaster to the ill-fated garrison probably reached his command.

The next year he enlisted<sup>8</sup> under Captain Aaron Fay in "a company of foot in His Majesty's service," forming a part of Colonel Ebenezer Nichols's regiment raised by Massachusetts for the reduction of Canada." This time he saw real service, and on a pretty considerable scale. Nichols's regiment formed part of the composite force of over fifteen thousand men, regulars and militia, that gathered that summer on the shores of Lake George, and under the inefficient Abercrombie made a bootless attack on Montcalm, entrenched at Ticonderoga. Young Jack must have had his fill of wilderness-marching, lake-paddling, and stockade-building; and perhaps of fighting as well, for on at least one occasion his regiment was severely cut up.<sup>9</sup> He may have seen and must have lamented the untimely death of young Lord Howe, who, though nominally second in command, was the life and soul of the expedition.

These early seeds of martial experience evidently fell on good ground. Nutting's aptitude for military life, especially of the militia variety, as well as the early development of his powers of command, organization, persuasion, and camaraderie, so essential to promotion therein, may be inferred from the fact that ere the Revolution he had been elected "acting lieutenant" of the Cambridge company, - doubtless in place of Lieutenant Samuel Thatcher, who on the reorganization of the militia shortly before the outbreak of active hostilities had been promoted Captain, vice Thomas Gard-

6. In 1775, when he had moved to Cambridge, he was first lieutenant in the local company, with his brother for second. L. R. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 408.

7. 95 Massachusetts Archives (Muster Rolls), 377.

8. 2 May, 1758. 96 Massachusetts Archives (Muster Rolls), 420. Nichols was a Reading man. L. Eaton, *Genealogical History of Reading*, 98.

9. Cf. R. Rogers, *Journal*, 121. J. Cleaveland, *Journal*; xii. Essex Institute Historical Collections, 190; etc.

ner.<sup>10</sup> In this position his influence was certainly sufficient to make his leadership sought by both sides in the struggle,<sup>11</sup> as we shall see.

Perhaps it is not too fanciful to picture the young militiaman returning in November from his first campaign, with the irresistible air of all true sons of Mars, making conquest then and there of the heart of his master's daughter, Mary Walton. At all events we find him three years later, just out of his indentures and entitled to call himself housewright on his own account, preparing a home for his bride in Cambridge. On November 7, 1761, he bought of William Bordman for £16 lawful money a little lot of a quarter of an acre (about where the Epworth Church now stands) "on the highway or Common as far as the land belonging to the Heirs of Mr. Johnathan Hastings decd" and in front of "the Tan Yard," with "half the well."<sup>12</sup> Here he built a modest house "two story high, three rooms on a floor" - "a good house," as one of his boarders testified later,<sup>13</sup> and it is something for a boarder to say that. Here the young couple established themselves, and here, 26 April, 1762,<sup>14</sup> was born their first child, a daughter, baptized<sup>15</sup> Mary for her mother; her father, as was customary (if not already done), "owning the covenant" the same day in Dr. Appleton's meeting. The next June he bought an additional strip of land from Bordman for £6 lawful.<sup>16</sup>

The extant records of his next few years are mainly concerned with the good old-fashioned steady increases to the family, till half a dozen babies were tumbling about the little house opposite the common. John Junior was born 3 March, 1764;<sup>17</sup> Mercy (named from

10. L. R. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 408.

11. Memorial to the Commissioners on Loyalists' Claims. Heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

12. 59 Middlesex Deeds, 266.

13. Testimony of Nathaniel Bust before the Commissioners, 29 December, 1785. *American Loyalists Transcripts*, xiii. 303. Public Library, New York City.

14. Nutting Papers.

15. 9 May, 1762. First Parish Records.

16. 59 Middlesex Deeds, 624.

17. Nutting Papers. Baptized 11 March, 1764. First Parish Records. Died unmarried 30 July, 1822. Nutting Papers.

her paternal grandmother) arrived on Washington's Birthday, 1766;<sup>18</sup> Mary No. 2 (No. 1 having died 12 April, 1766<sup>19</sup>) came to carry on the name, 1 March, 1768;<sup>20</sup> Elizabeth (another family cognomen) opened her eyes on 5 April, 1770;<sup>21</sup> James (named from his paternal grandfather) joined the flock on 8 May, 1772;<sup>22</sup> and Susanna pnt in an appearance on 28 August, 1773.<sup>23</sup>

Meanwhile our housewright was becoming a man of substance and standing. In 1768 he was appointed one of the parish taxcollectors, and had the handling of as much as a hundred and sixty pound on a single accounting.<sup>24</sup> In his turn he began to take apprentices.<sup>25</sup> His father-in-law Walton seems to have put work in his way, and certainly stood behind him with financial backing,<sup>26</sup> He himself described his business as "extensive," both as masterbuilder and in the lumber trade.<sup>27</sup> Among other important jobs, he did nearly a hundred and forty pounds' worth of work in building Mr. Thomas Oliver's fine house,<sup>28</sup> which under the name of "Elmwood" still stands stout and good.

He also dabbled in maritime interests. A strong streak of the sea was in his blood. The family name was well represented among the amphibious population of Salem, Marblehead, and Glou-

18. Nutting Papers. Baptized 3 March, 1766. First Parish Records. Died 1784. Nutting Papers.

19. Stone in Cambridge Churchyard.

20. Nutting Papers. Baptized 6 March, 1768. First Parish Records. Married Captain Daniel McNeil of North Carolina, 27 November, 1788, at Halifax, and had three children. Died circa 1795. Nutting Papers.

21. Nutting Papers. Baptized 6 May, 1770. First Parish Records. Died between 1776 and 1783. See *post*.

22. Nutting Papers. Baptized perhaps at Christ Church, for by this date Nutting had left the First Parish meeting. Died between 1776 and 1783.

23. Ditto.

24. First Parish Account Book labeled "1763."

25. When he went to Halifax he took two of them along. Memorial to Germain, 28 February, 1778. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

26. 71 Middlesex Deeds, 430.

27. Memorial to the Commissioners. Heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

28. "Account of Particulars of the Expences of Thomas Olivers Buildings in Cambridge." Bristol, 2 October, 1783. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 48, Public Record Office, London.

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cester.<sup>29</sup> and in the earliest records of the American Navy.<sup>30</sup> His father appears to have been the armorer of the little man-of-war *Prince of Orange* in the early 40's,<sup>31</sup> and at his death left, according to the inventory of his estate, "a Sain 100 / -, codline 5 / \_."<sup>32</sup> Of his brothers, James was a "marriner"<sup>33</sup> and Samuel a surgeon aboard the *Independence* and the *Rhodes* throughout the Revolution.<sup>34</sup> His

brother Jonathan was captured in the brig *Ruby* by the British and confined in the prison-ship at St. Lucia; but swam by night with ten companions to a vessel a mile off, overpowered her crew, and sailed away to freedom,<sup>35</sup> Two of his nephews, master and mate, found a sailor's grave in the loss of the *Hercules*.<sup>36</sup> He himself was paid "14/- for boating Mr. Serjeant's goods to Cambridge"<sup>37</sup> when that gentleman arrived as the new rector of Christ Church in the summer of 1767. He was so familiar with the Bay of Fundy and the coast of Maine that he was able a few years later to act as pilot to one of the British expeditions there along (of which more anon). This familiarity was evidently acquired on coastingtrips to secure his supplies of lumber, which, odd as it may sound, was then almost entirely brought to Boston from the shores of Maine.<sup>38</sup>

It was on these trips that he became interested in acquiring lands "to the Eastward," as the phrase then went - perhaps by

29. J. K. Nutting, *Nutting Genealogy*, *passim*.

30. *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the 'Val' of the Revolution*, xi. *passim*.

31. *Massachusetts Archives (Muster Rolls)*, *passim*.

32. *Middlesex Probate Records*, No. 16138.

33. *Middlesex Probate Records*, No. 16140.

34. *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution*, xi. *passim*.

35. C. Eaton, *History of Thomaston*, i. 149.

36. *Idem*. ii. 341.

37. *Christ Church Accounts*.

38. At the outbreak of the Revolution he "left Lumber to the Eastward to the value of £40 lawful Money." Testimony before the Commissioners, 29 December, 1785. *American Loyalists Transcripts*, xiii. 301. Public Library, New York City. Moreover, as early as 1750, since "The Fire Wood near *Boston* is much exhausted, we are under a necessity of fetching it from the *Province of Main*, and Territory of *Sagadahock*. A Wood Sloop with three Hands makes about 15 Voyages *per Ann.* from the Eastward to *Boston*, may carry about 30 Cord Fire Wood each Voyage." W. Douglass, *A Summary...of the British Settlements in North America*, ii. 68.

the advice of brother Jonathan, who from 1767 onwards was making considerable purchases and sales of real estate in what is now Thomaston, Maine, and the coast adjacent.<sup>39</sup> Following his example, and little foreseeing the results on his own and indeed on his country's history, our John began investing in shore lots, quite in the modern manner, just across Penobscot Bay, in what is now Castine, and up the Bagaduce River.

Save for the straggling clearings of a few of the original grantees,<sup>40</sup> that region was then an unbroken wilderness, covered to the water's edge with those magnificent pines and other evergreens that afforded an apparently inexhaustible supply of the finest timber, especially masts and spars, in a day

when masts and spars were a very real necessity. John Nutting set to work, either personally or by proxy, and in a few years was able to inventory his estates as:

"Two Houses to the Eastward of the Province of Massachusetts Bay --- £ 80"-

Two hundred acres & upwards of good Land in one of the most eligible situations in Penobscot purchased of the grantee<sup>41</sup> who possessed the same upwards of 20 years, more than 30 Acres of which is well cleared and under Improvement, the rest Wooded & Estimated at the least computation at --- 1000-

One third part of a Saw Mill adjoining Sd Land at Penobscot --- 70 -

A Farm partly cleared & Improved by myself on Bagwiduce River, 500 Acres --- 100 -"<sup>42</sup>

He spent a good deal of money on this property and got considerable returns from it. In 1769 he had on one account with a brother housewright, Nathaniel Kidder of Medford, who was appar-

39. Wiscasset Deeds, *passim*.

40. See full lists in 117 Massachusetts Archives, and 24 "Court Records" (March, 1762).

41. Apparently named Busy. Testimony of "Josiah Henny, late of Penobscot" before the Commissioners 29 December, 1785. xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 302. Public Library, New York City. The printed copies, generally more accurate, give the name Bary. A. Fraser, Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ontario, 59. Neither form has been otherwise identified.

42. A composite of two schedules, one dated Halifax, 15 January, 1784, the other undated, but heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Both in Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

ently acting as his agent, no less than £378 lawful money, including many cash payments, the "freight" on forty bushels of corn, thirty-one barrels, etc.<sup>43</sup>

But the year 1770 marks a sudden check in John Nutting's prosperous financial career, and somehow puts him in a hole from which he never completely extricated himself. He had been borrowing small sums from his father-in-law for a good while, and now had to mortgage his Cambridge property to him for £93.<sup>44</sup> Some of his Penobscot lands he had taken for bad debts,<sup>45</sup> and there may have been other sums owing to him not so well secured. At any rate he could not raise ready cash to meet his local creditors, and their suits when once begun came thick and fast.<sup>46</sup> Nathaniel Coolidge of Watertown brought suit against him in that year for lumber sold. In February, 1771, Kidder sued him for the "cash expended to the Eastward." In May the executor of Francis Dizer, "marriner" of Charlestown, sued him for promissory notes, probably on the same subject. In July Abijah Steadman, housewright, sued him on another note. In August John Smith, "taylor," sued him for eight pair of breeches, sundry lambskins and buttons. (The babies were evidently growing up.) In September Nathaniel Prentice, chaise maker, sued him on an agreement which is so characteristic of the business methods of that day that it may stand repetition:

"for that whereas the plt on ye fourth Day of January last, at Cambridge aforesd had agreed with & promised ye sd John to make & deliver to him, on or before the twenty fifth Day of April then next, another good Chaise such an one as ye plt had before that time made for one Francis Moore, ye sd

John in confideration thereof then & there promised ye plt to build for ye plaintiff a good Frame for a Barn of thirty Feet fquare, fourteen feet posts, oak sills, to be to the Acceptance of

43. Kidder v. Nutting, Middlesex Inferiour Court of Common Pleas, 1771. Original Files. In 1786 the charge for a passenger from Boston to Penobscot was 6 s. i. Bangor Historical Magazine, 58.

44. 71 Middlesex Deeds, 430.

45. Testimony of Lieutenant John Nutting before the Commissioners, Halifax, 29 December, 1785. xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 303. Public Library, New York City.

46. See original files of Middlesex Inferiour Court of Common Pleas. Clerk's Office, East Cambridge.

one Samll. Choate & one John Walton & to be delivered at ye House of Joseph Miller of Charlestown on or before ye said twenty fifth of April, at ye price of Eleven pounds fix shillings & Eight pence; and also to procure for ye plt another Frame twenty four feet in Length & twenty feet in Breadth with Oak Sills & fourteen feet posts, to be delivered at sd prentice's Dwelling House in sd Cambridge, on or before ye fifteenth Day of June then next at the price of Eight pounds & to be to the Acceptance of the Sd Choate and Walton, yet sd Nutting has never delivered the last mentioned frame, nor ever paid the £6.13.4 ..."

[Account annexed.]

"To a New Riding Chaise -- £22. 0.0

Cr. By a Barn Frame £12 By a pair of Chaise Wheels £3.6.8. --- 15. 6.8

Ball'a due to N. prentice --- 6.13.4"

Nutting was evidently at his wits' end to raise money. He negotiated a second mortgage on his Cambridge property to his father-in-law, for .£53.<sup>47</sup> He took at least one boarder.<sup>48</sup> Some of the suits he defaulted, others he contested on technicalities, and appealed, but did not prosecute the appeal. Occasionally he kept out of sight altogether, perhaps at Penobscot. In all the suits he lost his case. The amounts were generally trifling, and were probably settled by work at his trade. Kidder, whose claim was much the largest, actually proceeded to levy on Nutting's remaining interest in his twice-mortgaged house and lot, apparently conceded to be one-half: "containing a cellar measuring nine fott and four inches ... the west end of the house containing a Lower Room partly finished a Chamber also a Bed-Chamber North of the Stairs unfinished also half the whole Garret unfinished with the one half of the Entry Ways and Stair Ways in the whole of the House."<sup>49</sup>Prentice, in an attempt to find some property that could be come at by the time he began suit, attached Nutting's pew in the meeting-house: "One of the body Pews. the frunt pasfing [?] to Henry Prentice the back part to

47. 72 Middlesex Deeds, 104.

48. Mr. Nathaniel Rust. See his testimony before the Commissioners, *supra*, p. 57, note. Also his affidavit "that he resided at Cambridge many years preceding the late War." Halifax, 15 January, 1784. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

49. 73 Middlesex Deeds, 279.

