

The Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical Society, Volume 37, 1957-1958

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NOTES ON SOME TORY ROW LAND TITLES

BY WILLIAM L. PAYSON

Read January 29, 1957

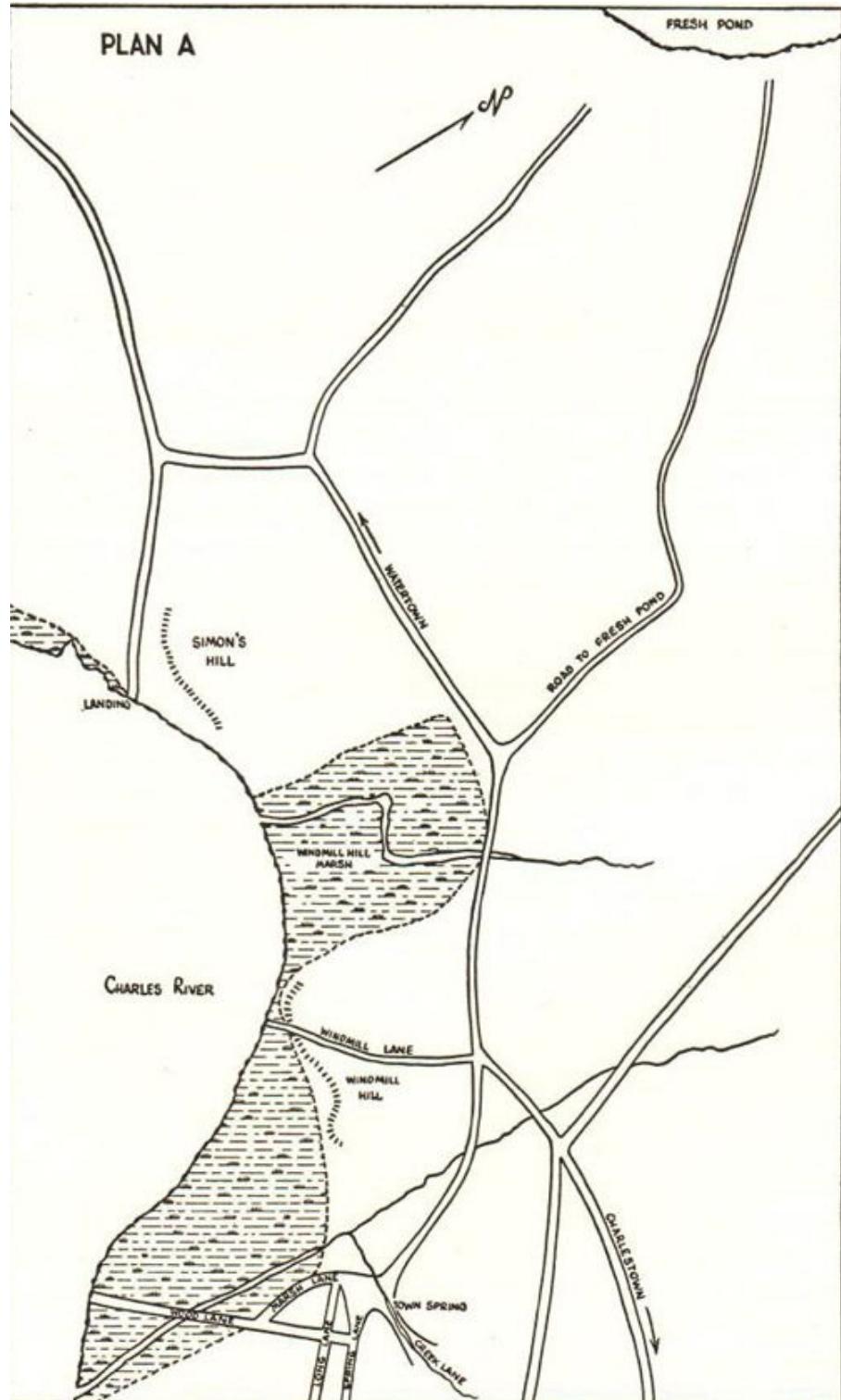
SOME years ago I examined title to the property 12 Berkeley Street for purchase by Mr. Sutherland. After I had done this and he had purchased the property, and I had rendered him an opinion setting forth in what I conceived to be sufficient detail the condition of the title which he had acquired, he suggested to me that it would be fitting and appropriate if I would prepare a history of the property from the earliest times to the then present date, fully setting forth who the various owners were and their claims to distinction. He assured me that when he was in private practice it was his invariable custom to provide such a history. That put it right up to me. I had carried the title back only some eighty years, a period which the Bar in most cases hereabouts deems more than sufficient. I had little idea what the owners during this period did, in fact I did not conceive it a legitimate object of my concern. Fortunately in this case the seller had turned over to me a sizeable file of

deeds and opinions. I assuaged my conscience by delivering these to him in the hope that by the time he had deciphered and digested these his curiosity would be satisfied.

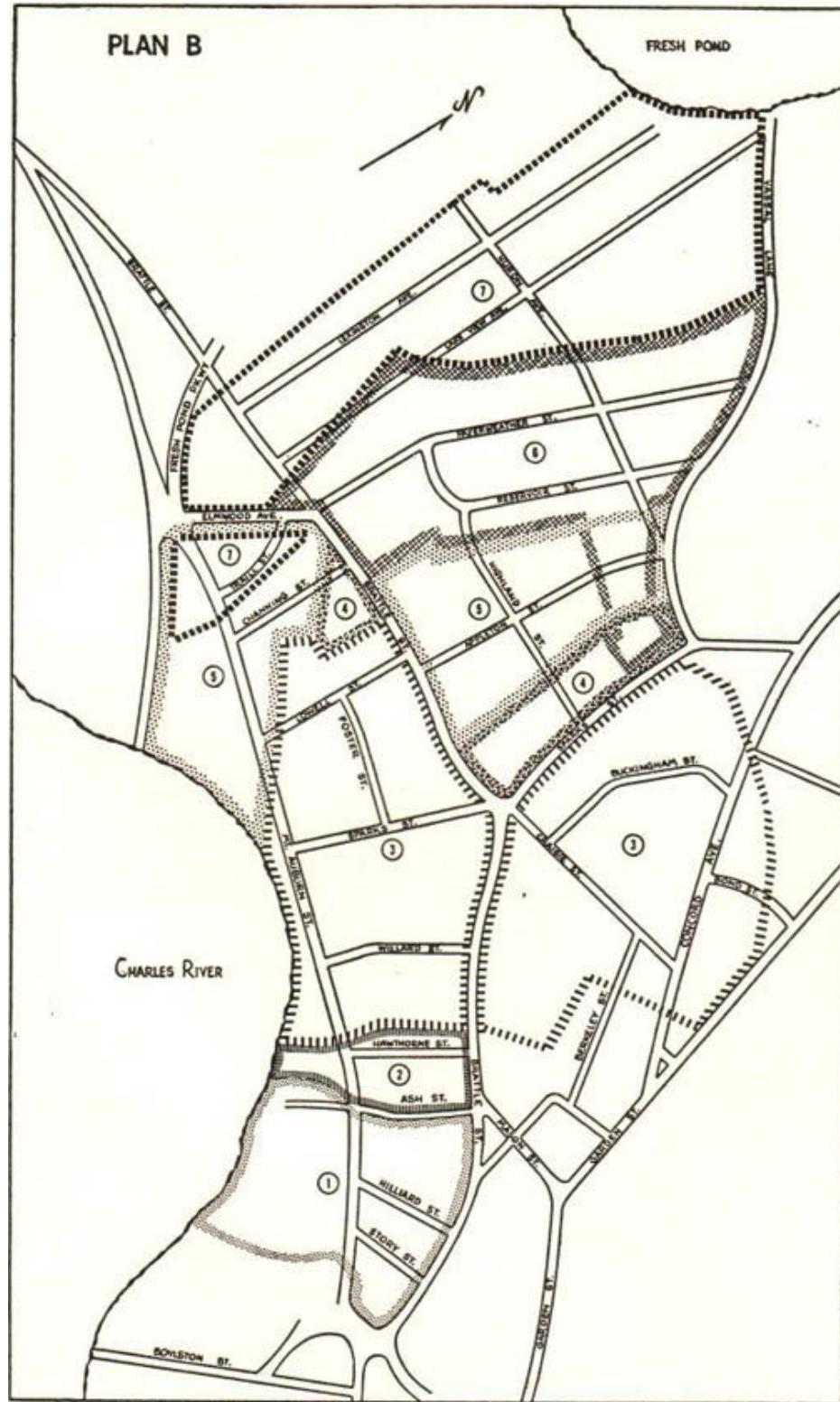
Last spring Mr. Sutherland called me and said it would be nice if I should prepare and read a paper to this group on Cambridge land titles. Of course my first idea was to persuade him that the idea was deplorable. I suggested that it had been done before. He said it hadn't. My second thought was that the subject was very dull. He assured me it is fascinating. My answer to that was that though he and I might find ancient titles fascinating most people wouldn't and that the idea was poor. Well, as you can observe, he prevailed.