Owen Worlen the two Ends on two allies."<sup>50</sup> From this time the unfortunate Nutting seems to have been an unchurched wanderer till he began attending Christ Church, just across the Common from his house. No doubt he already found his sympathies more with the Tory proprietors there than with the congregation in the meeting-house, with so many of whom he must have been by this time on bad terms. Even there he soon got into debt to the churchwardens, but in 1774 he was formally voted the rather unusual privilege of renting a pew, at 24/ - per annum.<sup>51</sup>

And now we come to that memorable Thursday, the first of September, 1774, when the Revolution very nearly began at daybreak on Cambridge Common, and when John Nutting definitely cast in his lot with the supporters of law and order and the King's government. In his own words, "receiving an Intimation from Colonel Phipps (Sheriff of the County) of General Gage's intention to remove the Magazine of Powder deposited at that place to Boston; and soliciting the assistance of your Memorialist, he readily assisted; notwithstanding he had been previously importuned by a Mob to head them and prevent the Removal of it.<sup>52</sup> . . . which altogether with his open Avowal of principles of Loyalty, raised the resentment of the populace against him to such a Degree as obliged him to quit his House & Family, & take refuge in Boston, under the protection of the Kings Troops."<sup>53</sup>

In Boston, whither his family soon followed him, he found himself in mighty genteel company.<sup>54</sup> many of his richest and most prominent fellow townsmen having also made it convenient to get in closer touch with the authorities at about the same time or even

50. Prentice v. Nutting. Original Files, *ubi supra*.

51. Christ Church Records.

52. Memorial to the Commissioners. Heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London. Cf. his testimony before the Commissioners: "... altho' the Mob desired and insisted that as an Officer of Militia he should prevent the Ordnance from being removed." xiii, American Loyalists Transcripts, 297. Public Library, New York City.

53. Memorial to Germain, "Read 22 Decr 77." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

54. "We have here Earls, Lords & Baronets, I assure you Names that sound Grand." Letter of Samuel Paine, Boston, Oct. 2-9, 1775. xxx. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 371.

earlier. From this point in his career indeed may be traced the beginnings of a knack of obtaining the friendship and confidence of the nobility and gentry that later developed to surprising proportions. To

his credit it must be added that those friendships never seem to have been unmerited nor that confidence misplaced. Unlike so many of his fellow-Tories, whose firm adherence to the Crown was mainly evidenced by a prodigious capacity for running away, his own loyalty, as events soon proved, was of an extremely practical kind.

Boston was full of the King's troops, and more were arriving at short intervals. In the chill nights of the early autumn their tents were already becoming uncomfortable, and the need of substantial housing for them soon became imperative. The authorities prudently forbore to billet the unwelcome visitors upon the town, and decided to build special barracks for them.<sup>55</sup>

The announcement of this design fell upon most unwilling ears. The dullest Bostonian could perceive that the erection of permanent barracks in his beloved and almost autonomous metropolis meant its degradation to the level of a mere garrison town. Moreover it was bruited on good authority that even if the present unhappy differences should be composed a garrison at Boston was to be maintained indefinitely, as a check on any possible future uprisings. The building of barracks immediately assumed the proportions of a grievance, adding one more to the already too plentiful stock of those commodities upon which the spirit of rebellion thrived. Attempts therefore to begin the work were met with a most effective passive resistance of the local mechanics. A trial of the regimental carpenters under the chief engineer Montrésor proved such a failure that Gage took measures to secure workmen from New York. "It's my opinion," remarked the observant Mr. John Andrews in his diary, "if they are wise, they won't come." And as a matter of fact they didn't, but snug on Manhattan Island contented themselves with passing the usual patriotic resolutions.<sup>56</sup>

55. The printed accounts of the following episode are mainly to be found in i. P. Force, *American Archives*, 4th series, 802-821, and J. Andrews, *Diary*, viii. *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 300. See also "Letters of Hugh Earl Percy," who was in direct charge of the camp.

56. Some came later, and a pretty set they were. A few days before the evacuation one of the Selectmen wrote: "The Inhabitants in the utmost distress, thro' fear of the Town being destroyed by the Soldiers, a party of New York Carpenters with axes going thro' the town breaking open houses, &c. Soldiers and sailors plundering of houses, shops, warehouses." *Newell's Journal*. i. *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 4th series, 274.

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Whereupon, "in consequence of the favorable representations of Lieutenant Governor Oliver and Gen. Gage's earnest solicitations," John Nutting came forward. and stoutly undertook the unpopular post of master-carpenter, "being," as he afterwards boasted, "the first person of an American that entered into the King's service when the troubles began." His executive capacity was astonishing. In the midst of the general disaffection, by hook or crook he managed to secure some forty or fifty men,<sup>57</sup> and the barrack frames began to rise both on the Common and at the Neck. The sight was too much for the Selectmen. If they could not traverse the orders of the Governor, they could adopt indirect methods, and on September 24 they significantly resolved "that should the mechanics or other inhabitants of this town assist the troops by furnishing them with artificers labourers or materials of any kind to build barracks or other places of accommodation for the troops, they will probably incur the displeasure of their brethren, who may withhold their contributions for the relief of the town, and deem them as enemies to the rights and liberties of *America*."

Gage saw the trick, and immediately sent for the Selectmen, "seemed a great deal worried," and with plentiful profanity represented that the work must go on, as the regiments had to be lodged somewhere. The wily Selectmen replied that for their own part they should actually prefer to see the soldiers kept together in barracks under discipline rather than scattered irresponsibly about the town, but that they had to consider the attitude of the surrounding places. In truth this was extremely threatening. "If they are suffered to proceed," observed Mr. Andrews, as to the imported laborers, "the matter is settled with us, for it is with the greatest difficulty that the country are restrained from coming in

57. Memorial to Germain, "Read 22 Decr 77." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London. He later explained that he got them "from the Country." Testimony before Commissioners, Halifax, 29 Dec. 1785. xiii, American Loyalists Transcripts, 297. Public Library, New York City.

even now." The Governor next interviewed "King" Hancock, begging him to get the vote reconsidered; but in vain, and on the 20th, "at four o'clock the workmen *all* pack'd up their tools and left the barracks, frames, &ca." The next day a combined meeting of the committees of all the neighboring towns voted not to supply the army with lumber, bricks, labor, or in short anything but those provisions" which mere humanity requires."

Affairs were now apparently at a stand. But the master-builder was a man of resource. The ship-carpenters from the fleet were pressed into service, while, acting no doubt on Nutting's knowledge of affairs "to the Eastward," an armed schooner was despatched to Halifax "for all the Artificers they can procure from there." Still the difficulties of the job were not over. On land the shipcarpenters proved in truth out of their element, "being very ignorant of the method of framing and indeed of any sort of work they wanted done," and had to be dismissed. Wages then unheard of were offered for a day's work - two dollars, three dollars, "or even any price at all" - but not a workman came forward.<sup>58</sup> Lumber soon became so scarce that it was hard to find boards enough to make even a coffin for the dead, to say nothing of a habitation for the living. A shipload of planks intended for Boston was seized by the rebels at Portsmouth, and got no farther. An old brick house at Point Shirley was torn down and turned into ill-constructed barrack chimneys. The troops were almost in mutiny for lack of their promised accommodations, and several regiments had to remain aboard the transports they arrived in, made fast along the wharves. Somehow Nutting struggled on with the work till about the middle of October.<sup>59</sup> when a party of carpenters arrived from Portsmouth (probably secured "at the Eastward"), and the idle and hungry Boston workmen had their first sight of "scabs" on high wages taking the bread out of their mouths. This was the last straw, and the usual recourse of all strikers followed. Nutting

58. Montrésor, the Chief Engineer, reported that in his department on October 1 "an addition was thought absolutely necessary of 1 master carpenter, 1 foreman carpenter, 20 carpenters," etc. xi. J. Almon, Parliamentary Register, 279.

59. Captain Evelyn notices the occurrence briefly in a letter dated 31 October, 1774. He adds that the man was by way of being hanged. Letters of Captain W. G. Evelyn, 39.

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was waylaid at night - but he shall tell the story in his own words, as found in his subsequent memorial to the Commissioners on Loyalists' Claims:

"Several members of the Rebel Committee called on him and used every persuasion and promised every advantage to induce him to quit the King's Works; but after finding their Entreaties without effect they proceeded to Violence; a Mob the next day having concealed themselves, seized on your Memorialist on his Way from thence to his Lodgings in Boston and after almost killing him put him on board a Boat under charge of Four men with directions to convey him to Cambridge to be examined by the Committee then sitting there; but, fortunately for your Memorialist, thro' persuasion and a small consideration they were prevailed on to set him at Liberty near Cambridge from whence he returned to his Duty at the Lines; in passing from whence to his Lodgings or otherways, General Gage was pleased in future to furnish him with a Party of Men to protect him from the Insults of the Inhabitants."<sup>60</sup>

In some fashion therefore the barracks were finished, at least "at the lines," – those on the Common seem to have been given up, and by November 16 they were occupied; none too soon, for the number of fatal cases of illness from exposure was already considerable. Nutting's work however continued. There was much to be done, not only on the fortifications under Montrésor, of the Engineers, but on gun-carriages, ammunition-wagons, etc. under Colonel Cleaveland of the Royal Artillery,<sup>61</sup> and perhaps on the long-suffering lighthouse, which was at last repaired and relit in December of 1775.<sup>62</sup> Press of business might well have been his excuse, if a polite one were needed, for his continued absence from home. By an odd retaliation in kind, his much encumbered house, or, as it was elegantly termed, "Seat in Cambridge in the Spring of the Year 1775. . . was made a Barrack for the American Soldiers and

60. Memorial to the Commissioners, heard 29 December, 1785, at Halifax. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

61. See his certificate, London, 7 June, 1778. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

62. 23 December, 1775. Howe to Dartmouth. xi. J. Almon, Parliamentary Register, 271. At least one party of carpenters at work there was kidnapped by the provincials, but Nutting evidently was not included.

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much Damaged thereby."<sup>63</sup> It was later taken possession of by his ex-master, backer, father-in-law and mortgagee<sup>64</sup> John Walton, on a quite excusable" Idea that Mr. Nutting's Family have cost him that much."<sup>65</sup>

Our loyal carpenter continued actively employed in Boston until within about six weeks of the evacuation. Then under orders from Captain Spry he removed, with his wife, six children, two 'prentices, and "about fourteen artificers" to Halifax, leaving, as it proved, his native heath forever, -

leaving too a memory that rankled in the patriotic breast for many a long day. Small wonder that in the Proscription Act of October, 1778, he is one of the few Cambridge men specifically enumerated as having "left this state...and joined the enemies thereof . . . manifesting an inimical (disposition ... and a design to aid and abet the enemies thereof in their wicked purposes."<sup>66</sup>

His work at Halifax through that heart-breaking spring of 1776 can be easily imagined. If ever a housewright was needed, it was then and there. We are all familiar with the picture - the miserable little fishing village, with a proportion of foul dram-shops before which the typical western mining town seems a Shaker settlement,<sup>67</sup> completely overwhelmed by the multitude of gently-nurtured refugees, whole families seated crying on the surf-beaten rocks without so much as a tent over their heads, lacking food, fuel, and above all shelter.<sup>68</sup> If it was not Nutting's idea it was at least characteristic of him to have devised the expedient of getting

63. Affidavits of John Walton, Cambridge, and Renjamin Walton, Reading. 29 October, 1788. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

64. And apparently also his successor as lieutenant of the Cambridge company. L. R. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 408.

65. Claimant's testimony before the Commissioners. Halifax, 29 December, 1785. xiii. *American Loyalists Transcripts*, 300. Public Library, New York City. With characteristic assurance Nutting some years later demanded compensation for his Cambridge property to the tune of £735. See schedules mentioned on page 94.

66. *Province Laws, 1778-1779*, 2nd Session, chapter 24.

67. One of the inhabitants wrote in 1760: "The business of one half the town is to sell rum, and the other half to drink it." ii. T. C. Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia*, 13.

68. Abigail Adams to John Adams, 21 April, 1776.

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ashore the cabooses and deck-houses of the transports and converting them into whole streets of little huts.<sup>69</sup> We can fancy how vigorously he must have pushed forward the work. Cabins, sheds, camps, anything that the limited supply of lumber allowed, had to be run up as fast as possible, ruined cottages repaired and made tenantable, the dazed and drunken fishermen driven to work, the inefficient shipwrights from the fleet made the most of, something provided in the way of wharves and landing facilities, store-sheds, more barracks again, and what not.

The fortifications of the town too were in a perilous state. Although Halifax had already been termed "the northern key of His Majesty's American dominions"<sup>70</sup> and a royal dockyard established there, yet the defences had been allowed to go to rack and ruin; batteries were dismantled, gun-carriages decayed and guns on the ground. In fact the town lay practically "open to the country on every side."<sup>71</sup> At last the sudden military importance of the station and the persistent and disquieting rumors of an attack upon it<sup>72</sup> moved the home government to decided action, and the army estimates for 1776 contemplated an expenditure of nearly £1500 sterling on constructions and repairs there.<sup>73</sup> It was not an easy matter to get the work done. In that scattered and unskilled community, where a few years before two distillers, two hatters and a sugar-baker made up the entire manufacturing class,<sup>74</sup> it was next to impossible to obtain either materials or workmen. Again, however, Nutting ap-

69. E. P. Weaver, "Nova Scotia during the Revolution," x. *American Historical Review*, 67.

70. Campbell to Hillsborough, 13 January, 1769; 43 Provincial Archives, No. 67. Halifax.

71. Legge to Dartmouth, 19 August, 1775; 44 Provincial Archives, 76. Halifax.

72. E. P. Weaver, "Nova Scotia during the Revolution," x. *American Historical Review*, 65.

73. The items were divided among the "Square Store for Small Arms, the Long Store for Small Arms, Bedding Store, Laboratory, Ordinance Yard, Gun Taakling Store, Junk Store, Lumber Yard, Artillery Barracks, Armourer's Shop, Governor's Battery, South Gate Battery, South Five Gun Battery, North Five Gun Battery, and Inclosing Land reserved for his Majesty on the hill." vi. J. Almon, *Parliamentary Register*, 141. Judging by later plans of the city, not much of this work was actually accomplished.

74. Francklin to Hillsborough, 11 July, 1768. J. Brymner, "Report on Canadian Archives, 1894," 287.

pears to have done wonders, and among other feats to have built by August no less than ten large block-houses, each mounting sixteen guns.<sup>75</sup> We may safely assume that he earned his pay at Halifax "as Master Carpenter and Superintendant of Mechanics," "serving," as one of the officers present put it, "with Active Spirit and uncommon Loyalty."<sup>76</sup>

Moreover he soon found other methods of displaying these qualities. The year 1777 saw the most elaborate preparations which Great Britain took to suppress the rebellion. The great movement to isolate New England was not properly worked out in detail, but it did include some appreciation of the importance of diverting the attention of the revolutionists by demonstrations along the coastline, while the main columns operated inland. To the originators of the campaign "it was always clear in speculation that the Militia would never stay with Washington or quit their homes if the coast was kept in alarm."<sup>77</sup> Moreover it was necessary to clear the shores of the swarm of small privateers that infested the Gulf of Maine and played havoc with the Nova Scotia settlements and the communication between Halifax and New York.<sup>78</sup> Besides, there were rumors of a secret expedition fitting out at Boston in June, to attack the British fort at the mouth of the St. John's in the Bay of Fundy.<sup>79</sup> From Halifax, therefore, an expedition was arranged "to Saint John's River to meet the garrison of Fort Cumberland and to proceed to Machias and destroy that nest of pirates, and afterwards to go to the east coast of New England towards Gouldsbury, to cause an alarm in favor of General Burgoyne."<sup>80</sup> The fleet operations were entrusted to Admiral Collier, and the troops were put under the command of John Small, the efficient organizer of the newly raised corps of Royal Highland Immigrants. For this expe-

75. iv. J. Almon, *The Remembrancer*, 139.

76. Certificate of Major John Small, 8 March, 1778. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

77. Knox to Germain, 31 October, 1778; vi. *Historical Manuscript Commission Reports*, Various, 153.

78. Cf. iv, J. Almon, *The Remembrancer*, 139. E. P. Weaver, "Nova Scotia During the Revolution." x. *American Historical Review*, 69, etc.

79. F. Kidder. *Military Operations in Eastern Maine*, 185.

80. Massey to Howe, 26 November, 1777; i. *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts*, 156.

dition John Nutting's familiarity with the coast was of evident value, and, according to Small, he "did very cheerfully and without any reward offer his Service as a Pilot or in any other way he could be of use for the Publick Service then carrying on;" and although "there was no pay allowed him on that Occasion," showed himself "a deserving good Subject, still ready & willing to exert himself as Such."<sup>81</sup>

Through no fault of his, however, the enterprise miscarried. The transports reached their destination with no errors in pilotage that we know of; but, in the words of the disgusted General Massey, commanding at Halifax, "after the Lieut. Governor and I had fix'd every appointment with good Guides at a great Expense for a Grand Stroke and while Major Small was prancing at St. John's River, the place of Rendezvous for the Troops from Cumberland and Windsor Sir George Collier stole out of Halifax, made a futile Attack at Machias, was most shamefully drove from thence ... which prevented the Eastern Coast of New England from being Alarm'd which was my orders to Major Small, and which if they had been executed might have prevented the Misfortunes that attend'd It. Genl. Burgoyne's army, for it was at that critical time."<sup>82</sup> The jealous and self-sufficient Collier, after some gasconading up and down the coast, retired to St. John's in September, where in October the expedition disintegrated without accomplishing a single one of its objects.

Explanations to the home government were certainly needed, and whether Nutting was entrusted with them, or sent as a witness, or went on his own initiative, is not clear. At all events he sailed immediately for England, taking with him his son John, now a likely lad nearly eight years old. Arriving in the old country, which must have seemed so new to him, he at once sought out his former superiors, the ex-governor and ex-lieutenant. governor of Massachusetts, obtained written recommendations from them, dated 28 November, 1777, and drew up a memorial to Lord George Germain.<sup>83</sup> This document, compared with the usual lugu-

81. See note 2, page 70.

82. Massey to Howe. Halifax, 15 March, 1778; i. *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts*, 209.

83. All to be found in Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

brious recitals of sufferings and insistent claims for compensation for the loss of fat fees or swollen salaries, with which the bulk of the loyalists flooded the government, is remarkably refreshing. After mentioning his undoubted services he states "That your Memorialist has no wish to be supported in Idleness at the Charge of Government, but is willing and desirous to be further serviceable in the way of his Trade; and as Carpenters are wanted at New York, & probably in other parts of America, he is

come to England in Hopes of obtaining such employment, & will be very ready to go out imediately, - With this view your Memorialist humbly Solicits your Lordships patronage & for further Information respecting his Character, Services & Sufferings he begs leave to refer your Lordship to the Right Honorable Lord Percy to his Excellency General Gage, to Lieutenant Governor Oliver, and other Officers both Civil and Military to whom the foregoing Transactions are well known."

This memorial was promptly transmitted by William Knox, Germain's under-secretary, to John Robinson of the Treasury Board, who took equally prompt action upon it. It bears the endorsement: "Read 22 Dec. 77 £50 advance & to be recommended to the Com'rs at New York." Such a substantial recognition of a man standing squarely on his own merits, in that heyday of influence and favoritism, shows better than any testimonials what manner of impression Mr. Nutting had already made in official circles.

The fifty pounds was paid, but the recommendation to New York must have been somehow overlooked; for on 28 February, 1778, Nutting addressed another memorial<sup>84</sup> to Lord George, from "78 Lambs Conduit Street," asking for further assistance, as he is still out of employment. This was transmitted by Knox to the Treasury Board on March 16, received April 20, and not read till July 8; it bears the chilly endorsement "Nil." Not waiting for this result, with real Yankee persistence, Nutting addressed, May 8, a personal letter<sup>85</sup> to Lord North himself, referring to the memorial, and proceeding: "I shall only presume to add, I desire not to eat the bread of Idleness, being able & willing to be em-

84. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

85. *ibid.*

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ployed, as formerly, in His Majesty's Service, where my Utility & perseverance is well known to the Generals, & Subordinate Officers that have served in America during the War - Many of whom are now in this Metropolis, & to whom I most gladly would Appeal." This direct application to the man "higher up" was successful, though not in quite the manner anticipated, and Nutting received from the Board of Ordnance the appointment of Overseer of His Majesty's works at Landguard Fort.<sup>86</sup>

This post, on the outermost verge<sup>1</sup> of the East Anglian coast, protecting the harbor of Harwich, the first considerable estuary north of the Thames, had long been considered of great importance. Just at this period, when war had recently been declared with Holland, it was receiving special attention. The marshy wastes beside it made an admirable proving ground for big guns, as well as an admirable location for a wholesomely impressive display of force. Accordingly from 1776 for a number of years extensive experiments were conducted there on a great many forms of ordnance shipped by water from Woolwich - experiments almost as instructive (though not as dangerous) to the Dutch luggers hovering off the coast as to the manipulators of untried types of the tricky cast-iron cannon of that day. The fort itself was neither as strong nor as commodious<sup>87</sup> as its importance warranted. During this time it was much enlarged, and also strengthened in flank and rear by a very elaborate system of defence works, under the direction of Lord Townshend, Master General of the Ordnance.<sup>88</sup> So extensive were these constructions that two overseers were required. Nutting, however, was the chief,

receiving £91.5/- per annum, or five shillings a day, while John Jones, his assistant, had only £73.<sup>89</sup> As the additions included a number of new barracks, we may well believe that he felt quite in his element.

Yet he found time to show himself in town occasionally, and to

86. Memorial to the Commissioners, heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

87. In 1777 its complete establishment was only 87 men, all told. viii. J. Almon, Parliamentary Register, 185.

88. J. H. Leslie, History of Landguard Fort, 76 et seq. One of the new redoubts was named the Raynham, after his Norfolk county-seat.

89. xvi. J. Almon, Parliamentary Register, 511.

cultivate his acquaintance with Knox. With this active and important official he was now on surprisingly intimate terms, whether from the favorable representations of others or from sheer native ability and address. One likes to think the latter, and to imagine the Cambridge carpenter haunting the office of the under-secretary with his petitions and memorials until he comes into notice by his energetic ways, coupled with that winning and persuasive manner that had served him in such good stead one night during the siege of Boston, in a boat on the Charles with four angry journeymen. At any rate, Nutting actually becomes a figure in the councils of the British Empire at one of its greatest crises - an adviser of generals and a *protégé* of lords, - under the following circumstances:

Knox had been from the first obsessed with the importance of planting a British force on the coast of Maine. Besides its effects in distracting attention, a post there, he argued;<sup>90</sup> would give a station for the King's cruisers much nearer than Halifax, would cover the Bay of Fundy and Nova Scotia from molestation by sea, would prevent any land attack on what later became New Brunswick, and would even protect Lower Canada. Furthermore, it would form the nucleus and bulwark for a new province.<sup>91</sup> towards which might be directed the stream of refugees who were leaving the colonies and already driving the home government to distraction. He had even gone so far as to arrange the details for this modern Canaan. Lying between New England and "New Scotland," it was to be christened New Ireland.<sup>92</sup> perhaps in delicate reference to Knox's own nationality. Its governor was to be Thomas Hutchinson, its chief justice Daniel Leonard, its clerk of the council John Calef, the leading local tory, and its bishop (for *this* colony was to have a

90. Knox to Cooke, Ealing, 27 January, 1808. vi. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, Various, 227.

91. The idea was not new. Even the original settlers were anxious, or were represented to be anxious, to have a government of their own, and Bernard fomented the proposition. But wiser heads would have none of it. J. Calef, Siege of the Penobscot, Postscript. ii. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dartmouth Papers, *passim*. Franklin to Cushing, London, 7 July, 1773. vi. B. Franklin, Writings (ed. Smythe), 80.

92. This was not the first effort toward the hibernization of Maine. In the previous generation Robert Temple had formed a brilliant but unsuccessful plan to settle an Irish colony near Bath. L.D. Temple, *Some Temple Pedigrees*, 6.

bishop willy-nilly) Dr. Henry Caner, formerly of King's Chapel, Boston. This "most preposterous measure," wrote Hutchinson from London,<sup>93</sup> " ... is his own scheme, and few people here think well of it." Germain was at first among the disbelievers, but Knox finally "accomplished what he had been endeavouring" and brought his chief round to his opinion.

Then came the great question: Where should the post be located? Falmouth, Long Island, Townsend, Great Deer Island, all were under discussion. Here John Nutting was called into the consultation. Mindful of his own "eligible" acres, and doubtless recognizing too the natural strength and strategic advantages<sup>94</sup> of the place (which events both past and future amply corroborated), with a fine mixture of self-interest and loyalty he suggested Penobscot. Yankee shrewdness and eloquence prevailed. His Majesty's ministers fell in with the suggestion,<sup>95</sup> and Nutting, "in Consequence of pointing out Government (by Mr. Knoxes desire) some places that might be taken advantageous to Government was on the 30th August, 1778, ordered from Landguard Fort to London by express to go out with despatches to America ... from the Right Honorable Lord George Germain's office to Sir Henry Clinton at New York."<sup>96</sup> His special part in the enterprise was, as he announced openly at London, "to be employed as overseer of carpenters who are to rebuild the Fort at Penobscot,"<sup>97</sup> originally

93. T. Hutchinson, *Diary*, 19 September, 1778, and 20 October, 1779. Hutchinson's name was soon dropped in this connection.

94. "The harbor is spacious, accessible, and secure, none in the neighborhood can be compared with it .... No country could afford greater supply of masts and spars for the Royal navy. Nor could any station afford equal convenience for annoying in time of war, yea, annihilating the commerce of New England." W. Ballard, "Castine, 1815." ii, *Bangor Historical Magazine*, 45.

95. The current Boston explanation was that the failure of Massachusetts "to supply the eastern people [with food] as they had done during the war" had produced a disaffection which the local Tories had made the most of in persuading the inhabitants generally "to join in a petition to the enemy to come and take possession of the place." James Sullivan to John Sullivan; Boston, 30 August, 1779. ii, T. C. Amory, *Life of James Sullivan*, 376. The explanation suggests a certain guiltiness in the New England conscience.

96. Memorial to the Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, *Loyalist Series*, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

97. T. Hutchinson, *Diary*, 3 September, 1778

erected by the Sieur de Castine, and left in ruins when the French abandoned that-district in 1745.<sup>98</sup>

But in the execution of this ingenious method of protecting his cherished property "to the Eastward" an incidental *divertissement* of some magnitude awaited its author. Leaving John Jr. at school in London, and receiving his despatches dated at Whitehall 2 September, 1778,<sup>99</sup> he posted down to Falmouth and embarked, with £50 worth of "Sea Stock necessary for the Voyage" and "some valuable

Books on Fortification & Architecture and Instruments,"<sup>100</sup> aboard the *Harriet*, one of the government mail packets.<sup>101</sup> A fortnight out, having got no farther than lat. 49° long. 22°, they were sighted by the brigantine *Vengeance*, American privateer, Wingate Newman of Newburyport master. He at once gave chase.<sup>102</sup> The *Harriet* was a fast sailer, as befitted her employment, but the Yankee was a larger ship, specially fitted for her business, and brand new to boot. After a six hours' pursuit Newman got within range and opened fire. Sampson Sprague, commander of the packet, replied gallantly, but his little three-pounders and crew of forty-five were no match for the six-pounders and the hundred men of the privateer. Within pistol-shot the lat-

98. Cf. G. A. Wheeler, *History of Castine*. J. Williamson, *History of Maine*, etc.

99. i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, *American Manuscripts*, 284.

100. Account annexed to memorial to Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

101. This craft had quite a prominent part in the transport and mail service. She is frequently mentioned in contemporary documents.

102. 17 September, 1778. Members of both ships' companies have left accounts of this affair. For the American, see Journal of Samuel Nye, Surgeon of the *Vengeance*, E. V. Smith, *History of Newburyport*, 116: for the English, see affidavit of Ab'm Forst, Halifax, 15 January, 1784. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London. I suspect this Forst, like Rust, was one of Nutting's loyal apprentices who followed his master's fortunes. If we can twist the name into Abraham Frost, we not only have the Cambridge man, born 1754, enumerated by L. R. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 554-555, but also have an explanation why "this fam. prob. rem. as no further trace of them is found." For other details of the capture of the *Harriet*, see i. J. J. Currier, *History of Newburyport, Mass.*, 629. *London Chronicle*, 22-24 October, 1778: E. S. Maclay, *History of American Privateers*, 117. C. H. Lincoln, *Naval Records of the American Revolution*, 113.

ter threw in a broadside that obliged the *Harriet* to strike, having one man killed and six wounded. Among the latter was Nutting, whom we can well imagine in the very thick of the fight, for he was hit "in four places."<sup>103</sup> Nevertheless he managed to sink his despatches, which he "declared were of great consequence to him," as indeed they were. The mails also were thrown overboard just in time. The *Harriet's* people were taken aboard the *Vengeance*, stripped of their effects, and landed at Corunna,<sup>104</sup> the nearest point on the Spanish coast, but a most unusual prize port. By an agreement<sup>105</sup> between the British Consul there and Captain Newman the prisoners were exchanged and allowed to pass unmolested to England again. In about six weeks Nutting accordingly arrived at Falmouth once more (fare twelve guineas), having lost £120 worth of personal outfit, and being put to an expense of £20 for surgeons, nurses and medical attendance, and wended his way by postchaise (fare £15) back to London.<sup>106</sup> It was now too late in the season to do anything more about New Ireland. Even Knox, its sponsor, wrote: "Poor Nutting and the Penobscott orders have missed their way for this year, and I fear something will happen to prevent our taking possession of that country in the spring."<sup>107</sup>

All the same, he determined to have another try at his plan, and to have it early and by the same hands. In the beginning of January, 1779, Mr. Nutting received a fresh set of despatches, and was "order'd out again to America the second time before his Wounds

103. Claimant's evidence before the Commissioners, Halifax, 29 December, 1783. xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 208. Public Library, New York City.

104. It is a strange freak that makes John Nutting's wanderings intersect the military termini of Sir John Moore, who entered active service at Penobscot and left it at Corunna. British Plutarch, 243.

105. 1 October, 1778. i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 307. It is a family tradition that Nutting's high rank in Freemasonry procured his "escape" from a Spanish prison. W. F. Parker, Life of Daniel McNeill Parker, 12. But while this advantage may account for various other fortunate turns in his history, it does not need to be invoked here.

106. Account of Expenses annexed to memorial to the Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar, 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

107. Knox to Germain. Bath, 31 October, 1778. vi. Historical Manuscripts Commission Report, Various, 153-4.

were well, experiencing a long and tedious Passage of ffourteen Weeks to New York, on the *Grampus* ship of war<sup>108</sup> (this time taking a safer conveyance). Clinton had by now got general intimations of the plan, and some correspondence<sup>109</sup> had passed between him and General McLean, the new commander at Halifax, on the subject. McLean was personally ignorant<sup>110</sup> of the shore-line, and had been consulting Captain Mowatt, his naval officer. The latter recommended taking post at Falmouth, the scene of his most notorious exploit, to which he doubtless longed to give the finishing touches. Detailed instructions, however, were brought by Nutting, and Clinton, by orders dated 13 April,<sup>111</sup> directed McLean to proceed and fortify a post on Penobscot River, - rather to the disappointment of all the officers concerned.

McLean seems to have put full confidence in the "cheerful Pilot," and prompt preparations were made. On May 16th the detachment was reported ready. At the end of that month the transports sailed, covered by Mowatt and a few inefficient men-of-war. In the middle of June the fleet came up Penobscot Bay, and after several days' general reconnoissance cast anchor off the little peninsula that ever since 1506 had been a recognized strategic centre round which an almost continuous struggle for supremacy had revolved.<sup>112</sup>

On the 26th the landing began, the troops looking about them "as frightened as a flock of sheep,"<sup>113</sup> and John Nutting doubtless hastened to inspect his farm, woodland, and mill, now to be so handsomely protected against possible rebel molestation. Yet he could give little time to his private affairs just then, for the mil-

108. Memorial to the Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

109. i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 381, 393, etc.