I am not going to discuss all Cambridge land titles but am limiting this paper to a consideration of seven of the large estates as they existed in the latter part of the eighteenth century in the general area bounded by Harvard Square, the Charles River, Fresh Pond Parkway, Huron Avenue, and Garden Street. I shall bring them down to the time when they were cut up into house lots.

PLAN A



PLAN B



Any consideration of these requires a consideration of the terrain and the roadways as they then existed. Plan A shows the area in question with the then landmarks. You will notice on this the road from Charlestown to Watertown, coming across the Common, down what is now Mason Street, along Brattle Street to Elmwood Avenue, down Elmwood Avenue to Mount Auburn Street, and thence along Mount Auburn Street. A creek extended from about where Winthrop House now is up to Brattle Square and beyond. This was widened by Governor Dudley in 1631 as far as South Street to twelve feet deep and seven feet wide. The account does not tell whether the depth was at high or low tide. The Town Spring was pretty close to where Brattle Hall now is. There was a lane extending from Brattle Square to the Watertown Road at what is now the corner of Mason and Brattle Streets. Ash Street was then called Windmill Lane after a windmill built in very earliest times on a height of land over the river. According to Governor Winthrop, this windmill was moved to Boston in 1632 because it was found that it would grind only when the wind was from the west. It is hard to see why this was a disadvantage: at this location the wind is almost always down river and from the west. At the foot of Windmill Lane was the brick wharf used by the Brattles and Vassalls. The south side of the road to Watertown, from Longfellow Park to about Lowell Street, was all salt marsh bisected by a creek which had its source on the other side of the highway. The road to Fresh Pond extended from the corner of Sparks Street and Brattle Street, along Sparks Street to Huron Avenue, along Huron Avenue to Vassall Lane, and thence to the pond. There was a hill called Simon's Hill about where the Home for the Aged and the Morrill Wyman House are now located. Southwesterly of Simon's Hill was a way to the landing and ferry over the river. That portion of the area above described westerly of the road to Fresh Pond extending to the river was, prior to 1754, part of Watertown.

Plan B shows the seven estates I am going to discuss superimposed upon a map of this part of Cambridge as it now appears. The outlines are as of the times when these estates had their greatest areas. You will notice that in places they impinge on one another. Neighbors in those days bought and sold land quite as much as today.

I must add that this is not a scholarly effort. To do the job adequately

would take many months of concentrated research. I have endeavored to synthesize matters with which I am sure you are already familiar. I gratefully acknowledge assistance from my law firm's voluminous Title Library and to my wife for her painstaking work in the fusty atmosphere of the Middlesex South District Registry of Deeds. That portion dealing with Elmwood is far better covered by Mrs. Porter in her scholarly and entertaining paper read before this Society on May 31, 1949.

The Brattle Estate

The Brattle estate, numbered 1 on Plan B, was in part inherited by William Brattle and in part assembled by him and by his son, Thomas Brattle, out of a number of relatively small holdings. In the latter part of the eighteenth century it was the show place of New England, extending from Windmill Lane, or Bath Lane as it was later called, to the Town Spring, and extending from the road to the river. The overflow from the spring formed a good-sized pond with an island in the middle. It was surrounded by rare and beautiful trees and shrubs

interspersed with statues. A mall or walk was laid out through the grounds where the younger people were said to congregate.

The house, now housing the Cambridge Center of Adult Education, was built by General William Brattle shortly after his marriage in 1727. William Brattle was the son of the Reverend William Brattle, minister of the First Church in Cambridge and nephew of Thomas Brattle, at one time Treasurer of Harvard College, and heir to the not inconsiderable wealth of his father and uncle. He graduated from Harvard in 1722, ranking at the head of his class, not academically, but in order of social priority. He was a jack of all trades but a master of none. At one time or another he was a parson, a physician, and a lawyer, but was not a success at any of these professions. One writer described him as a "man of universal superficial knowledge." He held many public offices — selectman of Cambridge for twenty-one terms, captain and later major of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, member of the House of Representatives, Overseer of Harvard College, and Attorney General of the Province. His wealth was invested for the most part in real estate, both in Boston and Cambridge and on the frontiers. He took so many mortgages and personal notes that he had

special forms printed for himself. Perhaps his greatest success was in the military field, finally rising to Major General of the Province, though he was commonly known as Brigadier Brattle.

Politically Brattle was an ardent Whig in the 1760's, so ardent that in 1769 Governor Bernard "disallowed" his election by the Legislature to the Council. By 1773 he decided that political agitation and legal metaphysics were driving the colony into civil strife and more likely to produce evil than good. He joined Hutchinson in his last reviews of the militia, and it was said that he performed his part "with great propriety, though accompanied with some degree of pomposity." In July, 1774, under orders from General Gage he cooperated with him in withdrawing ammunition from the Medford Powder House, which was under his command, to the Castle. The Brigadier's correspondence with Gage somehow came into the hands of the patriots and was printed in the Boston Gazette. Popular pressure persuaded Brattle that it was time to leave. He took saddle and rode to Boston. Before he reached the Brighton Bridge shots were fired at him. He remained in Boston until the evacuation. By deed dated December 13, 1774, he conveyed "all and every part of" his real estate in Cambridge "whether the same lies in the first or second parish or both" to his son Thomas Brattle for £1500. After the Battle of Lexington the mob plundered the cellars of the Cambridge house and the Provincial Congress took over the remaining stores. Brigadier Brattle died in Halifax in October, 1776.

During the siege of Boston the mansion house served as quarters for Thomas Mifflin, Commissary-General of the army. After the armies left, William Brattle's daughter, Katherine Wendell, moved in. William Brattle's property in Boston and elsewhere was confiscated, but through Mrs. Wendell's efforts, it is said, the Cambridge property was saved.

Thomas Brattle, William Brattle's son, a Harvard graduate of 1760, sat out the American Revolution in England. It was said that his sympathies were with the Whigs, and that while in England he did much to alleviate the plight of American prisoners. Be that as it may, his behavior for a Whig was a bit unusual. On May 10, 1775, in company with William Vassall,

no Whig, he sailed for Nantucket and thence to England. In 1779 he left England and went to Rhode Island, where he remained until 1784. By that time the popular indignation against his father had somewhat subsided. He was able to return to Cambridge

and take possession of his estate, which was his chief interest. He enlarged and beautified the grounds and built a bath house for students at the end of Windmill Lane. Upon his death in 1801 the property went to his grandnephews and grandnieces. Cambridge was growing. Streets were cut through the estate and it was divided up into small lots. Along Brattle Street we find the Village Smithy's Shop and the house of Joseph Storey, who for so long served concurrently as justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and Dane Professor at the Law School. Near the Corner of Ash Street was the residence of Simon Greenleaf, another Law School professor. The pond was filled in and a large square ugly hotel called the Brattle House was erected on its site. This in turn gave way to the University Press. Now we have the Touraine store there. The bath house for students eventually became the site of the Cambridge Gas Company's works, now happily replaced by the apartment houses along Memorial Drive.

It is said in Appleton's Cyclopedie of American Biography that the Brattle family name is commemorated by a well-known street in Boston.

Henry Vassall Property

We turn next to the Henry Vassall property, numbered 2 on Plan B, bounded easterly by Windmill Lane, southerly by the river, westerly by the John Vassall land, later Longfellow's, and northerly by the road to Watertown. The house standing on it is said to be in part very old. We know there were several houses on the property in the seventeenth century. Early owners of portions of this land included Jonathan Remington, a carpenter, who in 1682 swapped his portion for the Blue Anchor Tavern, which he kept during the remainder of his life; Samuel Green, the first master printer in Cambridge; Robert Parker, a butcher, who made two payments on account of his son's tuition at Harvard "by a calf"; and Captain Andrew Belcher, a tavern-keeper who became a wealthy merchant.

Belcher's son Jonathan, one time Governor of Massachusetts and New Jersey, who is said to have climbed into high office by adroitly stepping from one issue to another, sold the property in 1719 to John Frizell, a prominent Boston merchant, who lived there while his nephew and namesake was at Harvard. John Frizell, Sr., died in 1723. Cotton

Mather thought sufficiently highly of him to deliver a sermon over him entitled "Euthanasia," the general theme being "a sudden death made happy and easy to the Dying Believer." In 1736 John Frizell the younger's widow sold most of the property to John Vassall.

John Vassall was one of the eighteen children of Major Leonard Vassall, who owned vast estates in the British West Indies and who came to Boston in 1723. John was in the Class of

1732 at Harvard. His academic career was distinguished chiefly by fines for playing cards. In 1734 he was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Lieutenant Governor Spencer Phips. He inherited from his grandmother a plantation in Jamaica which was the principal source of his wealth, although his marriage was far from financially disadvantageous. He remodeled and enlarged the house he had purchased from Madam Frizell. He was a gentleman of wealth and leisure, occasionally holding town office. Along the line he acquired the titles of Major and Lieutenant Colonel. He sued one Samuel Whittemore for defamation of character for remarking that the "Major was no more fit to be selectman than the horse he rode," and lost. While a member of the Great and General Court he appealed to it to sustain his contention that an attachment against him was "a breach of the Privileges" of members of the General Court, and again he lost. Obviously he did not enjoy democracy. In 1741 he sold the house and land to his brother Henry. He went to London on a mission the real object of which it was said, was to obtain for himself the governorship of New Hampshire by appropriate corruption. The mission was not a success. One of his associates commented thus: "I suppose his miscarriage was principally owing to a feeble mind, the want of proper address and application for business and the giving himself up to pleasure."

He was back in Cambridge in 1746 with a second wife and acquired or built himself a second house. This has been variously located. One source places it on Simon's Hill about where the Home for the Aged now is. I find this hard to believe, as that land was then owned by Cornelius Waldo, a hard-headed Boston merchant, doubtless very jealous of his property rights.

John Vassall died in the following year. The probate records show six and a half acres on the north side of the road to Watertown, with the buildings thereon, and fifty acres on the south side . This land had been conveyed to him by Amos Marrett in the previous year. The land

on the north side of the road is obviously the site of the John Vassall, Jr., house, that on the south the marsh land between Longfellow Park and Lowell Street.

John Vassall's brother, Henry Vassall, was also born in the West Indies and until he was twenty years of age lived on the family estates in Jamaica. He did not go to Harvard as did some of his brothers, thus laying himself open to the suspicion that he was uneducated. As a matter of fact, this was far from the case. He appears to have been more of a leader and man of affairs than his brother John, though unfortunately dissipated and extravagant. His wife was Penelope, daughter of Isaac Royall, owner of a rich sugar plantation on the island of Antigua. She also was brought up in the West Indies. Isaac died in 1739 leaving one-half his estate to Penelope. It appears that her wealth far exceeded that of her husband. Henry represented Cambridge in the General Court, was a moderator at town meetings, and was Lieutenant Colonel in the militia. His affairs required constant trips to the West Indies. He was noted for his lavish hospitality. In spite of his adroitness in business matters he was constantly short of money, possibly because of the lavish way he lived. In 1744 he sold a plantation in Jamaica, and in 1748 mortgaged his Cambridge house to James Pitts. From then on he was constantly mortgaging or selling his and his wife's property. He died in 1769 at the age of forty-eight. Of him the old family slave, Darby, is said to have stated: "Colonel Henry Vassall was a very wicked man. He was a gamester and spent a great deal

of money in cards and lived at the rate of seven years in three, and managed to run out nearly all his property. He was a severe and tart master to his people; and when he was dying asked his servants to pray for him. They answered he might pray for himself."

His widow continued in Cambridge until the start of the Revolution, when she went to Boston. From thence she went with her daughter and son-in-law to her family estates in Antigua, by then sadly depleted. The Cambridge house was seized by the Patriots and became the quarters of the Medical Department of the Continental Army. During the winter of 1777-78 it served as quarters for some of General Burgoyne's army. The Vassall house was not confiscated as was so much of the Tory property. One John Pitts, son and executor of James Pitts who held a mortgage thereon, appeared on the scene. John was a good patriot and in con-

sequence was permitted to foreclose the mortgage. In 1781 he and his brothers and sister sold the place to Nathaniel Tracy of Newburyport, a successful privateersman who made a specialty of acquiring fine houses, mostly of royalists. He is said to have owned so many of them that he could travel from Newburyport to Philadelphia sleeping every night in his own house. Tracy ultimately lost his fortune and the estate was sold to Andrew Craigie, of whom more later.

The John Vassall, Jr., Estate

The John Vassall, Jr., estate, numbered 3 on Plan B, had by far the greatest area of the Tory Row estates. In terms of present-day bounds, the land on the northerly side of Brattle Street included in this estate was as follows. Beginning on Brattle Street at a point twenty or so feet east of the southeast corner of the present Longfellow estate, the line followed a northeast course through land now owned by the Episcopal Theological School to Hastings Avenue, thence along Hastings Avenue and the back of the properties 12 and 16 Berkeley Street, thence along the northwest line of 16 Berkeley Street across Berkeley Street and Concord Avenue to Garden Street, thence up Garden Street thirty-eight rods. This brings us to a point a few feet short of the corner of Bond and Garden Streets. Thence the line cut across the observatory property on a diagonal to Concord Avenue, and thence to Sparks Street, following Sparks and Brattle Streets to the point of beginning. Reference is made in the deeds to a stone bridge which apparently spanned the creek which crossed the Watertown road between the Mansion House and the road to Fresh Pond.

The land on the opposite side of Brattle Street was bounded southerly by the river, easterly by the Henry Vassall property, and northerly and northwesterly by Brattle Street. Only the west and southwest lines of this parcel are at all difficult to locate. These lines followed the following course: beginning on Brattle Street at about the northeast corner of the Grozier property, running thence south by this property to its southeast corner, thence west by the same land a short distance, thence south again a short distance, thence southeast in a diagonal line to the river, reaching the river at a point somewhere between Sparks and Willard Streets.

The above descriptions are based on plans, some recorded, some not. The only measurement given in the deeds is that along Garden Street. I did not find any plan showing the northerly line of the first parcel between Garden Street and Concord Avenue.

As noted above, in 1746 John Vassall, Sr., purchased of Amos Marrett six and a half acres on the north side of the road, which includes the site of the John Vassall, Jr., house, and fifty acres on the south side. The description of the six and a half acres includes "the dwelling house and all other edifices." Amos Marrett was by occupation a glazier and farmer. He dealt largely in real estate and appeared to be a man of wealth. He and his father Edward apparently resided in a dwelling house on the six and a half acre parcel. Whether John Vassall, Sr., erected another house on this property or occupied the Marrett house I cannot determine. What happened to this house following the death of John Vassall, Sr., is a matter of conjecture. John Vassall, Jr., is said to have built the dwelling we now know as the Longfellow House "all of a piece" in 1759. Perhaps the old house burned down or was torn down. Perhaps the present house includes the old house, although the books on the subject do not so indicate. This is a problem for an architect, not a conveyancer.

John Vassall, Jr., at the time of his father's death was but nine years of age. His grandfather Phips was appointed his guardian. He graduated from Harvard in 1757, and in 1761 married Elizabeth, sister of Lieutenant Governor Oliver. He appeared to have lived the life of a country gentleman. His means obviously were ample. He greatly increased his Cambridge property, largely by purchases from Amos Marrett, and acquired a house on Tremont Street, Boston, where he lived in the winter. He interested himself mildly in Cambridge public affairs and was a Warden of Christ Church. In 1774 the Cambridge mob obliged him and his family to take refuge in Boston. He died in Clifton, England, in 1797 "almost instantaneously after eating a hearty dinner."

Following John Vassall, Jr.'s flight to Boston his house was used as quarters for troops and later for Washington's Headquarters. The property was confiscated and in 1781 sold to Nathaniel Tracy, who also, as noted above, had acquired the Henry Vassall land. After Tracy's bankruptcy the property was sold to Thomas Russell, a Boston merchant, who in turn conveyed it in 1793 to Andrew Craigie.

Mr. Craigie was Apothecary General to the Northern Department of the Revolutionary Army. He acquired a large fortune, through speculation, mostly in land. He owned not only a large part of the land in Cambridge west of Harvard Square but much of East Cambridge. In 1808 he and certain others were authorized to build a bridge from Lechmere Point to Boston. The bridge was built and he thereupon proceeded to sell, or try to sell, for \$360,000 shares in the land which, it is estimated, cost him \$20,000. He was in constant dispute with the Proprietors of the West Boston Bridge over the construction of roads, each group desiring roads serving its bridge. If the town would not build a road where Craigie wanted he went to the County Commissioners or the legislature. In 1809 a committee of the town remonstrated to the legislature that the inhabitants of Cambridge and Cambridgport were deeply affected by the incessant machinations and intrigues of Mr. Andrew Craigie in regard to roads. Nor was he above resorting to violent methods to obstruct the construction of

roads he did not want. On June 7, 1808, the town authorized the selectmen to prosecute Andrew Craigie and others for trespasses committed or which might be thereafter committed upon the new road from Gerry's Corner to Brattle's Garden (Mount Auburn Street). Once Mr. Craigie succeeded in having a road laid out over his land, he was apt in the manner of present-day speculators to ask for damages. In 1810 a jury found that he had suffered no damages for the construction of a road from Cambridge Common to Lechmere Point, now Cambridge Street.

As a lavish entertainer Craigie was a true successor to the Vassalls. Later he fell on hard times. He died in 1819 and was buried in the old tomb of the Vassall family which he had bought with the Vassall estate. His much-encumbered estate was divided among his nephews and nieces, his widow taking her dower interest in the house and the land immediately surrounding the same. On her death the house was bought by Nathan Appleton for his daughter, Mrs. Longfellow. By then the carving up of the Craigie estate was well on its way. The Henry Vassall property had been sold to Mr. Batchelder. The lower road to Watertown had been constructed. Shortly Liberty Street, now Willard Street, Union Street, now Foster Street, Sparks Street, and Lowell Street would be built on the land south of Brattle Street, Craigie Street and Buckingham

Street on the land north of Brattle Street, and the area parceled out into house lots.