110. This ignorance was merely practical, for the magnificent series of charts by Des Barres had already been published.

111. i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 415. See also 436, 458, etc., for many of the following details.

112. Cf. G. F. Clark, "Military Operations at Castine," Worcester Society of Antiquity, Proceedings for 1889, 18 - a good general account of all the martial doings there, including a far earlier attack and repulse of the Massachusetts forces.

itary position must be made good at once. "The Provisions, Artillery and Engineer Stores and the equipage of the troops, being landed on the Beach, must be carried to the Ground of the fort chiefly by the labor of the men against the ascent, there being only a Couple of small teams to Assist in it. The ground & all the Avenues to it, was to be examined, cleared from wood, and at the same time guarded. Materials were to be collected & prepared, And the defences, as well as every convenience of the fort, were to be reared."<sup>114</sup> The ruins of the French fort were apparently disregarded, and an entirely new one was laid out. The official engineer was Captain Hartcup;<sup>115</sup> but his plans proved defective and had to be altered, probably by the master-carpenter. There were other delays too, and it was July 2d before the lines were actually staked and work begun.<sup>116</sup> The local inhabitants were divided in their attitude, as everywhere else. Some stoutly proclaimed their adherence to the United States of America, and when approached with the oath of allegiance made good their words by packing their scanty possessions and departing into the backwoods. Others to the number of a hundred showed their willingness by assisting to clear the ground round the fort, etc. A simple rectangular structure of logs and earthwork two hundred feet on a side<sup>117</sup> with corner bastions and a central blockhouse was laid out, a "shade" erected for the provisions, the powder "lodged in covered holes dug in the proposed glacis," a ditch cut across the isthmus, and the work pushed forward with a will.

The expected attack was not long in coming. Of the consternation and indignation of Massachusetts at this invasion of her territory, of the feverish fitting-out of the Penobscot Expedition, "by far the largest naval undertaking of the Revolution made by the Americans," there is no need to tell here in detail. Well

114. Mowatt's "Relation," *Magazine of History*, Extra Number 11 (1910), 49.

115. Elsewhere spelled, and doubtless pronounced, Hardcap, In like manner Mowatt becomes Moat; and Calef masquerades as Calf. Rather oddly, Hartcup's next assignment was to Landguard Fort. i. W. Porter, *History of the Corps of Royal Engineers*, 215.

116. McLean to Clinton, Camp at Majebigwaduce, 23 August, 1779. ii. *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts*, 14.

117. This was the inside measurement. That mentioned by Bellard - 14 perches (= 231 feet) - was evidently the measurement outside the glacis.

known too is the story of the arrival of that formidable Yankee fleet off the little peninsula before the fort was half completed, the extraordinary indecision of the ensuing siege, and its shameful termination. "Rarely has a more ignominious military operation been made by Americans. Had it been successful, it would not have been worth the effort it cost. Its object had no national significance; it was an eccentric operation. Bad in conception, bad in preparation, bad in execution, it naturally ended

in disaster and disgrace."<sup>118</sup> "A prodigious wreck of property, a dire eclipse of reputation, and universal chagrin were the fruits of this expedition, in the promotion of which there had been such an exalted display of public spirit both by government and individuals."<sup>119</sup> Among the twenty transports destroyed was the whole trading fleet of the State. Destroyed also were thirteen privateers, temporarily taken into the State service. Among these was the *Vengeance*, then in command of Captain Thomas; and though the phrase "poetic justice" may not have been known to Mr. Nutting, the sight of his old captor blazing and crackling on the Penobscot flats must have been the sweetest moment of the campaign to her ex-prisoner.<sup>120</sup>

Concerned as we are with but one figure in the story, we must admit that the master-carpenter all this time seems to have lain extremely low. Indeed, for the only time in his history it is recorded that his workmen did not "pay proper attention" to him. We get one glimpse of him accompanying a party sent for lumber up the Bagaduce River, perhaps to his own wood-lot."<sup>121</sup>But his

118. C.O. Paullin, *The Navy of the American Revolution*, 347, 352.

119. ii. J. Williamson, *History of Maine*, 476. In the opinion of well-informed British officers taking part in this affair the results strikingly justified many of Knox's theories. "The attack on Penobscot ... was positively the severest blow received by the American Naval force during the War. The trade to Canada, which was intended, after the expected reduction of the Post of Penobscot, to be intercepted by this very armament, went safe that Season: The New England Provinces did not for the remaining period of the contest recover the loss of Ships, and the Expence of fitting out the Expedition: Every thought of attempting Canada, & Nova Scotia, was thenceforth laid aside, and the trade & Transports from the Banks of Newfoundland along the Coast of Nova Scotia, &c: enjoyed unusual Security." Captain Henry Mowatt's "Relation," *Magazine of History*, Extra Number 11 (1910),53.

120. E. S. Maclay, *History of American Privateers*, 118.

121. Orderly Book of William Lawrence, Serjeant Royal Artillery, July 17, 1770, and August 30. v. *Bangor Historical Magazine*, 146 et seq. A typical smack of the region is given in the disagreeable orders for September 17, that the commissary must thereafter "deliver out rice in lieu of pies."

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peculiarly personal interest in the occupation and defence of the place had of course transpired, and when during the siege things seemed almost hopeless for His Majesty's forces<sup>122</sup> his situation was one demanding as much self-effacement as his nature was capable of. In a subsequent enumeration of his sufferings at Penobscot he mentions not only "enduring a Seige of Twenty Days, the fitagues of establishing a New Fort," but also "the part he had to act, and the reflexions thrown out against him by numbers of the officers when they were informed your Memorialist was the cause of their being carried there, under an idea that he had sold them to the Rebels, with the anxiety that must attend him, is more sensibly felt than expressed."<sup>123</sup> His attitude even partook of duplicity. Admiral Collier wrote to General Clinton, August 24, 1779, after the smoke of battle had somewhat cleared away, expressing his strong disapprobation of establishing a post at this dreary rebellious place, and adding: "That fellow Nutting whom yr. Exc'y remembers at New York has just been with me on a message; I asked him what could possibly induce him to recommend the establishing a settlement in such a place, & what advantages might be expected from it? He denied his having ever recommended the measure to Lord G. Germain, nor could I learn from him what particular benefits would accrue to us, by keeping possession of so infernal a spot."<sup>124</sup>

Nevertheless, the value of Nutting's aid was officially and handsomely recognized. McLean certified that he "served under my

122. When the provincials effected their first landing on the peninsula, McLean was so sure all was up that he stood by the flagstaff halliards himself, ready to strike his colors. "Hutchings's Narrative." G. A. Wheeler, *History of Castine*, 323. Cf. a racy letter from E. Hazard, Jamaica Plain, 22 March, 1780. iv. *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 129.

123. Memorial to the Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

124. ii. *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts*, 18. In his more self-assertive and characteristic moments he made no bones of claiming, in true carpenter's spelling, that "that Expedition was planed at his Recommendation." Testimony before the Commissioners. xiii. *American Loyalists Transcripts*, 298. Public Library, New York City.

Command on the Expedition to Penobscot much to my satisfaction, on my taking post there. I appointed him Overseer of Works, which duty he performed with Zeal and fidelity to the King's service."<sup>125</sup> General Campbell, who was left in command of the place, "in consideration of his Attachment to His Majesty's Government," made a "Gratuiouus Grant" to Mrs. Nutting of "a lot of Land to settle upon ... on the N. E. Side of ye Road Leading to Fort George, formerly tile Property of Joseph Pirkins now in Rebellion."<sup>126</sup> As it was evident that he could not return to Cambridge, the Overseer seems to have regarded this lot in the light of a homestead; upon it he built a house which he valued at £150.

The success of this little invasion was quite extraordinary.<sup>127</sup> It was so dwelt upon by the British, who had not overmuch in that line to offer, that it drew the satire of Horace Walpole on the "destruction of a whole navy of walnut shells at a place as well known as Pharsalia called Penobscot,"<sup>128</sup> and sundry ingenious gentlemen carne forward to share the honor of its authorship or to offer suggestions for improving on the situation.<sup>129</sup> It was a bitter pill for the pride of the old Bay State, and the fiasco which had permitted it to continue was as a draught of wormwood to wash it down withal. Baffled and resourceless, the Massachusetts Council bethought themselves of the great provincial panacea, and rushed blindly for aid to the one man who never lost his head. Washington in a stern letter, dated 17 April, 1780, pointed out the impossibility of any successful recapture of the place in the then desperate circumstances of the whole military establishment. No troops could be spared except the militia, who, he cuttingly observed, if defeated,

125. Certificate, Halifax, 16 May, 1780. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

126. Fort George, Penobscot, 21 June, 1781. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

127. Cf. i. T. Jones, *New York during the Revolution*, 297.

128. Walpole to Countess of Ossory, 24 September, 1779.

129. The domineering Col. Thomas Goldthwait hastened to New York to offer his services to Clinton in raising a regiment to defend the post. ii. *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts*, 20, 45. He wrote to Admiral Arbuthnot to the same

would "escape with difficulty, no doubt with disgrace." Nor, he reminded them, could such an attempt be made without a naval force, the total lack of which (thanks to themselves, he might have added) was fast becoming a fatal defect on the American side.<sup>130</sup>

Luckily for the republicans that indispensable factor was soon supplied by their French allies. During the spring of 1781, while the British fleet was busy in the Chesapeake and the French squadron idle at Newport, the Massachusetts men saw a golden opportunity. Their proposals were favorably received by Destouches, who agreed to furnish five vessels, while Rochambeau was to supply six hundred infantry, for an attack on Penobscot. Massachusetts was to contribute a force of militia, but broke down; and Washington quietly advised Rochambeau to put no trust in this part of the agreement, but to proceed himself as speedily and secretly as possible. After much preparation Destouches decided that the naval risk was too great, and all was abandoned.<sup>131</sup>

Yet the instinct of Massachusetts was that of the she-bear robbed of her cub. The next summer Vaudreuil anchored his great fleet in Nantasket Roads, and Governor Hancock appealed to him to strike a *coup de main* at "that troublesome post" whither John Nutting had led the King's troops. The admiral seemed to approve, and the governor made some preparations on his own account. But the general of the allies disapproved, and Washington supported his view. Thus for the fourth time was Massachusetts foiled in her attempt to regain the conquered portion of her own territory.<sup>132</sup>

Still, regularly as the year came round, the thoughts of the Bay State turned to Penobscot. On 8 February, 1783, the Legislature addressed a letter to Washington on the same old subject, "a post too beneficial to them and too dangerous to the safety of this and the other states in the Union to suffer us to remain indifferent, passive observers of their measures." With a doubtful regard for historical accuracy, the writers represented that since the defeat of the State expedition "our whole attention from that period to the present has been drawn from our own and fixed on the more

130. Washington to President of Congress, 17 April, 1780.

131. Washington to Rochambeau, 10 April, 1781. Cf. viii, J. Sparks, Writings of Washington, 10, note.

132. Washington to Hancock, 10 August, 1782.

dangerous and distressed situation" of the more southern colonies, but "that as the enemy have now left the southern states, and as there is no particular object that seems to engage the attention of the army," it would be a good time to send enough regiments "to dispossess the enemy or at least such a

number as will confine them to their present possessions," as "we are apprehensive that they will in the spring take possession of the river Kennebeck."<sup>133</sup>

Washington patiently replied that if peace was soon declared there would be no need of further attention to Penobscot; but if not, all efforts must be concentrated in a final attack on New York. And Massachusetts had to rest content with his suggestive statement that he should always be ready to concur in any "judicious" plan for retaking the eastern frontiers, "a territory whose utility is very deeply impressed upon me."<sup>134</sup>

Amidst these wars and rumors of wars the garrison at Penobscot were constantly on the alert. They continued their defensive works until "the viperine nest,"<sup>135</sup> as the patriots feelingly termed it, was reported to be "the most regularly constructed and best finished of any in America."<sup>136</sup> Frequent forays were made into the surrounding settlements, and not a few distinguished Sons of Liberty were temporarily deprived of their birthright and placed in durance vile at the central blockhouse.<sup>137</sup> Several of these energetic gentry, however, contrived to penetrate Mr. Nutting's handiwork and depart in peace, if not with honor. Use also was made of the excellent harbor. The naval force was constantly changing. Vessels of war, transports, victuallers, privateers, and their prizes,

133. Massachusetts Archives, 44 "Court Records," 304.

134. Head Quarters, Newburgh, 22 Feb. 1783. Massachusetts Archives, "Letters, 1780-1788," 136.

135. i. Maine Historical Society Collections and Proceedings, 2d Series, 397.

136. Washington to Vaudreuil, 10 August, 1782.

137. Among them, General Cushing, of Pownalboro, General Wadsworth, of Thomaston, Daniel, brother of General Sullivan, etc. See Calef, Wheeler, Williamson, etc. It is an instructive example of the astounding distortion of the average American "history," to note the shrieks of protest against the inhumanities and outrages practised by the British - how Mowatt once threatened a rebellious native with his sword, etc. - while brutalities of the Colonials, like Wadsworth's summary hanging of a miserable half-witted tory guide, are passed over in silence, or condoned as unfortunate necessities of war.

made the scene busy and occasionally exciting; as when the dashing Preble, in a night attack, cut out an English brig lying close to shore and escaped without a scratch;<sup>138</sup> or Capt. George Little, by a daring stratagem, accomplished a similar feat.<sup>139</sup>

During this period many loyalists removed to this haven of refuge, and a sort of New Ireland *de facto* began to take shape. By the end of the war the settlement had grown from half a dozen huts to thirty-seven houses, some of two stories, with wharves, stores, etc., all the product of loyal hands.<sup>140</sup> Another petition was sent to England asking to have the separate government established.<sup>141</sup> The authority of Massachusetts, despite her asseverations, was so thoroughly broken that "no place eastward of Penobscot was called upon for taxes or contributions after this [expedition] till the close of the war"; although this exemption was carefully explained as due to tender consideration of the sufferings the inhabitants underwent from the British.<sup>142</sup>

In brief, then, futile as the original idea may have been in theory, in practice the occupation of Penobscot had turned out a surprising success; Knox, with some show of reason, plumed himself upon "my plan" and its results.<sup>143</sup>

And how fared John Nutting, the humble *causa causans* of it all? During the winter and spring of 1779-80 he seems to have been pretty well occupied with the care of his own and his Majesty's property at Castine. His wife had joined him there soon after the siege, and there little Sophia Elizabeth was born, 23 September, 1780.<sup>144</sup> But farming and small garrison work were too tame

138. J. Williamson, "British Occupation of Penobscot." i. Maine Historical Society Collections and Proceedings, 2d Series, 395.

139. "Hutchings's Narrative." G. A. Wheeler, History of Castine, 327. i. C. Eaton, History of Thomaston, Maine, 134. Cf. payment of 24 May, 1781, "To Lieut. Col. Archibald Campbell of the 71st foot. for the losses sustained by the George transport being taken by the rebels £39.18. =." xxiv. J. Almon, Parliamentary Register, 639. From the same source we learn that £21 was considered sufficient remuneration "to Capt. Alexander Campbell of the 74th foot for the cure of his thigh, which was broke at Penobscott, in June, 1779."

140. 145 Massachusetts Archives, 377.

141. J. Calef, Siege of the Penobscot, 40.

142. ii. J. Williamson, History of Maine, 481, note.