The Lechmere Property

The Lechmere properties are numbered 4 on Plan B. The southerly portion of the main tract was bought by Richard Lechmere from John Hunt in 1761. Two months later he bought the rear parcel from Amos Marrett, son of the aforementioned Amos Marrett. The triangular parcel on the south side of the road was acquired by Thomas Lee, a later owner of the main tract, from John Andrews and Caleb Gannett, guardian of Thomas Wigglesworth. The house was built by Richard Lechmere on the north side of the road in the approximate location of the house 145 Brattle Street.

Richard Lechmere has been described both as a wealthy merchant and a wealthy distiller. It is certain that a distillery owned by him was confiscated during the Revolution. It is doubtful if this was his principal business. Lechmere's wife was a daughter of Spencer Phips. Thus he was a brother-in-law of John Vassall, Sr. Richard Lechmere sold this property to Jonathan Sewell in 1771. In 1774 Lechmere was appointed a "Mandamus Councillor." He was proscribed as a Loyalist in 1778 and died in Bristol, England, in 1814.

Jonathan Sewell was one of the more distinguished Massachusetts men of his time. He was a Harvard graduate of 1748 and a leading lawyer. He and John Hancock married sisters and he was a close friend of John Adams. Originally inclining towards the Whig side in the disputes with Great Britain, Hutchinson won him over to the Tories, possibly by making him Solicitor General of the Province. Later he became Attorney General, Advocate General, and Judge of Admiralty. John Adams said of him: "Mr. Sewell had a soft, smooth, insinuating eloquence, which gliding imperceptibly into the minds of a Jury, gave him as much power over that Tribunal as any lawyer ought to possess. He was a gentleman and a scholar, had a

fund of wit, humour and satire which he used with great discretion at the bar, but poured out with unbounded profusion in the newspapers."

In September, 1774, Sewell's house was surrounded by a mob; some glass was broken but little other damage was done. He fled to Boston

and shortly after went to England. In 1788 he removed to Saint John's, New Brunswick, where he died in 1796.

Sewell's property was confiscated. During the winter of 1778-79 Baron Riedesel and his wife and family were quartered there. Judging by the Baroness's memoirs, her imprisonment there was not too irksome. In 1779 the property was sold to Thomas Lee of Pomfret, Connecticut. Lee was born in England, came to Massachusetts as a young man, and became a partner of Coffin Jones, a Boston merchant. At the start of the Revolution he left Boston and went to Norwich, Connecticut, and later to Pomfret. He is said to have sided with the Patriots, but apparently passively rather than actively. Lee occupied the house until his death in 1797. He had plenty of money and lived a life of leisure. He was called "English Thomas" to distinguish him from a neighbor also named Thomas Lee.

From then until 1805 the property was occupied by Mrs. Lee. On her death it went to Thomas's brother Benjamin Lee for life, and on his death to his son Thomas. Benjamin Lee had been in the Royal Navy and subsequently captain of a United States merchantman. In 1819 the Lees sold the property to Andrew Craigie. It was split up by the Craigie estate.

The Joseph Lee Estate

The Joseph Lee estate, numbered 5 on Plan B, was acquired by him from several sources. Of that part north of the road to Watertown, the westerly portion was bought by him from Faith Waldo in 1758, the easterly portion from Thomas Ireland in 1783, and the back portion from Amos Marrett the younger in 1764. The part south of the road was conveyed to him by the Waldo deed.

The house on this estate, now numbered 159 Brattle Street, by one source is said to have been built in the reign of Charles II. We know that it was owned by Dr. Henry Hooper in 1721. Dr. Hooper attended President Leverett of Harvard among others. There is a bill from the good doctor to that worthy in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society which to the medically inclined may be of interest today. It helps to reconcile me to living in the twentieth rather than the eighteenth century. In 1732 Dr. Hooper conveyed the property to

Cornelius Waldo. The land south of the road to Watertown was included in this deed. There is no evidence that Waldo ever lived there. He was a well-known merchant living in Boston and dealing in real estate elsewhere if he saw a chance of profit.

Joseph Lee was a son of Thomas Lee, a substantial shipbuilder in Boston. He graduated from Harvard in 1729 and in 1755 married Rebecca, daughter of Lieutenant Governor Spencer Phips, thus becoming a brother-in-law of John Vassall, Sr., and Richard Lechmere mentioned above. He was a substantial merchant owning much real estate in Boston. He speculated in Attleborough iron mining and frontier lands. Town affairs did not interest him, but he served as Justice of the Peace, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and member of the House of Representatives. In 1773 he made an almost fatal error when he gave Jonathan Clarke, the son of his friend and classmate Richard Clarke, a letter of credit for £2000 to be invested in London. It was Richard Clarke and Son who imported the tea to Boston in that year. Fortunately for Lee the Clarkes did not invest Lee's money in this enterprise. In 1774 he was appointed by the Crown to the Mandamus Council and on August 8 of that year took oath of office. On September 1, 1774, he resigned by letter to General Gage because membership exposed him "to such continued injuries and insults as I am unable to sustain." Gage accused him of quitting "on first rumor of disturbance." On the next day he was called out by the mob to the Common along with Danforth, another Councillor. The two gave the fullest assurances that they had resigned their seats and "would not act in any capacity whatever disagreeable to the people."

In the ensuing few years Lee seems to have kept away from Cambridge. He was in Philadelphia for a time, later in New Jersey. Possibly he was in Boston during the siege. He was back in Cambridge in 1777. Although he was dropped from the Bench when the Courts were reorganized, his property was not confiscated. Maybe he had his fears of this. On April 18, 1778, he conveyed his estate to James Foster, cordwainer, for £840. In September of the same year Foster reconveyed the property to him for £840. One cannot help wondering whether Lee was apprehensive and for the moment muddied the waters. He died in 1802 at the ripe age of 92. Before his death he built the house at 153 Brattle Street for his nephew Thomas Lee (not to be confused with "English

Thomas"). One's impression of Joseph Lee is that he was a gentleman, not too courageous, whose love of a peaceful existence far outweighed any political convictions he may have held.

Joseph Lee's estate went to his nephews Joseph and Thomas Lee. Joseph in turn conveyed his interest in 1803 in the Cambridge property to his brother Thomas. In 1808 Thomas conveyed the westerly part of the land north of Brattle Street, including the Joseph Lee house, to John Appleton, at one time United States Consul in Paris. Appleton in turn conveyed the house and one and three-quarters acres of land to Lee's son-in-law Benjamin Carpenter. Appleton died in 1829, devising his lands to his wife Sarah Fayerweather Appleton for life and on her death to his eldest son "John James Appleton, Esq., late secretary of legation at Court at Madrid." John was admonished to cherish kind and affectionate feelings and brotherly love "he now possesses" toward his younger brother Charles John Appleton, mariner, and always administer to his relief and necessities as his means and inclination may dictate. John J. conveyed to Charles C. Little in 1840. By him the property was split up.

The easterly part of the land north of Brattle Street eventually went to Deborah Carpenter, daughter of Thomas Lee. The Joseph Lee land south of Brattle Street was subdivided. That

portion of 5 included in the area numbered 7 was conveyed by Joseph in 1768 to his neighbor Thomas Oliver. The balance was conveyed by Thomas Lee in 1807 to William Thompson. In 1831 Thompson's heirs conveyed to Abijah White, whose heirs in turn conveyed to Maria Lowell, Abijah's daughter, wife of James Russell Lowell.

The Fayerweather Estate

Numbered 6 on Plan B is the Fayerweather estate. Note that it originally included land in the rear of the Lee and Lechmere properties and a small triangle south of Brattle Street. It was said to have been purchased by Amos Marrett, Sr. at about the time he sold his former homestead to John Vassall, Sr. Amos died in 1747, probably in the old farmhouse on this property. There is on record in the Registry of Deeds a most interesting plan of this property dated April 14, 1760, showing a right of way extending from about the present corner of Fayerweather and Brattle Streets in a northwesterly direction to Mr.

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Thatcher's land. This way is long discontinued but according to affidavits, also on record, the way was wide enough for two carts and was considerably used "by parties of pleasure going to houses belonging to Eben Bradish and Solomon Prentiss no longer standing." In 1764 Amos Marrett sold to George Ruggles and moved to Lexington. The house, now Mrs. Merriman's, was probably built by Ruggles.

George Ruggles is supposed to have come from Jamaica. In 1742 he married Susanna Vassall, sister of John Vassall, Sr. He is generally described as "Captain," though in one source he is promoted to Colonel. I can find little about Ruggles. Sibley's Harvard Graduates informs us that "one Ezekiel Lewis married a daughter of George Ruggles and moved from his father's circle of merchants redolent of Molasses, Salt Fish and Rum to the more gently perfumed orbit of Loyalist Country Gentleman." Ruggles got into financial troubles in 1771. In 1772 his creditors, Gilbert Harrison and John Barnard of London, conveyed the property to John Vassall, Thomas Oliver, and John Foxcroft, two relatives and a friend who apparently came to his rescue. In 1774 they conveyed the estate to Ruggles, who in turn deeded it to Thomas Fayerweather. I find nothing as to what happened to Ruggles. Various sources suggest that, being a Tory, he followed the British army to Halifax. His name does not seem to be in any of the books or lists of Loyalists. I suppose it is not unlikely that he went back to Jamaica.

Thomas Fayerweather is described as son of a Boston merchant and a patriot. In the above deed to him he is referred to as Thomas Fayerweather, Esq., evidence that he had some pretensions to position. Professor John Winthrop of Harvard, the greatest American scientist of the period, married Fayerweather's sister Hannah, and Samuel Fayerweather, a brother, was a noted clergyman.

In the summer of 1775 the house was used as a hospital with a sergeant, a corporal, and nine men mounting guard over it. Thomas Fayerweather died in 1805. His daughter Sarah, who later married John Appleton, owner of the westerly portion of the Lee land, conveyed her interest to her brother John, described in the deed as of Westborough. Following John's death, about 1827, the estate was sold to William Wells, who in turn conveyed the triangle south of Brattle Street to Charles Lowell to round out his property.

Wells was a graduate of Harvard of 1796 and at one time was a

publisher. He opened a school in the Fayerweather house to fit boys for college. Among his pupils were James Russell Lowell, William W. Story, the lawyer who turned artist, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Mr. Wells eventually sold off most of the estate to real estate developers.

The Gerry Lands

The Gerry lands are numbered 7. This estate included other noncontiguous parcels west and south of the land I have shown. The land upon which Elmwood now stands was according to Henry Bond originally assigned to George Phillips, first minister of Watertown, who came over with Governor Winthrop in the Arbella. Sir Richard Saltonstall's land was near by. This area in the very early days of Watertown was called the Town. It is Bond's conjecture ("supported by plausible reasons, without positive data") that the first house of worship in Watertown was built on or near the present site of Elmwood.

In 1760 Christopher Grant deeded about thirty-eight acres of land including the site of Elmwood to Thomas Oliver. The Grants had been in Watertown a long time and had apparently owned the site of Elmwood for almost one hundred years. Oliver acquired more land from Joseph Palmer in the following year, giving him a continuous stretch of land extending from the Watertown road to Fresh Pond. The land on the easterly side of Elmwood Avenue was bought from Joseph Lee in 1768.

Thomas Oliver was a son of Robert Oliver, who came to Dorchester from Antigua, where both his father and his mother's parents were wealthy planters. Thomas graduated from Harvard in 1753 and in 1760 married Elizabeth Vassall, thus becoming related by marriage to most of the Royalists in Cambridge. John Vassall, Jr., was his brother-in-law, John Vassall, Sr., his father-in-law, Henry Vassall his wife's uncle, Penelope Royall Vassall his mother's stepchild, Mary Lechmere and Rebecca Lee his wife's maternal aunts, and Susanna Ruggles his wife's paternal aunt. Furthermore his sister Elizabeth married his aforementioned brother-in-law. We have little knowledge of Oliver's whereabouts between 1760 and 1766. He was in Antigua in 1763, presumably to look over his estates there, and incidentally to purchase "slaves, silver and pictures."

The property bought of Christopher Grant included a dwelling house. Probably this was torn down at the time Elmwood was constructed in 1767. Thomas Oliver lived pretty much a life of leisure supported by his Antiguan properties and wife's inherited wealth. He took an active interest in the affairs of Christ Church. In 1773 he was appointed Judge of the Provincial Court of Vice Admiralty. In 1774 he was appointed by the Crown Lieutenant Governor of the Province and ex-officio President of the Mandamus Council. Of course it was Governor Hutchinson's idea, but from Oliver's point of view an unfortunate one. On August 8 he was sworn into office. On August 31 of that year we find him riding to Boston to dissuade General Gage from using the military to disperse the Cambridge mob. Two days

later he may have wished he had not done this. A mob of between three and four thousand, "one quarter part in arms," surrounded the house and demanded his resignation, threatened him, but apparently did no harm. Finally he signed a resignation from the Council which they had prepared, after adding, "My house being surrounded by about four thousand people, in compliance with their command I sign my name." The Boston Gazette in its account of the proceedings notes the following: "The gentlemen from Boston, Charlestown and Cambridge having provided some refreshment for their greatly fatigued brethren, they cheerfully accepted it, took leave and departed in high good humor and well satisfied." On September 12 the Gazette announced that Lieutenant Governor Oliver has removed his family and goods from Cambridge to Boston. Upon the evacuation of Boston he went to Halifax and thence to Bristol, England. He enjoyed a pension from the Crown until his death in 1815.

During the siege of Boston, Elmwood was used as a hospital. The estate was confiscated and sold to Andrew Cabot, a merchant of Beverly. Cabot was a partner of the younger Joseph Lee. He owned a number of privateers and appears to have profited thereby. He speculated in other confiscated estates, including that of Sir John Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire.

In 1787 the property was sold to Elbridge Gerry, Harvard 1765, a politician and perhaps statesman, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of various Continental Congresses, of the Constitutional Convention (he refused to sign the Constitution), of Congress, and

of the XYZ Commission to France, father of the gerrymander, Governor of Massachusetts, and finally Vice President of the United States. Gerry's wife was the beautiful Anne Thompson of New York. Elmwood saw some excitement upon Gerry's return from the XYZ episode. At night mobs again gathered around the house, savage yells were heard, fagots were touched off, and in the morning a guillotine with the effigy of a headless man was found erected in front of Mrs. Gerry's window. Except for this incident he enjoyed his mansion, as he called it. He was extremely social and entertained well though sometimes frugally. Towards the latter part of his life he became very involved financially. He died in Washington of a heart attack while driving to the Senate. His estate had to be sold to pay his debts. Some of it was set off to the United States Government, perhaps a shoddy reward for his services to his country. The land south of Brattle Street was purchased by the Reverend Charles Lowell, that north of it by Joshua Coolidge. On Charles Lowell's death his lands were divided among the family, James Russell Lowell getting Elmwood. The Joshua Coolidge land passed to Josiah Coolidge who sold it to developers in 1870.

I think it is rather interesting that, in spite of the growth of this community and the present congestion, the seven mansion houses that were standing on these seven estates at the time of the American Revolution are still standing, all of them except the Lechmere house in their original location; that all except two of them, the Brattle and John Vassall, Jr., homes, are used as dwellings; and that only one of them, again the Lechmere house, has been radically altered.

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A HISTORY OF INNS AND HOTELS IN CAMBRIDGE

By CHAUNCEY DEPEW STEELE

Read April 23, 1957

LIKE most of us, the Cambridge visitor of today takes the conveniences and comforts of our modern hotels, such as the Continental, very much for granted and gives little if any thought to the course of history which has brought about their establishment. He can hardly be blamed for this; even I, a hotelman by profession and almost by instinct, was not fully aware of the long tradition of hospitality in Cambridge. I am doubly grateful therefore for the opportunity to inquire into its exact nature which this paper afforded me.

I will begin with a little general background. The site on which New Towne was founded in 1631, eight years before it became Cambridge, gave relative safety to its early settlers by virtue of its geographical location, which was one of limited accessibility. It neither beckoned nor catered to the transient wayfarer, and would not for some time to come. Wood wrote in 1633: "This is one of the neatest and best compacted towns of New England, having many fine structures, with many handsome contrived streets. The inhabitants, most of them, are very rich, and well stored with cattle of all sorts, having many hundred acres of land paled in with a general fence." Approach was only by ship or, after 1635, by a ferry which represented the only route from New Towne to Boston by way of Roxbury. To this were soon added two land routes — a pathway to Charlestown and Watertown, later the King's Highway, and the Turnpike to Cambridge Farms (Lexington), a real dusty, rutty country road. The Great Bridge was constructed in 1662 and reconstructed in 1690, having been swept away by the tide in between. And so only as it became easier to reach Cambridge did travel volume increase; travel on foot or at best on the back of a horse, over distances which must have seemed enormous.

The early taverns therefore existed not so much for the convenience of travelers as for the comfort of the townspeople. Here they gathered

for the exchange of news, ideas, and opinions, for good fellowship and solacing drink.

On September 8, 1636, the General Court granted its first license "to keep a house of entertainment at Newe Towne" to Thomas Chesholme, an itinerant tailor, who used it to operate an establishment on the northwest corner of Winthrop and Dunster Streets, right next door to the community's first meetinghouse. According to the provisions of his charter, Chesholme had the privilege of lodging guests, serving meals, and dispensing liquors and vintages. The General Court, however, fearful of the wellbeing of its subjects, also decreed that anyone who drank more than half a pint of alcoholic beverage would be regarded as intoxicated, with an accompanying heavy fine levied on the host. Chesholme's career was not altogether smooth. Though a deacon of the church, he was accused by college students of the day, several years after going into business, of avarice, of starving student boarders, and of cruelty. Fortunately he was absolved of all charges at a public hearing and remained in charge of the first tavern until his death in 1671. That year the tavern was sold to Isaac Daye, "heretofore citizen and embroiderer of London."