143. ii. W. Knox, Extra-Official State Papers, 60.

144. Nutting Papers. She married Michael B. Grant, 10 July, 1800, and bore him eight children ere his death in 1817. She herself died in 1862.

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for our budding strategist, and encouraged by the local sentiment he began to nurse the idea of repeating his former success with the ministry. General McLean also had theories of his own for the military dispositions along the Maine coast; between the two, if appearances are to be trusted, another scheme was hatched for the favorable consideration of Mr. Knox. At least, in the spring of 1780, Nutting, "by the General's particular advice and recommendation, Embarked again for England,"<sup>145</sup> where he soon announced that he had "laid a Plan before the Right Honourable Lord George Germain which if put into Execution he is clear would be of the greatest Utility to Government."<sup>146</sup>

The details of that plan do not appear. We may have an echo of it in the insistence with which Germain the next winter urged upon Clinton the ministry's favorite scheme for the disposition of the throngs of Tories at New York: "Many . . . are desirous of being settled in the country about Penobscot . . . and, as it is proposed to settle that country, and this appears a cheap method of disposing of these loyalists, it is wished you would encourage them to go there under the protection of the Associated Refugees, and assure them that a civil government will follow them in due time; for I hope, in the course of the summer, the admiral and you will be able to spare a force sufficient to effect an establishment at Casco Bay, and reduce that country to the King's obedience."<sup>147</sup> At all events the

imminence of this projected attack on Portland was sufficient to cause some very earnest preparations to be made by the inhabitants there.<sup>148</sup>

It may have been only a coincidence, but soon after Nutting's arrival in London an astonishing impetus was given to the whole New Ireland scheme. Germain wrote to Knox, 7 August, 1780: "I hope New Ireland continues to employ your thoughts: the

145. Memorial to the Commissioners, heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit. Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

146. Memorial to the Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

147. Whitehall, 7 March, 1781 (intercepted). viii. J. Sparks, Writings of Washington, 521.

148. Campbell to Clinton, Ft. George, Penobscot, 15 March, 1781. ii. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 258. Cf. ii. J. Williamson, History of Maine, 481, etc.

more I think of Oliver (Chief Justice of Massachusetts Bay), for governor, the more I like him .... I wish we might prepare some plan for the consideration of the Cabinet."<sup>149</sup> A hint was enough for Knox, and with suspicious speed the plan was produced. Four days later a full-blown constitution for the new province was a reality,<sup>150</sup> and Germain wrote: "*The King approves of the plan ... likes Oliver for Governor, so it may be offered him. He approves of Leonard for Chief Justice.*"<sup>151</sup> Yet here a most provoking obstacle arose. Wedderburn, the Attorney-General, in a pet, according to the disgruntled Knox,<sup>152</sup> at seeing his legal rival, Lord Thurlow, raised to the peerage before himself,<sup>153</sup> refused to sanction the proposition, declaring that no new province could be interposed between two old ones whose charters gave them a coterminous boundary.

Whether Nutting had much or little to do with all this, he reached England unfortunately "at the time of the Riots in London,<sup>154</sup> was detained contrary to his expectation, and received a peremptory order from Lord Townsend to proceed immediately to Landguard Fort. His Lordship being pleased to declare that Your Memorialist could not be spared out of the Kingdom at that time."<sup>155</sup> Work at Landguard was then in full swing, as the English coast towns were not only threatened by the Dutch and Spanish fleets but still sweating from the fear of that boggy-man of the sea, John P. Jones.

Thus side-tracked among the East Anglian marshes, his finances being again very low, "having expended the whole of his pay, and

149. W. Knox, Extra-Official State Papers. ii. Appendix, 82.

150. Discussed and compared in x. G. Bancroft, History of the United States, 368.

151. W. Knox, Extra-Official State Papers, ii. Appendix, 83.

152. Knox to Cooke, Ealing, 27 January, 1808. vi. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, Various, 228.

153. This explanation seems a bit tenuous. The invidious promotion had been made over two years before, and Wedderburn was himself by this time safely within the charmed circle as Baron Loughborough. Still, there were doubtless wheels within wheels.

154. The Gordon Riots began 2 June, 1780.

155. Memorial to the Commissioners, heard 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

being considerably more indebted than when he set out which he is wholly unable to pay although he has used the greatest Oeconomy, not being able to return a Compliment of asking a Friend to Dinner," Nutting composed a memorial<sup>156</sup> to the Treasury Board, asking for reimbursement for £394 worth of expenses incurred since leaving Landguard in 1778, "with such other gratuity, as your Lordships shall think fit." This he followed up by a straightforward letter<sup>157</sup> to Robinson, Secretary of the Treasury, who it appears had made a "kind promis to speak to My Lord North" in his behalf. Herein he begs for "one hundred or even seventy pounds" which "would set me free from that anxieiety of mind every honest man ought to have to pay his Just depts though incured for the service of Government." He refers for his "carecture, & services," to "the Rt. Hon'bl Lord Germain, or Mr. Knox; to whom I have the honour to be well known." He was evidently determined that the family orthography should improve, for he adds a "P. P. (*sic*) the berer is my son who is at school in London, & shall wait on your honour when most convenient, for an answare."

That "answare" was long in coming. The frightfully overburdened treasury did not reach action on this appeal till a year and a half later. Then, after various wanderings in the official maze, it was returned to "Sir" Grey Cooper, the new Secretary of the Treasury, by the ever-friendly Knox, with the statement that "£300 is judged a. proper compensation for Mr. Nutting's extraordinary expenses."<sup>158</sup> This sum the Treasury would consent to pay only on *receiving* back the £150 already allowed Nutting as an American sufferer, "to be applied again to the payment of American sufferers."<sup>159</sup>

Ere this the ministry had changed and Nutting's old patrons were no longer in power. But he had already secured new ones - among them the Duke of Richmond, Master General of Ordnance. By that dignitary, soon after his exchequer had received the above addition,

156. Endorsed: "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

157. Landguard Fort, 5 October, 1780. Ibidem.

158. Knox to Cooper, Whitehall, 14 March, 1782. Ibidem.

159. Endorsements on above memorial.

and "as soon as the disturbances subsided," he was appointed engineer,<sup>160</sup> and was once again ordered out to New York, taking John Junior with him, "to follow such Directions as he might receive from His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton."<sup>161</sup> His arrival is chronicled in a letter from Carleton to his Grace dated 17 November, 1782: "Mr. Nutting and his son, whom Your Grace mentioned to me, are arrived here. I shall immediately employ the father according to his wish at Penobscot (*sic*), and as soon as an opportunity offers, provide for the son who I have in the meantime directed shall serve under the Chief Engineer, who will take care of him."<sup>162</sup> The commander-in-chief acted with a promptness that shows how much "influence" was behind the Cambridge man. A few days later his pecuniary cloud showed a further silver lining in the shape of a payment of another £100 "for services to Government";<sup>163</sup> and on 1 December, young John was satisfactorily provided for, by an appointment as Second Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery.<sup>164</sup>

Nutting's wish to be employed at Penobscot was quite understandable, but more serious matters were afoot, matters too in which he was specially qualified to assist. Carleton was facing the question of what to do with the loyalists. For years they had been concentrating on New York, which on their account was actually held by the British beyond the intended date of surrender.<sup>165</sup> The humane general was doing all he could temporarily for the thousands of unfortunates, but the only possible solution of the problem of their final disposal was to send them to the province still loyal like them-

160. So at least he says in his memorial to the Commissioners, heard 29 December, 1785. Probably a "practitioner engineer," a rank then just going out of use. Cf. i. W. Porter, *History of the Royal Engineers*, 202. The family tradition is that he was a captain in that corps, but his name is not found under that heading in the Army Lists and the title is probably confused with his son's. At all events, he seems to have soon quit the job. See *post*.

161. Memorial above, Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

162. iii, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *American Manuscripts*, 226.

163. 22 November, 1782. *Idem*, 234.

164. Army Lists. He at first appears as James Nutting, by an obvious error. 24 March, 1791, he was promoted First Lieutenant, and 1 October, 1795, "Captain Lieutenant and Captain." He apparently sold out in 1797.

165. iii. R. Hildreth, *History of the United States*, 439.

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selves to the king.<sup>166</sup> The movement to deport them to Nova Scotia began in the autumn of 1782. It soon reached proportions really alarming: during the ensuing twelvemonth nearly 30,000 souls were estimated to have arrived at Halifax, Annapolis, Port Roseway, St. John's, etc.<sup>167</sup> The first requisite for these poor exiles was shelter. "They have applied to me," wrote Governor Parr, "to be provided with a Sufficiency of Boards for Erecting small houses to put them under Shelter after their arrival, as such a Provision is indispensably necessary & out of their power to make."<sup>168</sup> In his next letter he speaks of the great want of working people. This scarcity of boards<sup>169</sup> and building material is mentioned in almost everyone of Parr's letters home during 1783. "Another very Considerable Article of Expence My Lord will be the Lumber purchased from the Unavoidable Necessity of Providing these people with some Kind of Shelter & Habitation; for although they might in some Degree have provided themselves with Materials from the Woods yet without some Allowance of Boards their Dwellings would be

Wretched & Miserable, I cannot Ascertain the Expence already incurr'd on this Account, but from what is Known it amounts to about £3500."<sup>170</sup>

Here, in short, was the same old field ripe again for John Nutting's best-known talents, and he very soon found himself ordered to report at Halifax once more.<sup>171</sup> The conditions were curiously like those he had faced in 1776. There was the same uncertainty

166. Little could these poor refugees foresee that by their very exile they were to perform a still incalculable service to their sovereign and his successors. It is now reckoned that nothing but the vast increase they gave to the population and prestige of Nova Scotia induced the ministry to consider retaining that despised remnant of the American possessions, - yet the nucleus of the present Dominion of Canada! E. P. Weaver, "Nova Scotia during the Revolution." x. American Historical Review, 71.

167. Parr to North, Halifax, 20 November, 1783. 47 Provincial Archives, Halifax.

168. Parr to Townshend, Halifax, 15 January, 1783. Ibid.

169. Some of the loyalists before leaving for Halifax "even tore down their houses to take the material to the wilderness for new homes." A. C. Flick, Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution, 188.

170. Parr to North, Halifax, 21 October, 1783. 47 Provincial Archives, Halifax.

171. Memorial to the Commissioners, heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

and confusion, the same lack of supplies, the same wintry distress for the same class of true-hearted, tenderly-nurtured refugees, many of them fresh from the warm southern colonies. "It is a most unlucky Season for these unfortunate people to come to this Climate," remarks Parr in November. And a little later, "I cannot better describe the Wretched Situation of those people, than by inclosing your Lordship a list of those Just arrived in the Clinton Transport, destitute of almost everything: Chiefly Women & Children all still on board, as I have not yet been Able to find any Sort of place for them & the Cold Setting in Severe."<sup>172</sup>

We must therefore again picture the master carpenter struggling to procure workmen and materials for the "indispensable" little huts into which the poor refugees were only too thankful to crowd themselves. Much of his work must have been of a supervisory and instructive sort - helping the new settlers to help themselves, explaining the mysteries of saw and hammer to the former aristocrats of New York and Philadelphia, illustrating the theory of framing to the mob-harried ex-officials, broken professional men, and ruined merchant princes of that dolorous company. For there was now one great difference from the conditions of seven years before. This time nothing lay beyond. Halifax was not a mere point of transshipment, but a terminus; it was all too certain that there would and could be no return; the new arrivals were to become permanent settlers to live and die in the Nova Scotia wilderness.

For this reason the allotment of regular lands to the loyalists was another necessity, and a considerable force of surveyors pushed out into the forests and barrens of the back country, followed as fast as possible by the wretched army of grantees. Nutting must have made many a journey to the new settlements to assist in the house-building problems there. When it came to his own allotment

the persuasive Yankee land-speculator drove his usual good bargain. Whether from the representations of his influential patrons at home, or from his own importance in the community, he<sup>173</sup>

172. Parr to North, Halifax, 15 January, 1784, 47 Provincial Archives, Halifax.

173. Warrant dated 7 September, 1783. 14 Crown Grants, 3. Crown Grants Office, Halifax. The exact location, close to the 1000 acres of "Commissary Roger Johnston," is shown on an ancient traced map in the office, marked "Avon River to Tinney Cape." It was a long narrow strip running back from the water, to give the advantages of both upland and foreshore.

received a large tract, 2,000 acres,<sup>174</sup> of the rich soil on the southern shore of the beautiful Basin of Minas, near the present town of Newport, and conveniently close to Halifax itself, the provincial metropolis, "yielding & paying to His Majesty ... a free yearly quit rent of one farthing per Acre."

He did not at once remove to this domain, however, still being busy with his government work. About this time, according to family traditions,<sup>175</sup> he was constructing at Halifax the "Old Chain Battery" near the entrance of the Northwest Arm of the harbor. This, with the chain-boom which it commanded, stretching across the entrance to the Arm, was designed to protect the city from attack in the rear. Perhaps it was during the progress of the work that his daughter Mercy (named for her paternal grandmother) was born on George's Island in the harbor, 3 July, 1785.<sup>176</sup>

These multifarious occupations, nevertheless, presented nothing either novel or exciting, and he had already begun to grow restive under his "daily and constant attendance on duty," and to make efforts towards bettering his official, or at least his financial position. To that end he had addressed Carleton in quaint yet illuminating phrases: "Penetrated with the most indelible Caractures for the past favours - I humbly beg that I may be pardoned for this intrusion also .... The Commander in Chief is not unacquainted with my expectations, in coming out to America with him nor likewise with my disagreeable and unstable situation at this place ... for a Virtuous and affectionate Wife, and four amible Children,<sup>177</sup> who are entirely dependant on me for their subsistance, that have always had a sufficiency if not affulgence till this time .... I have spent upwards of eight years, the prime of my Life to support Government I have served faithfully spilt my blood, and at this moment feel the pain of my wounds which I received four years since, all which I have losst, and endured for the support of the

174. The usual grant was 200 acres to a single man, 500 to a family, 1000 to a field officer in a loyalist regiment, etc. A. C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution*, 190.

175. W. F. Parker, *Life of Daniel McNeill Parker*, 12.

176. Nutting Papers. She died young.

177. Elizabeth, James, and Susanna must therefore all have died during the wanderings and exposures of the war, leaving John, Mary No. 2, Mercy (who died the next year), and little Sophia Elizabeth.

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Government of Great Britain. I humbly pray that the General in his great humanity penetration and goodness, would be pleased to take my Case into his consideration and appoint me survayor of Lumber for his Majesty's works in this province at 5/- per Day which is the same I had at Penobscott, in addition to my pay as overseer . . . in lieu of being Engineer or any thing in my expectations preceident, and indeed will prevent my being under the necessity of troubling my Friends in England, or your Excellency any further on Government account."<sup>178</sup> Evidently the friends in England were not to be disregarded, for in due course came the desired appointment,<sup>179</sup> and "with a Salary of 10/- per Diem."<sup>180</sup>

As a respectable official and a considerable landowner in Nova Scotia, John Nutting would now have had little to worry him, had not the fate of his Penobscot property been wavering in the balance. The peace commissioners were at loggerheads over the eastern boundary between the American and the British possessions. Should it be the Penobscot River or the St. Croix? Long and stubborn was the controversy, but we may almost fancy poor Nutting's bad luck in real estate as tipping the scale at last. Early in January,<sup>181</sup> 1784, the barracks and store-houses that had cost him so much labor were emptied and fired, and the King's troops "reluctantly" - most reluctantly - abandoned Penobscot Fort, the last

178. Nutting to Carleton, Halifax, 10 May, 1783. iv, Papers in the Royal Institution, 411. (New York Public Library Transcripts.)  
Precis in iv. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 76.

179. "from Colonel Morse of the Engineers ... dated 23d December 1783." xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 299. Public Library, New York City.

180. xxviii. *Idem*, 198.

181. In spite of its romantic interest, the exact date seems still unknown. J. Williamson, "British Occupation of Penobscot." i. Maine Historical Society Collections, 2d Series, 398 et seq. Carleton had ordered evacuation, with "no delay," more than three months before, and so notified Hancock. iv. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 378, 391. But like a spoiled child, Massachusetts, once her object was within her grasp, almost refused to take it. Local tradition asserts that the importance of the place induced the ministry to send orders to delay the evacuation till the American government had complied with the various articles of the treaty, but that these orders did not arrive till after the garrison had set sail, and nearly reached Halifax. W. Ballard, "Castine, 1815." ii. Bangor Historical Magazine, 51.

post they held on American soil, and New Ireland became one more province in the realm of might-have-been. According to Mr. Secretary Knox,<sup>182</sup> the place never would have been evacuated at all, but would have remained to mark the seaward end of the British boundary-line, had not the jealousy of Wedderburne and the ignorance of Shelburne allowed it slip out of their hands and fixed the American terminus at Eastport instead.<sup>183</sup> Luckily for Massachusetts she had John Adams on the board of treaty commissioners, and his insistent diplomacy achieved what five warlike attempts had failed in.

The statesman mourned for a province *in posse*: the carpenter mourned for good acres *in esse*. His Cambridge property was already hopelessly lost, and it needs but a modicum of imagination to picture his chagrin at beholding his cherished farm on the Bagaduce, his recently-acquired homestead by the fort, his cleared lands and his mill privileges, after all his schemes to secure them, slip thus from his grasp forever. No recourse remained but to put in vigorous claims for compensation before the commissioners appointed to investigate and reward the services and sufferings of the loyalists. As usual, he lost little time, and on 15 January, 1784, made oath at Halifax to a moving memorial, accompanied by sundry affidavits and schedules regarding his property lost at Cambridge and Penobscot.<sup>184</sup> This he entrusted to Samuel Sparhawk to present for him in London, "as it was not in the power of Mr. Nutting personally to attend your Hon'ble Board within the time limited for receiving the claims."<sup>185</sup> Consideration of this was apparently deferred till the next year, when the Commissioners visited Halifax to hear claimants on the spot. The indefatigable Nutting thereupon presented another memorial<sup>186</sup> backing it up with various

182. Knox to Cooke. Ealing, 27 January, 1808. vi. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, Various, 227.

183. Most of the loyalists who were forced out of Penobscot removed to St. Andrews, opposite Eastport, thus continuing the border-line existence which they had already elected.

184. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

185. Memorial of Sam'l Sparhawk "in behalf of John Nutting, March 25 1784. Bedford Court, R'd Lyon Square." Ibid.

186. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London. Duplicated in xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 289. Public Library, New York City.

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documentary proofs and the personal testimony both of himself and of sundry other witnesses, including young Lieutenant John. The hearing<sup>187</sup> was on 29 December, 1785, and the decision<sup>188</sup> was made the same day. The Commissioners, apparently in view of the various payments already made to him by government, confined themselves to a consideration of his property losses. The Cambridge claims were disallowed, the house "appearing to have been mortgaged to some of his Wife's Family & to be now in their possession." So was the claim for the "House built at Penobscot after that Post was occupied by the British Troops." So was the claim for "Furniture Lumber & Cattle lost at different places there being no proof of Loss." In short, only £200 were awarded, for "500 Acres on Penobscot River with Houses Improvements and 1/3d of a Saw Mill." Even that was "only conditional. Proof of Confiscation and Sale is required." This was subsequently furnished; and after solemn affidavits from various members of the Walton family as to the Cambridge property,<sup>189</sup> the claimant was "allowed on revision" an additional £100 for that, "after deducting mortgage."<sup>190</sup>

Unable therefore to capitalize his loyalty to any great extent, John Nutting seems to have settled down into a steady-going farmer of Newport, N. S. He probably carried out to the letter the various conditions on which all the crown grants had been made; - "within three years from date hereof to clear and work three acres of or for every fifty acres in the tract hereby granted . . . or clear and drain three acres of swampy or sunken ground, or drain three acres of marsh, . . . or put or keep on his said

lands three Neat Cattle" or "to erect on some part of his said Lands One dwelling house to Contain twenty feet in length by sixteen feet in

187. Fully reported in xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 297 et seq. Public Library, New York City. The witnesses besides Nutting père et fils, were Samuel Pool and Nathaniel Bust [? Rust], formerly of Cambridge, and Josiah Henny, of Penobscot. For the latter cf. G. A. Wheeler, History of Castine, 201.

188. xxviii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 197. Public Library, New York City.

189. Affidavits of John Walton of Cambridge and Benjamin Walton of Reading, 29 October, 1788. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

190. 12 December, 1788. xxviii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 197. Public Library, New York City. A revision after such an interval certainly suggests considerable powers of "pull" or persuasion.

breadth." He was a man of importance in the community, too, for his influence is unmistakable in the naming of the next town to Newport, perpetuating his wife's family name of Walton. His last child, a son of his old age, was born 12 September, 1787, and named from his two grandfathers James Walton.<sup>191</sup>

So passed the afternoon of life. But was that active and ingenious spirit content in the improvement of a back-country farm and the routine duties of a surveyor of lumber? He had taken responsible part in many a stirring scene, in militia musters, in famous sieges, in English fort and Spanish prison, in concentration camps, in councils of the state, in fateful despatch-bearing. He had been faithful to his king, even unto banishment and double confiscation. Did he not long to play the man again? When his old wounds burned and stung in the foggy autumn nights, did not his thoughts turn back to his early frontier campaigns, to his "fall trainings" in Cambridge, to his expedition with Colonel Small, to his fight with the privateer? When the surf from Blomidon boomed on his beach, did he not hear again in fancy the guns of the *Vengeance*, or the 24's of Collier at Castine, or the cannonade from Copp's Hill? Did he not sometimes yearn as he passed among the farmer folk for his old neighbors in cultured and beautiful Cambridge, or his polished friends and patrons in glittering London? If we read the man aright, there can be but one answer.

We know, moreover, that to the end his old land-hunger and wanderlust were strong upon him, for he was constantly buying, selling, and mortgaging lots,<sup>192</sup> extending his operations as far as Cape Breton and its neighborhood. But his financial ill-luck, like the villain of the melodrama, still pursued him. When he died, intestate, late in 1800, although he was described as "gentleman," and as possessing "two lots of 500 acres each in Newport, being part of lands commonly called Mantular Lands" and "a 200 acre lot of Land in the County of Sidney No. 9, and a Town Lot in Man-

191. Married Mary Elizabeth MacLean, 10 July, 1813, and had six children. Died 7 July, 1870, at Halifax. Nutting Papers. Stone in Camp Hill Cemetery there. He rose to eminence in the law, was clerk of the crown in the supreme court of the province, and at his death was senior member of the Nova Scotia Bar. He had a 500-acre grant in Newport, close to his father's.

192. His numerous local deals may be traced in Windsor (Nova Scotia) Deeds, passim.

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chester, No. 3 Letter M," - yet his estate was found insolvent, and a general sale was made of his property. The inventory included "7 cows, 1 yoke of oxen, 2 yoke of steers, 2 Heighfords," and other livestock, "1 boat," a reminder of his seafaring days, and a curious list of his tools: "3 axes, 1 Handsaw, 1 Crosscut saw, 1 Two foot rule, 2 augers, 2 chissels, 1 foot adds, 1 Tray adds, 2 grindstones, 1 Crow Barr, 1 Jack Plain, 1 Iron square, 1 draw knife, 3 files, 1 pinchers, 1 Do. Hammer." Only the merest necessities of life were exempted and "left in the Hands of the Wido Mary Nutting & her children."<sup>193</sup>

While his relict thus suffered the penalty of his characteristic pecuniary misfortunes, she luckily reaped the benefit of his equally characteristic friendships with the great and influential. The Duke of Kent, Queen Victoria's father, then just quitting the post of commander-in-chief in Nova Scotia, "in consideration of her husband's services to the Crown, and his heavy losses at Cambridge by confiscation, ... procured for the widow a special pension from the Crown."<sup>194</sup> Upon this subsidy, aided perhaps by her children's contributions, she managed to eke out an existence, possibly precarious but certainly protracted. She died about 1831, at "Loyal Hill."<sup>195</sup>

Such is the history, so far as gathered, of a Cambridge man born and bred, interesting not only for his all too uncommon type of personality among his loyalist neighbors, but for the curious speculations arising from his share in the historical events in which he played a part. If, for example, the strategists of Great Britain, uninfluenced by his solicitude for his eligible farm, had established the post in Maine at some other point than Penobscot - a point on which the attack of the Provincials might have been successful, - if the only organized naval force of the colonies, instead of disappearing utterly, had returned, encouraged by victory, to take, under the masterly strategy of Washington, a definite and coordinated part in the current and subsequent campaigns of the Revolution, - who can say how much the struggle would have been

193. Hants Probate Records at Windsor, Nova Scotia. His son-in-law, Daniel McNeil, was appointed administrator, 21 November, 1800.

194. W. F. Parker. Life of Daniel McNeill Parker, 12.

195. Nutting Papers.

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altered and shortened? What would have been the effect on the story of American privateering? Again, if that post had been to the eastward of Penobscot, even had the result of the expedition been the same as it was, where might the Canadian boundary now be fixed? What chances for an actual New Ireland of to-day?

And the Muse of History (doubtless a polyglot dame) smiles inscrutably and replies, *Quien sabe?*

At the conclusion of Mr. Batchelder's paper the meeting was dissolved.

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## GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

October 27, 1909 - October 25, 1910

**Donor**

*Description*

**AMERICAN-IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY** --- *Journal, Vol. IX, 1910*

**BARNEY, EVERETT HOSMER** --- *Commodore Joshua Barney, U.S.N., 1759-1818, by W. F. Adams*

**BIGELOW, FRANCIS HILL** --- *Address delivered before the Alumni of Harvard College, July 16, 1863, by James Walker*

*At Home and Abroad, by Margaret Fuller Ossoli*

*Atlas of the City of Cambridge, by G. M. Hopkins*

*Cambridge Directory, 1848*

*Cambridge in the "Centennial," issued by the City Council of Cambridge*

*Cambridge of 1896, ed. by Arthur Gilman*

*Can a State Secede? By Emory Washburn*

*Discourse occasioned by the Death of Jared Sparks, by William Newell*

*English Words and their Proper Use, by Lyman R. Williston*

*Eulogy on Thomas Dowse, by Edward Everett*

*Geological Sketches, by Louis Agassiz. 2d series*

*Harvard Book, collected and published by F. O. Vaille and H. A. Clark. 2 v.*

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**Bigelow, Francis Hill** ---*Harvard Memorial Biographies, by Thomas Wentworth Higginson. 2 v.*

*Henry W. Longfellow, by W. S. Kennedy*

*History of Greece, by William Smith, with Notes and a Continuation to the present time, by C. C. Felton*

*Journey in Brazil, by Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz*

*Laws of Business for Business Men, by Theophilus Parsons*

*Life of Josiah Quincy, by his Son*

*Notice sent to Marshall T. Bigelow of his Election as Honorary Member of the 12th Unattached Co., M. V. M., Cambridge Walcott Guard, January 1, 1866*

*Novum Testamentum Graece, ex Recensione J. J. Griesbachii, Cantabrigiae Nov. Anglorum, 1809*

*On the Measure of the Forces of Bodies moving with Different Velocities, by Daniel Treadwell*

*Recollections of Seventy Years, by Mrs. John Farrar*

*Report on the Connection at various times existing between the First Parish in Cambridge and Harvard College*

*Theory of the Universe, by Samuel Hutchins*

*Tiles from the Todd House on Site of St. John's Chapel*

*To the Free Soil Members of the General Court of Massachusetts for the year 1851, by J. G. Palfrey*

**Donor***Description*

**Bigelow, Francis Hill** --- *Treatise on English Punctuation, by John Wilson*

**CAMBRIDGE PUBLIC LIBRARY** --- *Annual Report of the Trustees, 1880, 1882, 1887, 1889, 1892-1910. 22 nos.*

*Cambridge Public Library: its History, etc., comp, by C. Walker.*

*History of the Cambridge Public Library, 1858-1908, comp. by W. J. Rolfe and C. W. Ayer.*

**CARY, EMMA FORBES** --- *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs relating to the Families of the State of Massachusetts, ed. by W. R. Cutter. 4v.*

**CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY** --- *Annual Report, May, 1910*

**DANA, RICHARD HENRY, 3D** --- *Boston Daily Advertiser, April 29, 1850, July 3, 1850, April 29, 1851*

**DELAWARE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY** --- *Marking the Headquarters of Washington and Lafayette, at Chadd's Ford, Delaware County, Pa., September 10, 1910*

**GOZZALDI, MRS. MARY ISABELLA** --- *Certificate of Membership in the Francis Scott Key Memorial Association*

**HARRIS, ELIZABETH** --- *Journal of American History, 1907-1909. 3v.*

**HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH** --- *Album containing twenty-five Harvard Photographs of the Last Generation*

**HILDRETH, JOHN LEWIS** --- *First Generation of the Name of Hildreth in Massachusetts, 1643-1693, comp. by P. H. Reade*

**ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY** --- *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1909*

**ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY** --- *Journal, Vol. II, No. 3-Vol. III, No. 3, Oct. 1909-Oct. 1910*

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*Description*

**LANCASTER COUNTY (PA.) HISTORICAL SOCIETY** --- *Papers read, Vol. XIII, No. 8-XIV, No. 6, Oct. 12, 1909-June 3, 1910*

**LANE, WILLIAM COOLIDGE** --- *Classical and Scientific Studies and the Great Schools of England, by W. P. Atkinson,*

*Dynamic and Mechanic Teaching, by W. P. Atkinson;*

*Horse-shoe: a Poem, by John Brooks Felton*

*Prémices, by E. Foxton, pseud. for Sara Hammond Palfrey*

*Subjects for Master's Degree in Harvard College, 1655-1791, tr. by E. J. Young*

**MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY** --- *Proceedings, Vol. XLII, Oct. 1908-June, 1909*

**MATTHEWS, ALBERT** --- *Snake Devices, 1754-1776, and the Constitutional Courant, 1765. Reprinted from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol. XI*

**MEDFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY** --- *Historical Register, Vol. XIII, 1910*

**MIDDLESEX COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY** --- *Pamphlet, No. VIII, May, 1910*

**MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY** --- *Collections, Vols. XII-XIII, 1908*

**NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY** --- *New England Historical and Genealogical Register, April, 1910 (with Supplement)-July, 1910*

**NORTON, MARGARET** --- *Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature, 1833-34*

**OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY** --- *Quarterly, Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-2, 1910*

**OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY** --- *Historia, Vol. I, No.4, June 15 1910*

**OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY** --- *Quarterly, Vol. X, No. 2-Vol. XI, No. 2, June, 1909-June, 1910*

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**PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY (NEW YORK)** --- *Year Book, 1910*

**POCUMTUCK VALLEY MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION** --- *History and Proceedings of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Vols. I and IV, 1870-1879, and 1899-1904*

**RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY** --- *Proceedings, 1906-1908. 2 nos.*

**SAUNDERS, MARY ELIZABETH** --- *Acceptance and Unveiling of the Statue of John Bridge, the Puritan, issued by the Cambridge City Council*

*Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill, by David Pulsifer*

*Address of the Mayor of Cambridge, with the Annual Reports, 1846-1888, 1901-1904. 38 v.*

*Exercises in Celebrating the 250th Anniversary of the Settlement of Cambridge, held Dec. 28, 1880, issued by the Cambridge City Council;*

*Funeral Discourse ... on the Occasion of the Burial of G. T. and J. H. Tucker, by C. W. Anable*

*Invitation to be present at the Memorial Services of General Grant, held Aug. 8, 1885, issued by the Mayor of Cambridge*

*Memorial of the Inauguration of the Statue of Franklin, issued by the Boston City Council*

*Memorial to the Men of Cambridge who fell in the First Battle of the Revolutionary War, issued by the Cambridge City Council*

*Oration delivered on the 4th of July, 1862, before the Municipal Authorities of Boston, by G. T. Curtis*

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**Saunders, Mary Elizabeth ---**

*Record of the Massachusetts Volunteers, 1861-1865. 2 v.*

*Remarks at the Funeral of Hon. W. Eustis Russell, by Rev. Alexander McKenzie*

*Report of the Trial of Prof. John W. Webster; Roll of Students of Harvard College who have served in the Army and Navy during the War of the Rebellion, by F. J. Child; Thanksgiving Proclamation of the President, containing also the Proclamation of Gov. Andrew of Massachusetts*

**SHELDON, MRS. GEORGE ---** *Tribute to C. Alice Baker, by J. M. A. Sheldon*

**VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ---** *Virginia Magazine, Vol. XVIII, 1910*

**WISCONSIN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY ---** *Wisconsin Archaeologist, Vol. VIII. No. 3, Oct. 1909*

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# NECROLOGY

The original obituary sketches of which most of the following are abstracts, are kept on file in the Society's collection.