The records show that others were quick to follow Mr. Chesholme's example of securing a license, and by 1639, when Cambridge had barely become used to its new name, two more establishments were in operation. In both cases their owners were eminent citizens. Nicholas Danforth, who opened an inn in 1637 on the corner of what are now Boylston and Plympton Streets, was both a selectman of the town and a representative in the General Court. Nathaniel Sparhawk, whose ordinary was located near Harvard Square, between Brighton and Mount Auburn Streets, was respected as a deacon who conducted his business with scrupulous character and the utmost dignity — in, we might add, what was formerly the home of a prominent minister!

With the opportunities for imbibing thus increased, the General Court had to take sterner measures, and enacted a whole group of laws in 1645. It was then forbidden to "suffer any to be drunk or drink excessively, or continue tippling above the space of half an hour, in any

of their said houses, under penalty of 5s for every such offense suffered; and every person found drunk in the said houses or elsewhere shall forfeit 10s, provided that it shall be lawful for any strangers, or lodgers, or person, in an orderly way, to continue in such houses of common enter-

tainment during meal times, or upon lawful business, what time their occasions shall require." At the same time, both the Court and the community encouraged the foundation of hostellries. In 1656, when towns were made liable to a fine if they had no "ordinary" within their borders, prospective innholders were given land grants, or pasturage for their cattle, or even exemptions from church rates and school taxes. Licensing, however, was not confined to innkeepers. A 1650 list shows ten men and five women permitted to sell intoxicating liquors by retail, and among recorded vendors of beer and bread was Andrew Belcher, who later was to originate the Blue Anchor. That licensing was a serious business may be seen from the appeal made to the County Court by President Dunster of Harvard in favor of Mrs. Bradish: "Honored Gentlemen, as far as it may stand with the wholesome orders and prudential laws of the country for the publick weal, I can very freely speak with and write in the behalf of sister Bradish, that she might be encouraged and countenanced in her present calling for baking of bread and brewing and selling of penny bear, without which she cannot continue to bake: In both which callings such is her art, way, and skill, that shee doth vend such comfortable penniworths for the relieve of all that send unto her as elsewhere they can seldom meet with. Shee was complained of unto me for harboring students unseasonably spending there their time and parent's estate; but upon examination I found it a misinformation, and that shee was most desirous that I should limit or absolutely prohibit any, that in case of sickness or want of comfortable bread and bear in the college only they should thither resort and then not to spend above a penny a man."

Twenty years after the license for an establishment had been granted to Andrew Belcher, the Blue Anchor Tavern opened its doors under the management of his son. Throughout its long history, this Cambridge landmark was owned by a succession of outstanding citizens, among them Bradish, Angier, Watson, and Israel Porter. In 1737 it moved to and settled on the corner of Boylston and Mount Auburn Streets. In 1749, when Ebenezer Bradish took charge, it temporarily changed its name to "Bradish's." Here passed Lord Percy and his men on their way to Lexington. Here came Rufus Putnam's regiment, and later Generals Burgoyne and Phillips. Here too many of the makers of our constitution must have dined and slept. The diary of Dorothy Dudley carries the

following entry for April 18, 1775: "Today nine Redcoats stopped at Bradish tavern and then galloped on toward Lexington. I wonder what mischief is in the wind now!" She did not need to wonder for long!

Israel Porter became proprietor in 1796, and restored to the tavern its old name. Under the able guidance of Porter, who as a town commissioner and educated gentleman was a most genial host, the Blue Anchor continued to prosper. It became a meeting-place for the Cambridge selectmen, who transacted public business under its smoke-darkened rafters —

and who reputedly paid for the use of the rooms by their patronage of the bar — also for students who celebrated regularly, and especially on Commencement Day. Only with Porter's death at the age of ninety-nine did the Blue Anchor lose in prestige and popularity. Finally business became so bad that in 18?? it was closed down forever.

As the seventeenth century drew to a close, the face of the town began to change. Gradually, the original log houses were being replaced by substantial two-story dwellings closely grouped together in the settled part of town. The population had grown; travel was more commonplace. In these days of development, the tavern and inn combined the functions of the modern hotel and club; they had both utilitarian and social qualities, with emphasis perhaps on the latter. A spirit of good fellowship was the keynote. We must remember that civilization was still on its way — 1690 saw fifty-two wolves killed in Cambridge, and the number increased to seventy-two the following year. A bear was shot in East Cambridge as late as 1754!

Among inns, now also growing in number, we may list some of the more prominent. The Brattle Square Inn, kept first by John Jackson and then by Captain Josiah Parker, opened in 1699, on the northwest corner of Brattle Street and Brattle Square. It lasted thirty-two years. Several years later the Davenport Tavern came into being. Situated on the westerly corner of North Avenue and Beech Street, this establishment soon became widely celebrated for the concoction of flip, a spiced, sweetened ale or beer. It stood for many years as one of the landmarks of North Cambridge, but was eventually transformed into a tenement house and later razed. John Steadman, one of the more eminent Cantabrigians, secured a license in 1731 to operate an inn midway between Brighton and Mount Auburn Streets, which remained until 1790, when hard times and a business depression forced it out of business. Other

hostelries in the easterly section of town along Main Street sustained themselves by both local patronage and that of country teams engaged in transporting merchandise to and from Boston. These teams, however, disappeared almost entirely after construction of the railroads, and the inns did not flourish long afterwards. All in all, between 1691 and 1735 twenty-four licenses were granted to innholders in addition to those already listed by name.

Whereas the population of Cambridge remained substantially the same during the eighteenth century, it grew rapidly during the next — from a modest 1,200 in 1800 to a respectable 50,000 by 1874. The town was no longer the fortress of old, — nor indeed was it to remain a town much longer, the city charter being adopted in 1846. With the opening of the West Boston Bridge in 1793 access became easy, and Boston travelers to and from the west now passed through Cambridge. Soon thereafter the first public conveyance was established; a stage which made one trip, and later two trips, daily. In 1826 Captain Ebenezer Kimball, then landlord of a tavern on Pearl Street in Cambridgeport, started the "hourly." Eventually this was expanded to a four-horse omnibus line, whose tolls were as much as a thousand dollars per month. The section of the city along Main Street from the Cambridge terminus of the bridge became known as Cambridgeport. "Its chief feature," Lowell reminiscently wrote in 1824, "were five inns with vast barns and courtyards. ...Great white-topped wagons, each drawn by double files of six or eight horses, with its dusty bucket swinging from the hinder axle, brought all the wares and products of the country to

their mart and seaport in Boston. These filled the innyards." And again in his Fireside Travels Lowell tells us, "Cambridgeport was more a caravansary than a suburb." But efforts to make it a commercial center were thwarted by the Embargo Act of 1808 and by the War of 1812. These paralyzed the country's business, and brought the promoters of Cambridgeport to bankruptcy.

A second bridge was promoted and built by Mr. Craigie, from Lechmere point to Boston, in 1810. After his death several years later Mrs. Craigie took in lodgers. Among those to stay with her were Longfellow, in 1837, and Dickens, in 1842. In 1858 both bridges became free public avenues.

The year 1796 saw the festive opening of the first of the great hos-

telries of the post-Colonial period, the Fresh Pond Inn, operated by Jacob Wyeth on the high ground bordering Fresh Pond not far from the location of the present Water Filtration Plant. In true Cambridge tradition, Wyeth was a successful hotelman. He retired about twenty years later with a comfortable estate which was the result of astute management. His nephew Jonas succeeded him, and carried on the Wyeth reputation until 1840, when the hotel was taken over by L. Willard. The latter provided swings, amusement, refreshment, and bathing facilities, thereby lending the grounds a resort atmosphere — with the result that the Fresh Pond Hotel received a good deal of its patronage from sleighing and skating parties in the wintertime, and from groups which frequented the pond for a cool breeze or a dip in the summertime. Not to be overlooked, however, were the hotel's facilities for dining, wining, and dancing. Its location, also, was no small factor in its success. It could be reached by walking or by a short drive, and even by a railroad established originally to move ice from the Cambridge ice houses to the Charlestown piers for export. The records of ownership also include a William Callahan, in 1848, and William G. Fischer, in 1875. Minutes of the Myopia Base Ball Club show that its members were regular patrons of the hotel from 1876 to 1880. But with the coming of local prohibition in 1886 the Fresh Pond Inn closed its doors, an indication of the importance of alcoholic beverages in hotel operations of the day. The building was sold to the Sisters of Saint Joseph, who converted it into an orphan's home. In 1888 however by an Act of the Legislature the city was given the right to acquire the property bordering on Fresh Pond as protection for its water supply, and four years later the building was ordered removed. It stands today at 234 Lake View Avenue, a stone's throw from its old site, as a stucco-covered structure which houses six apartments.