## REGULAR MEMBERS

AMES, JAMES BARR, was born in Boston, Mass., June 22, 1846. He was a pupil in the Boston Latin School and entered Harvard College in 1863. He graduated in 1868, receiving the degree of A.B. After two years spent in travel and teaching he entered the Harvard Law School, where he graduated in 1872. He stayed in the school for a graduate year, and at the same time taught two courses in history in the college. At the end of this year he received the master's degree and was appointed assistant professor of law. On June 25, 1877, he was appointed to a full professorship of law. In 1895 he succeeded Professor Langdell as dean of the Faculty, and in 1903 he became Dane Professor of Law. For thirty-six years he taught in the Harvard Law School, beloved and respected by all who knew him. He was made a Doctor of Laws by the University of New York and the University of Wisconsin in 1898, by the University of Pennsylvania in 1899, by Northwestern University in 1903, by Williams College and Harvard in 1904. In his younger days he was an enthusiastic amateur actor, and was for years the presiding officer of the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club. For ten years he was president of the Old Cambridge Shakespeare Club. For several years he was president of the Colonial Club in Cambridge. Mr. Ames married, June 29, 1880, Miss Sarah Russell, daughter of George Robert and Sarah (Shaw) Russell, of Boston. Two sons were born to them, Robert Russell (Harvard, 1907) and Richard (Harvard, 1907). Mr. Ames died January 8, 1910.

EDMANDS, JOHN RAYNER, was born in Boston, February 18, 1850, the son of Benjamin Franklin and Catherine Rayner Edmands. He was educated in the schools of his native city and graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1869, with the degree of Mechanical Engineer. For a number of years he was connected with the U. S. Coast Survey, and from 1883 to 1910 he was an assistant in the Harvard Astronomical Observatory, chiefly as librarian but not in continuous

service. Possessed of ample means and leisure, and fond of mountain climbing, Mr. Edmands became one of the original members of the Appalachian Mountain Club, showing great interest in its early topographical work in the White Mountains. In building paths up the high ridges he spent much time, energy, and money, and in this way he has prepared his own memorial, the name of "the Edmands trails" being given to the system of carefully constructed paths upon the northern peaks of the Presidential Range. As aids in this work for himself and for others, he showed inventive genius in constructing a special camera for obtaining panoramic profiles, and a portable form of heliotrope for transmitting sun-signals across the mountains, as well as a convenient pack-saddle for pedestrians. His work and his ability received full recognition in his appointment to many offices of the Appalachian Mountain Club, among which he served as Trustee of Real Estate from its organization in 1876 to his death, Corresponding Secretary in 1881, Vice-President in 1885, and President in 1886. His mountain service assumed a wider importance in helping to secure three reservations at North Woodstock, Shelburne, and Fitzwilliam. On October 26, 1885, Mr. Edmands married Helen Louise Atkins, of Belmont, whose sudden death within three years left him long a widower. His own death followed a stroke of apoplexy, at the Johns Hopkins University Hospital in Baltimore, on March 27, 1910, while he was on his way back from a trip to Florida for the benefit of his health. His will contained several public bequests, among them being \$10,000 to the Institute of Technology; his estate at 61 Garden Street to Radcliffe College; and \$1000 each to the Appalachian Mountain Club for the purchase of land in the public interest, to Harvard University for the use of the Phillips Library at the Observatory, and to the East End Christian Union.

ROLFE, WILLIAM JAMES, was born in Newburyport, Mass., December 10, 1827, and died at Tisbury, Mass., July 7, 1910. He was the son of John and Lydia Davis (Moulton) Rolfe. He passed most of his boyhood at Lowell; graduated at Amherst College in 1849; taught in Kirkwood Academy, Maryland, and at Day's Academy, Wrentham, till December, 1852, when he became headmaster of the Dorchester High School; later was principal of high schools at Lawrence, Salem, and Cambridge (1862-1868) until 1868, when he devoted himself wholly to literary work. Among his important editions are Shakespeare, in 40 volumes; "Students' Series of Standard English Poems," 10 volumes; Tennyson, 12 volumes; "Cambridge Course of Physics," 8 volumes; and selections from Goldsmith, Gray, Wordsworth, Browning, and other

poets. He also compiled several volumes of tales, and wrote three books on Shakespeare. From 1872 to 1910 he edited "The Satchel Guide to Europe." In 1908 he prepared, in collaboration with the librarian, Clarence W. Ayer, a "History of the Cambridge Public Library," in connection with the celebration, April 1, 1908, of the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment. He was president of the Emerson College of Oratory, Boston, 1901-1908. Harvard conferred on him an honorary A.M. in 1859, and Amherst made him a Litt. D. in 1887. On July 30, 1856, he married Eliza Jane Carew, of Dorchester. Their three sons are Prof. John Carew (Harvard, 1881); George William (Harvard, 1885); and Charles Joseph (Harvard, 1890).

SMITH, MRS. EMMA GRISCOM, born in New York City, July 16, 1845, was daughter of Dr. John Hoskins and Henrietta (Peale) Griscom, granddaughter of Rembrandt Peale, the artist, who was a son of Charles Wilson Peale, artist and aide-de-camp to General Washington. Mrs. Smith was educated at the Twelfth Street School in New York, the first public school in that city to receive girls exclusively, also at a private school. In 1865 she accompanied her father on a trip to Europe. She married, August 25, 1870, Clement Lawrence Smith (Harvard, 1863), son of Dr. George Smith, physician, legislator, and historian, who had been appointed tutor in Latin at Harvard College. For five years they made their home in Mason Street, where a daughter and two sons were born; another son was born at 65 Sparks Street, where they passed the remainder of their lives. Professor Smith became Dean of the Harvard College Faculty in 1882. In 1887 he took his first sabbatical year, which he spent with his family in Germany. Mrs. Smith remained another year in Europe for the benefit or the instruction of the children. Ten years later she was again abroad with her husband, who had been appointed head of the School of Classical Languages in Rome. The last years of her life were devoted to the care of her husband, who became a helpless invalid. He died July 1, 1909, and she followed on April 8, 1910.

SORTWELL, ALVIN FOYE, was born in Boston, July 21, 1854, son of Daniel Robinson and Sophia Augusta (Foye) Sortwell. He was educated in the Chauncy Hall School and at Phillips (Andover) Academy. At the age of eighteen he was a partner in the firm of Sortwell & Co., and until he retired in 1891 had full charge of the business in East Cambridge established by his father. He was a member of the Common Council of Cambridge in 1879, 1885, and 1888; serving the last year as

its president. He was elected to the Board of Aldermen in 1889 and was president of that body in 1890. In 1897 he was elected Mayor of Cambridge and served for two terms. From 1888 to 1894 he was a trustee of the Public Library. He was a member of the Water Board and its president from 1907 until his death. He was president of the Montpelier & Wells River Railroad, vice-president of the Barre Railroad, president of the Cambridge Trust Company, and a director of several corporations. He was a member of the Algonquin Club, the Country Club of Brookline, the Eastern Yacht Club, the Oakley Country Club, the Colonial Club of Cambridge, and the Cambridge Club. He married, December 31, 1879, Gertrude Winship, daughter of William and Mary E. Dailey of Cambridge. Their six children, Clara, Frances Augusta, Daniel Richard (Harvard, 1907-8), Marion, Edward Carter, and Alvin Foye, survive him. Mr. Sortwell died March 21, 1910.

SWAN, Mrs. SARAH HODGES, was born March 21, 1825, at Bridgewater, where her father, Rev. Richard Manning Hodges (Harvard, 1815), was minister of the First Congregational Church, 1821-1833. Her mother was Elizabeth Quincy Donnison, daughter of William Donnison, Judge of Common Pleas, Adjutant General, and aide to Governor Hancock. Mr. Hodges lived three years in Boston after leaving Bridgewater, and in 1836 came to Cambridge, buying the house on the corner of Waterhouse and Garden streets, facing the Common, where he lived until his death in 1878. Mrs. Swan attended, until 1839, the school kept by Miss Austin and later by Miss Mary Hodge in the old Hooker House, which stood in the College Yard, where Boylston Hall now stands. For two seasons she was present at the conversations of Margaret Fuller and later took private lessons from her. She was married, April 16, 1851, to Rev. Joshua Swan (Harvard, 1846), and went to live in Kennebunk, Maine, where Mr. Swan was ordained minister of the First Congregational Church. He remained there until 1869, when he was obliged to resign, owing to failing health, and removed to 6 Berkeley St., Cambridge, where he died October 31, 1871. Four children, one son and three daughters, were born in Kennebunk, all still living. Mrs. Swan was a charter member of the Cambridge Historical Society and made some valuable donations to its library. She was much interested in collecting and arranging the records of her family, and wrote a valuable account of her mother's old home in Boston, at the corner of Washington and Winter streets. The Cambridge Hospital and Home for Aged People owed much to her, and she was active in all the work of the First Church (Uni-

tarian). She was largely influential in having the cars taken from Brattle Street and the Lowell Park laid out. She died at her home, 167 Brattle Street, October 17, 1910.

## ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

AGASSIZ, ALEXANDER, scientist, mining company president, and philanthropist, the distinguished son of distinguished parentage, his father being Louis Agassiz and his mother Cecile Braun, was born in Neuchatel, Switzerland, December 17, 1835. On the death of his mother, in 1849, the son came to Cambridge, to join his father, who had the year before accepted a position to teach in the new Lawrence Scientific School. Two years later he entered Harvard and graduated in the class of 1855. Two periods of study at the Lawrence Scientific School during the next six years, with the degree of S. B. in 1857, completed his solid equipment for undertaking numerous expeditions to all parts of the

world for scientific research in the large field of invertebrate zoology and oceanography. From these expeditions he returned with countless specimens for the growing collections in the Harvard University Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, which his father had founded, upon which he expended, from time to time in its development, not less than one million dollars, and through which and through his published writings thereupon was established his fame as the world's greatest authority on his special subjects of sea-urchins, star-fishes, coral reefs, and the ocean floor. From the death of his father, in 1873, he became Curator of the new Museum, and under three successive titles was its virtual head until his own desired withdrawal in 1904. In other ways also he served the University, by gifts of money to other departments, and by two terms of office each, between 1873 and 1890, as a member of the Board of Overseers, and as a Fellow of the Corporation. From 1865 on, this scientific career was combined with another entirely different and equally successful, as mining expert and president of the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company. His technical knowledge and administrative ability in developing what has proved to be the richest copper mine in the world brought him great wealth, and gave him the means with which to carry on his scientific researches and to equip and endow the Museum. More than any other he may be considered the typical representative in America of the scholar in business. The number and variety of honors bestowed upon him by learned societies and universities, from the "Prix Serres" of the Académie des Sciences de Paris in 1873, to the Victoria research

medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London in 1909, were all spontaneous recognitions of his great service to natural science. He married, on November 15, 1860, Anna Russell, daughter of George Robert and Sarah (Shaw) Russell, who died in 1873, leaving three sons to his care and that of his devoted step-mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Cary Agassiz. His life-long home was at the corner of Quincy Street and Broadway; his summer home, and also his private laboratory, were at Newport, R.I. He died suddenly, at sea, on March 27, 1910, while on his return home from the Mediterranean. Among his published works, numbering 248 titles and consisting chiefly of reports and monographs on special topics, prepared for the Bulletin and Memoirs of the Museum, the following are the best known separate books: "Seaside Studies in Natural History," 1865 (with text by Mrs. Elizabeth Cary Agassiz); and the "Three Cruises of the *Blake*," 2 vols., 1888.

GILMAN, ARTHUR, born at Alton, Ill., June 22, 1837, was the son of Winthrop Sargent and Abia Swift (Lippincott) Gilman. He was eighth in descent from Edward Gilman, of Caston, Norfolk, England, who came to Hingham, Mass., in 1638, and in the seventh generation from Hon. John Gilman, of Exeter, N. H., member of the Council of the Royal Province of New Hampshire. Through his father's mother, Hannah Robbins, he was descended in the eighth generation from Richard Robbins, who came to Charlestown in 1639, and settled in Cambridge before 1643. Mr. Gilman was the second child in a family of thirteen, and eldest of the nine brothers and sisters who reached maturity. Until he was twelve years old he lived in Alton, and St. Louis, Mo.; then the family removed to New York City. He spent many summers in the Berkshire Hills, and after his marriage, April 12, 1860, to Amy Cooke Ball, daughter of Samuel and Experience Ball, of Lee, Mass., he made his home near Lenox, where a son and three daughters were born. He served on the local school committee and interested himself in education, lecturing at many schools and colleges on that subject. In 1870 he became associated with Houghton, Mifflin & Co., in the publications of the Riverside Press, and removed to Cambridge, where he continued to live until a short time before his death, when ill health obliged him to seek a milder climate. During this time Mr. Gilman wrote many books on history and English literature. He edited the Gilman Genealogy, "Cambridge in 1776," and "Cambridge Forty Years a City." On July 11, 1876, Mr.

Gilman married for his second wife Stella Scott, daughter of David and Stella (Houghton) Scott, of Tuscaloosa, Ala., who aided him in his educational and literary work. By this second marriage he had two

daughters and a son. He built the house at the east corner of Waterhouse Street and Concord Avenue, which was thenceforth his home. His interest in education led him to plan for the teaching of young women by the Harvard professors. President Eliot and the Faculty approving, the Society for Collegiate Instruction for Women was formed and incorporated in 1882, Mr. Gilman being secretary, executive officer, and director. In 1894 this body became Radcliffe College, with Mr. Gilman as first Regent. In 1896, two years later, he resigned this position, but remained a member of the Corporation. In 1886 he founded the Cambridge School for Girls, since called the Gilman School. He received the degree of M.A. from Williams College in 1867, and from Harvard in 1904; was elected an honorary member of the Harvard Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa, and was for many years on the Board of Visitors of Wellesley College. Arthur Gilman was a valued member of many societies. He was founder and secretary of the Longfellow Memorial Association, and of the Lowell Memorial Society, a charter member of the American Historical Association, Cambridge Historical Society, Authors' Club, Episcopalian, St. Botolph and Colonial clubs, and of the New England Agricultural Society. He was many years secretary of the Humane Society and of the Episcopal Theological School, where he was also on the Board of Visitors. A constant attendant at St. John's Memorial Chapel, he was always ready to lend his aid to philanthropic work. On leaving Cambridge a few years ago he resigned as an active member, and became an associate member of the Cambridge Historical Society. He died at Atlantic City, N. J., December 27, 1909.