I would like to point out here that although I am giving the history of these hotels in more or less chronological order, their operation and use as hotels was by no means always continuous. A change in ownership was usually accompanied or preceded by a period of idleness for a variety of reasons that cannot be detected easily from the records still remaining. The Fresh Pond Inn is a case in point. Notwithstanding the listing of Callahan as its owner in 1848, John Langdon Sibley writes in his diary under August list of that year: "Many candidates for admis-

sion to college assembled at University Hall at six o'clock. As there has been no public house in Cambridge for several years, it has been necessary for most of them to lodge in Boston and come out previously to the hour of six." This appears to me a rather startling statement, though it is possible that the provision of lodgings was so secondary a function in inn operation that it was often suspended altogether. At any rate, the Fresh Pond Hotel receives no mention at all in the directories between 1856 and 1875, and Sibley in his diary at various times muses plaintively about the lack of public houses in Cambridge. On June 29th, 1850, he writes: "The want of some kind of a public house has been felt very seriously for eight or ten years, there not having been a place during that time when a stranger could apply for a meal of victuals or a lodging." And again on August 24, 1862: "Washington Gilbert, formerly of Harvard, preached at Dr. Newell's. No afternoon service during the month of August. There being no hotel in Old Cambridge and no restaurant where I could get a dinner I invited myself to dine at the Rev. Curtis Cutler's." August 22, 1864, carries the following entry: "Paid 50 cents for a beef-steak at a restaurant, there being no public house of entertainment in Cambridge." Sibley's observations, however, should not be taken as gospel truth, since they do not entirely agree with data provided by issues of the Cambridge Directory through the years. It is quite possible that he aspired to very high-brow tastes and ignored the "ordinaries" then in existence. The 1864 edition of the Directory lists no fewer than six public houses, hardly an impressive number for a growing city. The number decreased to five by 1875 and to two by 1890!

The most celebrated of these hotels was probably the Porter Hotel, which opened its doors in 1837 on what is now the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Upland Road at the end of Porter Square. Its founder was Zachariah Porter, who seems to have been no relative of Israel Porter of Bradish's Tavern fame. According to Sibley, Zachariah had managed a hotel in Brighton patronized by the cattle market there, and his purpose in moving to Cambridge was to cater to the cattle merchants who were conducting a huge and prosperous exchange adjacent to the hotel. It was not long, however, before his excellent hostelry — distinguished, among other things, by originating the Porterhouse steak — attracted the attention of the city's social elite. Chroniclers report that "gay and brilliant affairs, attended by fashionably dressed men and

women, transpired almost nightly, in halls that were beautifully decorated." The hotel was particularly popular among Harvard students, whose jubilations at times raised some disapproving eyebrows. In his semi-centennial address, Thomas Wentworth Higginson reminisces: "North Cambridge as yet was not, though Porter's Tavern was; and we Old Cambridge boys watched with pleasure and interest, not quite demoralizing, the triumphant march of the 'Harvard Washington Corps' — the College military company — to that hostelry for dinner on public days, and their less regular and decorous return." Also, "Here I used to go on Saturday afternoons to play tenpins (bowling) when I was a boy." Apparently, there were other sports as well, perhaps close by, for there is mention of "athletic contests with athletes of national renown, and with thoroughbred horses, racers, and trotters, participating in various events." There is also mention of — you may have guessed it — gambling!

According to Sibley, the Porter Hotel had deep roots in Cambridge history. He says: "January 7 & 8, 1878. Mrs. Whitney comes from Stow & stays overnight & Mrs. S. and I go

with her to Porters Station to take the cars. When there were no railroads, Davenport's, near where Porter's Station now is, was a famous place in winter for the sleighs and vehicles from N. H. & Vermont to put up over night. Subsequently Porter bought the place and it became known as Porters Hotel, hence the Porters Station."

In 1840 two other hotels followed Porter's example by eyeing the cattle merchants' trade. Both led a brief existence. The Mace Hotel was too cheaply built and too inefficiently managed to survive for long, and closed down within five years. The Woodbridge Hotel, on the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Frank Street, lasted until 1873, under diverse ownership.

By our present-day standards, and even slightly earlier ones, the physical descriptions of these hotels of old are not at all flattering. Even for their age they were crude in furnishings and equipment, and to a large extent reactionary in their policies. Poor construction often permitted gusts of rain, wind, sleet, and snow to penetrate the walls. To get to their sparsely furnished rooms, guests had to go up steep and creaking staircases. Elaborateness was not considered a necessity by the hotel management. The equipment was plain and practical, and rooms

were furnished for utility and permanence, with little regard for aesthetic qualities.

Light was provided mainly by candles. Some hotels used also kerosene and gas lamps, though the former tended to be smoky and the latter smelly. Rooms were heated, probably inadequately, by inefficient coal furnaces. Washing and bathing was done in a bowl on the washstand, with water from a pitcher. In the midst of winter, formation of ice on top of the water was not at all unusual. To bathe in a tub, guests had to wait for hours to get into the common lavatory. Few hotels had private bathrooms, and those that did were prohibitively expensive.

Of the mid-to-late-nineteenth-century hotels, the Brattle House or Brattle Square Hotel is the best known. A successor to the earlier hotel of the same name, it was housed in a large, square, pretentious wooden structure built on land that filled in an earlier pond. On June 29, 1850, Sibley writes: "The newspapers contain an account of the dinner given last evening to the keeper of the Brattle House by the citizens of Cambridge. This hotel was opened to the public on Monday, though a few persons had been received there previously. It is to be regretted that it contains a bar at which will be sold ardent spirits. The apprehension that such might be the case, & that a hotel would be a nuisance among the students & to the village, has led many to be inactive about countenancing it." Sibley's attitude on the "drink problem," brought to public attention by the frenzied temperance lecturers of the day, is of interest. The hotel itself, which represented an attempt to provide a metropolitan hotel for Cambridge, was not financially successful. After two decades of struggling, it ceased operations, and the building became the property of the University Press.

Other hotels of the period were the Prospect House, located just below Central Square, for several years a popular rendez-vous of businessmen of the area; also the Hotel Cambridge and the Mansion House in East Cambridge, which were patronized mainly by those having business at the Court House nearby. None of these hotels compared with Porter's — nor, for

that matter, did Porter's compare with the Adams, the Lenox, the Parker House, the Touraine, and other then famous Boston hotels.

And so we come to the end of the century, and with it to the end of what I will call the historic period of Cambridge hotels. For nearly

thirty years after the closing of the Porter Hotel, survived until recently by a large sign, the visitor to our city was to find accommodations scarce. The records list the Riverbank Court Hotel opened in the early 1900's, said at one time to be the first "modern" Cambridge hotel comparable to Boston institutions, as the only hotel of consequence. Here the Cambridge Council and the Rotary Club met for many years, though its location near M.I.T. was not very central. Not until construction of the Hotels Continental and Commander could Cambridge claim large and modern hotels of its own.

The need for hotel accommodations in the city has always been real. It is greatest at Commencement time, when the influx of visitors reaches a peak. During the growth of Cambridge as an industrial center, however, it must have existed at other times as well, since the ordinary conduct of city life practically demands a place for the comfort of travelers. Thus the fact that in an expanding city with a population of over 100,000 no adequate hotel existed for nearly a third of a century must stand unique in the annals of American communities. Not until late in the prosperous twenties was the idea of building a new hotel translated into action, in keeping with the steps taken by other civic-minded cities. When it finally was, the impetus was three-fold, for John J. Shine, an enterprising Cambridge builder, took out permits in 1928 to construct the Hotels Continental, Commander, and Ambassador. In a sense, his venture was not a successful one, since in the time consumed by construction the economic climate became considerably less healthy.

The Continental opened in the fall of 1929, only a few weeks before the Black Friday of the stock market crash. Less than six months later, the hotel was in the hands of the Federal National Bank, which had foreclosed the mortgage and insisted on operating the hotel itself, "to the apparent delight of some of the bank officials who moved in so that they could see what was going on." It is doubtful that this helped the revenue of the hotel. In any case, both because of the depression and because the bankers made somewhat inept hotel operators, there was no improvement. The bank itself went out of business in 1933, and this caused the Continental to be put up for sale. It was acquired by Warren MacPherson, Robert Moore, and Ernest Henderson for \$275,000, a sum which represented about one-third of its original cost, in a transaction which marked the entrance of Henderson and Moore into the hotel industry.

Later these same men were to become the builders of the great Sheraton hotel empire. In recalling the deal, which required a cash payment of only \$25,000, Mr. Henderson observes

succinctly: "There certainly were great opportunities in those depression days." To which I might add that he certainly took advantage of them too!

The most interesting part of the negotiations concerns the fact that there were close to \$100,000 of "mechanics liens" on the property. Mr. Henderson believes that this potential liability scared off other bidders, so that his group was actually the only one to submit a bid. Subsequently the liens proved to be of small concern and were all settled for about \$1,500.

While his timing was unfortunate for his own success, John J. Shine nevertheless deserves our gratitude for the vision he displayed. He was an energetic man who took the bull by the horns. The 140-car garage which he built for the Hotel Continental was far ahead of the time. The garage became an issue which the Cambridge residents less radically inclined were not willing to take lying down, and the resulting case went all the way to the state Supreme Court, where it was decided in Shine's favor. Needless to say, without his wisdom the Cambridge parking problem would be considerably greater today!