NILES, WILLIAM HARMON, was born, May 18, 1838, at Northampton, Mass. His parents were the Rev. Asa Niles and Mary A. (Marcy) Niles, His early education was received in the public schools of Worthington and at Wesleyan Academy at Wilbraham. He was for four years a student of Prof. Louis Agassiz. He then went to the Sheffield Scientific School at New Haven, and received the degree of Ph.B. in 1867. He received the honorary degree of A.M. from Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., in 1870. In 1871 he was appointed professor of physical geography in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and in 1878 became professor of geology and geography. In 1879 he became professor of geology at Boston University. In 1888 he was appointed professor in charge of the department of geology at Wellesley College. These three professorships he held for many years. He was president of the Boston Society of Natural History, of the New England Meteor-

ological Society, and a trustee of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology. He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the Geological Society of America, and a member of the National Geographical Society and of the Society of American Naturalists. He was the author of many scientific books. He married, December 31, 1868, Miss Helen M. Plympton, youngest daughter of Dr. Sylvanus Plympton, of Cambridge. He died in Boston, September 13, 1910.

# OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

## 1910-1911

President --- RICHARD HENRY DANA.

Vice-Presidents --- THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON; ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS; ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE.

Secretary --- CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

Treasurer --- HENRY HERBERT EDES.

Curator --- CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

The Council --- CLARENCE WALTER AYER, EDWARD HENRY HALL, HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY, THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, RICHARD HENRY DANA, ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE, ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, HENRY HERBERT EDES, ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW, MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

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## COMMITTEES APPOINTED BY THE COUNCIL

### 1910-1911

*On the Early Roads and Topography of Cambridge.*

STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES, EDWARD JOHN BRANDON, EDWARD RUSSELL COGSWELL.

*On the Collection of Autograph Letters of Distinguished Citizens of Cambridge.*

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, HENRY HERBERT EDES.

*On Sketches of Noted Citizens of Cambridge.*

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, EDWARD RUSSELL COGSWELL, SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER.

*On the Collection and Preservation of Printed and Manuscript Material.*

WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, CLARENCE WALTER AYER, EDWIN BLAISDELL HALE.

*On Publication.*

CLARENCE WALTER AYER, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, HENRY HERBERT EDES.

*On Memoirs of Deceased Members.*

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY.

*On the Collection of Oral Tradition and Early Letters and other Documents of Citizens of Cambridge.*

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, MARGARET JONES BRADBURY, GRACE OWEN SCUDDER, ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA, GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT, MARY HELEN DEANE, SUSANNA WILLARD.

*On Auditing the Accounts of the Treasurer.*

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS.

*On the Longfellow Centenary Medal Prize.*

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, EDWARD BANGS DREW, CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

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## REGULAR MEMBERS

ABBOT, MARION STANLEY; ALLEN, FLORA VIOLA; ALLEN, FRANK AUGUSTUS; ALLEN, MARY WARE; ALLEN, OSCAR FAYETTE; ALLISON, CARRIE JOSEPHINE; ALLISON, SUSAN CARLYLE; \*AMES, JAMES BARR; AUBIN, HELEN WARNER; AUBIN, MARGARET HARRIS; AYER, CLARENCE WALTER; BAILEY, HOLLIS RUSSELL; BAILEY, MARY PERSIS; BANCROFT, WILLIAM AMOS; BARNARD, CLARA EVERETT; BATCHELDER, CHARLES FOSTER; BATCHELDER, LAURA POOR; BATCHELDER, SAMUEL FRANCIS; BEALE, JOSEPH HENRY; BELL, STOUGHTON; BIGELOW, FRANCIS HILL; BIGELOW, MELVILLE MADISON; BILL, CAROLINE ELIZA; BLAKE, JAMES HENRY; BLISH, ARIADNE; BLODGETT, WARREN KENDALL; BOUTON, ELIZA JANE NESMITH; BRADBURY, MARGARET JONES; BRADBURY, WILLIAM FROTHINGHAM; BRANDON, EDWARD JOHN; BROCK, ADAH LEILA CONE; BROOKS, ARTHUR HENDRICKS; BULFINCH, ELLEN SUSAN; BUMSTEAD, JOSEPHINE FREEMAN; CARRUTH, ANNA KENT; CARRUTH, CHARLES THEODORE; CARY, EMMA FORBES; CLARK, ELIZABETH HODGES; COES, MARY; COGSWELL, EDWARD RUSSELL; COOK, FRANK GAYLORD; CORNE, WILLIAM FREDERICK; COX, GEORGE HOWLAND; CROTHERS, SAMUEL MCCHORD; CUTTER, WATSON GRANT; DALLINGER, WILLIAM WILBERFORCE; DANA, EDITH LONGFELLOW; DANA, ELIZABETH ELLERY; DANA, HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW; DANA, RICHARD HENRY; DAVIS, ANDREW McFARLAND; DAVIS,

ELEANOR WHITNEY; DEANE, GEORGE CLEMENT; DEANE, MARY HELEN; DEANE, WALTER; DODGE, EDWARD SHERMAN; DREW, EDWARD BANGS; DUNBAR, WILLIAM HARRISON; DURANT, WILLIAM BULLARD; DURRELL, HAROLD CLARKE

\* Deceased

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EDES, GRACE WILLIAMSON; EDES, HENRY HERBERT; \*EDMANDS, JOHN RAYNER; ELIOT, CHARLES WILLIAM; ELIOT, GRACE HOPKINSON; ELIOT, SAMUEL ATKINS; ELLIS, HELEN PEIRCE; EMERTON, EPHRAIM; EVARTS, PRESCOTT; FARLOW, LILIAN HORSFORD; FENN, WILLIAM WALLACE; FESSENDEN, MARION BROWN; FISKE, ETHEL; FOOTE, MARY BRADFORD; FORBES, EDWARD WALDO; FORD, LILIAN FISK; FORD, WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY; FOSTER, FRANCIS APTHORP; FOX, JABEZ; FOXCROFT, FRANK; GAMWELL, EDWARD FRANCIS; GOODWIN, AMELIA MACKAY; GOZZALDI, MARY ISABELLA; GRAY, ANNA LYMAN; GRAY, JOHN CHIPMAN; HALE, EDWIN BLAISDELL; HALL, EDWARD HENRY; HALL, WILLIAM STICKNEY; HARRIS, ELIZABETH; HART, ALBERT BUSHNELL; HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH; HILDRETH, JOHN LEWIS; HILL, FREDERIC STANHOPE; HODGES, GEORGE; HOPPIN, ELIZA MASON; HORSFORD, KATHARINE; HOUGHTON, ALBERTA MANNING; HOUGHTON, ELIZABETH HARRIS; HOUGHTON, ROSERHYSS GILMAN; HOWE, ARCHIBALD MURRAY; HOWE, ARRIA SARGENT DIXWELL; HOWE, CLARA; HUBBARD, PHINEAS; IRWIN, AGNES; JACKSON, ROBERT TRACY; KELLNER, MAXIMILIAN LINDSAY; KENDALL, GEORGE FREDERICK; KERSHAW, JUSTINE HOUGHTON; KIERNAN, THOMAS J; LAMB, HARRIET FARLEY; LANE, WILLIAM COOLIDGE; LEAVITT, ERASMUS DARWIN; LONGFELLOW, ALICE MARY; LONGFELLOW, WILLIAM PITT PREBLE; LOWELL, ABBOTT LAWRENCE; MARCOU, PHILIPPE BELKNAP; McDUFFIE, JOHN; McINTIRE, CHARLES JOHN; MCKENZIE, ALEXANDER; MELLEDGE, ROBERT JOB; MERRIMAN, DOROTHEA FOOTE; MERRIMAN, ROGER BIGELOW; MITCHELL, EMMA MARIA; MORISON, ANNE THERESA; MORISON, ROBERT SWAIN; MYERS, JAMES JEFFERSON; NICHOLS, JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN; NORTON, GRACE; NORTON, MARGARET; NOYES, JAMES ATKINS; PAINE, JAMES LEONARD; PAINE, MARY WOOLSON;

\* Deceased

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PARKER, HENRY AINSWORTH; PARLIN, FRANK EDSON; PARSONS, CAROLINE LOUISA; PEABODY, CAROLINE EUSTIS; PERRIN, FRANKLIN; SPERRIN, LOUISA CHARLOTTE; PICKERING, ANNA ATWOOD; PICKERING, EDWARD CHARLES; PICKERING, WILLIAM HENRY; PIPER, WILLIAM TAGGARD; POTTER, ALFRED CLAGHORN; RAND, HARRY SEATON; READ, ELISE WELCH; READ, JOHN; READ, WILLIAM; REARDON, EDMUND; REID, WILLIAM BERNARD; ROBINSON, FRED NORRIS; \*ROLFE, WILLIAM JAMES; ROPES, JAMES HARDY; RUSSELL, ETTA LOIS; SAUNDERS, CARRIE HUNTINGTON; SAUNDERS, HERBERT ALDEN; SAWYER, DORA WENTWORTH; SAWYER, GEORGE AUGUSTUS; SAWYER, GEORGE

CARLETON; SCUDDER, GRACE OWEN; SEAGRAVE, CHARLES BURNSIDE; SHARPLES, STEPHEN PASCHALL; SMITH, EMMA GRISCOM; \*SORTWELL, ALVIN FOYE; STEARNS, GENEVIEVE; STONE, WILLIAM EBEN; STORER, SARAH FRANCIS; \*SWAN, SARAH HODGES; TAYLOR, FREDERIC WESTON; THAYER, WILLIAM ROSCOE; THORP, JOSEPH GILBERT; TICKNOR, FLORENCE; TICKNOR, THOMAS BALDWIN; TILLINGHAST, WILLIAM HOPKINS; TINDELL, MARTHA WILLSON NOYES; TOPPAN, SARAH MOODY; VAUGHAN, ANNA HARRIET; VAUGHAN, BENJAMIN; WALCOTT, ANNA MORRILL; WALCOTT, ROBERT; §WAMBAUGH, SARAH; WARE, THORNTON MARSHALL; WENTWORTH, ANNIE LOUISE LOCKE; WESSELHOEFT, MARY LEAVITT; WESSELHOEFT, WALTER; §WHITE, EMMA ELIZA; WHITE, MOSES PERKINS; WHITTEMORE, ISABELLA STEWART; WHITTEMORE, WILLIAM RICHARDSON; WILLARD, SUSANNA; WILLIAMS, OLIVE SWAN; WINLOCK, MARY PEYTON; WORCESTER, SARAH ALICE; WRIGHT, GEORGE GRIER; §WRIGHT, PAMELIA KEITH; WYMAN, MARY MORRILL; WYMAN, MORRILL; YERXA, HENRY DETRICK

\* Deceased.

§ Resigned.

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## ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

\*AGASSIZ, ALEXANDER; BARKER, JOHN HERBERT; CARTER, CHARLES MORLAND; DAVENPORT, BENNET FRANKLIN; FELTON, EUNICE WHITNEY FARLEY; \*GILMAN, ARTHUR; GOODWIN, ELLIOT HERSEY; LEVERETT, GEORGE VASMER; LOVERING, ERNEST; NICHOLS, JOHN WHITE TREADWELL; \*NILES, WILLIAM HARMON; WADHAMS, CAROLINE REED

## HONORARY MEMBERS

CHOATE, JOSEPH HODGES; HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN; RHODES, JAMES FORD

\* Deceased.

## BY-LAWS

### I. CORPORATE NAME.

THE name of this corporation shall be "THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY."

### II. OBJECT.

The corporation is constituted for the purpose of collecting and preserving Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials, of procuring the publication and distribution of the same, and generally of promoting interest and research, in relation to the history of Cambridge in said Commonwealth.

### III. REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

Any resident of the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible for regular membership in this Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Persons so elected shall become members upon signing the By-Laws and paying the fees therein prescribed.

### IV. LIMIT OF REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred.

### V. HONORARY MEMBERSHIP.

Any person, nominated by the Council, may be elected an honorary member at any meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Honorary members shall be exempt from paying any fees, shall not be eligible for office, and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

### VI. ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP.

Any person not a resident, but either a native, or formerly a resident for at least five years, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible to

associate membership in the Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Associate members shall be liable for an annual assessment of two dollars each, payable in advance at the Annual Meeting, but shall be liable for no other fees or assessments, and shall not be eligible for office and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

#### VII. SEAL.

The Seal of the Society shall be: Within a circle bearing the name of the Society and the date, 1905, a shield bearing a representation of the Daye Printing Press and crest of two books surmounted by a Greek lamp, with a representation of Massachusetts Hall on the dexter and a representation of the fourth meeting-house of the First Church in Cambridge on the sinister, and, underneath, a scroll bearing the words *Scripta Manent*.

#### VIII. OFFICERS.

The officers of this corporation shall be a Council of thirteen members, having the powers of directors, elected by the Society, and a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary with the powers of Clerk, a Treasurer, and a Curator, elected out of the Council by the Society. All the above officers shall be chosen by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for the term of one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The Council shall have power to fill all vacancies.

#### IX. DUTY OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and shall be Chairman of the Council. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of the President, his powers shall be exercised by the Vice-Presidents, respectively, in the order of their election.

#### X. DUTY OF SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council. He shall give to each member of the Society written notice of its meetings. He shall also present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

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#### XI. DUTY OF TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds and securities, and shall keep in proper books the accounts, of the corporation. He shall receive and collect all fees and other dues owing to it, and all donations and testamentary gifts made to it. He shall make all investments and disbursements of its funds, but only with the approval of the Council. He shall give the Society a bond, in amount and with sureties satisfactory to the Council, conditioned for the proper performance of his duties. He shall make a written report at each Annual Meeting. Such report shall be audited prior to the Annual Meeting by one or more auditors appointed by the Council.

#### XII. DUTY OF CURATOR.

The Curator shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of all Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials of the Society, except the records and books kept by the Secretary and Treasurer. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

#### XIII. DUTY OF COUNCIL.

The Council shall have the general management of the property and affairs of the Society, shall arrange for its meetings, and shall present for election from time to time the names of persons deemed qualified for honorary membership. The Council shall present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

#### XIV. MEETINGS.

The Annual Meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in October in each year. Other regular meetings shall be held on the fourth Tuesdays of January, and April of each year, unless the President otherwise directs. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Council.

#### XV. QUORUM

At meetings of the Society ten members, and at meetings of the Council five members, shall constitute a quorum.

#### XVI. FEES.

The fee of initiation shall be two dollars. There shall also be an annual assessment of three dollars, payable in advance at the Annual

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Meeting; but any Regular Member shall be exempted from the annual payment if at any time after his admission he shall pay into the Treasury Fifty Dollars in addition to his previous payments; and any Associate Member shall be similarly exempted on payment of Twentyfive Dollars. All commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses.

#### XVII. RESIGNATION OF MEMBERSHIP.

All resignations of membership must be in writing, provided, however, that failure to pay the annual assessment within six months after the Annual Meeting may, in the discretion of the Council, be considered a resignation of membership.

#### XVIII. AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS.

These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting by a vote of twothirds of the members present and voting, provided that the substance of the proposed amendment shall have been inserted in the call for such meeting.

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