The Continental's Piccadilly Inn, which has grown famous all over the world, was instituted by its new owners. More specifically, it was the brainchild of Mr. Warren MacPherson, president of the company, an enthusiastic amateur interior designer who wanted to suggest both in name and in decor the flavor of an Old English Tavern in the new cocktail lounge. "Piccadilly" seemed a most appropriate title, though it may not be entirely coincidental that Mr. MacPherson's daughter was called "Dilly," short for Cordelia.

Meanwhile the Hotel Commander, which contains 315 rooms in its six and a half stories, was also experiencing financial difficulties. It had been acquired by the Moran Hotel Company through a mortgage arrangement with the New York Life Insurance Company. Because of extravagant operation of the property, the owners defaulted on their mortgage payments, with the result that the insurance company foreclosed and operated the hotel through most of the thirties. It did so by engaging the Hotel Expert Service Corporation, a firm organized by Frank K. Boland, former legal counsel for the United States Hotel Corporation,

then one of the country's largest hotel chains. Subsequently, by first leasing it and gradually acquiring its stock during his years as manager, Mr. Boland became sole owner of the hotel. He purchased it just prior to World War II for \$600,000. At the time of purchase, Mr. Boland did not intend to remain in ownership for long. He had planned retirement, and more or less bought the hotel for his wife, who took an active interest in its decoration and also managed the housekeeping department. The Hotel Commander was sold to its present owners in 1955, considerably later than Mr. Boland had meant to sell. He says, "Since then I have had ample occasion to regret my action, because an inactive life seems to be irksome to my nature. I am now negotiating for another hotel, and while I have two or three in mind, it is difficult to be completely satisfied with a new proposition because of the many happy relationships which developed at the Commander."

When John Shine originally built the Hotels Continental and Commander, he intended to operate them as a single unit; at one time he even contemplated building a tunnel to join them together. The Continental was to be the fashionable residential section, while the

Commander, with its greater number of function rooms and sleeping accommodations, was to be the transient wing. Curiously enough it is the Continental which, in the last fifteen years, has become the leading transient hotel in the city. Its Grand Ballroom is one of the largest and most handsome in all of New England. We have on two occasions staged tennis exhibitions with a standard sized court laid out and with four hundred persons watching from basketball stands. Both these events were for charities. Here banquets, testimonials, dances, and functions of all sorts are held throughout the year. It is truly a social center of Cambridge.

I hope you will now permit me a little personal history. I first came to Cambridge in 1940, as assistant manager to my father, Chauncey Depew Steele, Sr., who had taken over as manager of the Hotel Continental the previous year. When, in 1941, he was engaged by Mr. Henderson and Mr. Moore, the same two gentlemen we learned about earlier, to manage the Copley Plaza, which they had just purchased, we persuaded the owners of the Continental to let me stay on. It was to be for a trial period of three months, since I was only twenty-six years old at the time, and they perhaps felt unsure of what I could do. However, I had grown up in the hotel business, and the experience gained by working

summers in my father's famous resort, Briarcliff Lodge, had given me the necessary instinct for management. With the help of divine Providence, and with what I had learned as assistant manager, my trial period was a success, and as a result I have been here ever since, except for the period from 1942 to 1945 when I served as an Officer in the United States Navy.

One of the problems which arose during my absence was that of maintenance. Both materials and manpower were being concentrated in other directions to help the war effort, and the Continental, like all hotels, suffered in upkeep. While it had become a sound financial investment by this time, benefiting from the fact that once again no new hotels had been built in Cambridge, the sum total of its deferred maintenance was sizeable and amounted to nearly complete renovation when it could finally be taken care of.

One of my favorite recollections of hotel business concerns the Hotel Ambassador, third of John Shine's group. Also under new management since the depression days, it was leading a quiet and successful existence, catering primarily to resident guests. In 1947, when the Office of Price Administration decided to decontrol hotels, the Ambassador wanted to be relieved of price control too. Since the management had always been most cooperative in taking care of our overflow, I knew quite well that they had approximately eighteen transient rooms. When the government maintained that the Ambassador was an apartment house and as such not eligible for decontrol, I was asked by the manager to testify otherwise. I did so in good conscience, because I was sure that the Ambassador had lived up to Webster's definition of a hotel, namely, "a house providing lodging and usually meals for the public, especially for transients; an inn." The case came before Judge Charles Wyzsanski, a fellow Cantabrigian, in the United States District Court, with the Ambassador considering me its star witness. When I had finished, Judge Wyzsanski leaned over and said to me, "Excuse this question, but you have been such a good witness that I would like to know if you are being paid." My reply was, "Not to my knowledge, Your Honor, but if you know anyone who wants to pay me, I won't mind." Fortunately the judge had a good sense

of humor, and doubled up with laughter. "All right," he said. "You'll get your witness fee anyway." I am still, however, waiting to receive it. I will say in all modesty that the Am-

bassador won the case and was decontrolled, and in the process remained as Cambridge's third large hotel. We do have other inns, like the Brattle Inn, and the Kirkland Inn, which, however, do not serve food.

In 1952 I became the owner of the Hotel Continental, by purchasing it and two apartment houses for \$1,050,000, with the help of many fine friends and acquaintances. I had raised the money in three months' time, and my sealed bid won out over five other groups. Since then I have made efforts to remain in control of the company, and at present own a major portion of the outstanding stock. The details of corporate maneuvering would make sufficient material for a speech longer than this one, but I shall not bore you with them, since I do not wish to be accused of becoming unhistorical. Suffice it to say that one of my first moves was to bring my father back from semi-retirement as my assistant, thereby restoring the happy combination of Steele, Sr. and Jr.

While I consider myself still below the age for reminiscing, over the protests of my friends I will say that a hotelman leads an interesting life. He has the opportunity to meet well-known people from all over the world, particularly in so cosmopolitan a city as Cambridge. Among the guests it has been our privilege to serve have been Supreme Court Justices (Mr. Felix Frankfurter), Cabinet Officials (Harold Stassen), Governors (Griffin of Georgia, and Herter and Furcolo of our own Commonwealth), legislators, actors and actresses (Elizabeth Taylor, Ruth Chatterton, Edward Everett Horton), eminent educators, and people from all walks and stations of life. We attempt to be a home away from home, for this is our mission, to provide food and lodging in the most hospitable, friendly, yet still efficient manner possible. A hotel is a city within a city, and as such it brings to anyone who observes closely the most marvelous opportunities to study human relations and character in action.

From the day that a hotel is opened and the key is thrown away, in a centuries-old innkeeping ceremony, the hotel never sleeps. Around the clock, an operator mans the switchboard to handle emergency calls. Elevators run throughout the night. Watchmen and security officers are on quiet duty to ensure the safety of guests and their possessions. Down beneath the lobby, engineers in the boiler room keep the furnaces properly fired, so that heat and hot water are available at any hour. An electrician stands by to make sure that the power plant and the lighting sys-

tem function smoothly. During the night hours, cleaners methodically go through the hotel plant, scrubbing the kitchen and public rooms so that all will be clean and ready for the morning.

Our hotels are the civic and social centers of Cambridge. A great deal of business is conducted in our meeting rooms, very much in the way it is often described and pictured in

novels or the movies. To cite a recent example, the new Harvard football coach was interviewed and hired at the Continental. The Cambridge Dinner Dances, the Service Club luncheons and meetings, the testimonial dinners to prominent citizens are all held in our hotels. As many as eleven weddings have been celebrated at the Continental in a single day, and while this figure does represent a strictly seasonal peak, the sum of all the wedding gatherings held during my seventeen years here would make a staggering total. No two days are ever alike in the hotel business, which perhaps accounts for its stimulating interest and fascination.

Of the future I can only say that it is a promising one. Cambridge is a vital city which, because of its educational, industrial, and business institutions, can claim many visitors. These receive their impression of our city not only from its historical points of interest and those places which they have come to visit, but also from its hotels. It is the responsibility of the hotel industry to modernize, to be ever hospitable, and to provide every comfort possible, so as to make this impression a favorable one, one which will promote the desire to return. The problems faced by the industry in carrying out these responsibilities are numerous. Parking, for instance, has become a major headache, since the lack of facilities is detrimental to business. Prices are a constant problem, for their increase makes it difficult for many travelers to patronize hotels. At the Continental we have found a partial solution by providing less expensive housing in near-by buildings, but not many hotels are so fortunate. The inflationary trend of our economy since 1940 is perhaps reflected in the rent for our luxury suites, which has risen from \$75 per month then to a current \$350. Competition from new units built on cheaper land in surrounding areas, such as highway-hotels and motels, must be met, and this gives an even greater importance to modernization. All in all, the task ahead is not an easy one, though I am confident that with faith and courage it will be carried out successfully.

And so I come to the end of my task here, which has been that of

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guiding you along the road of history, as seen in the taverns, inns, and hotels of our great community since the days of its inception. I hope that I have been able to transmit to you some of the fascination which this history now holds for me. Above all, I hope you'll forgive me if I have spoken with too much eagerness. It has been about things which are very close to my heart.

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ARTEMAS WARD AND THE SIEGE OF BOSTON

By CATHARINE KERLIN WILDER

Read June 4, 1957

ON April 20, following the battles of Concord and Lexington, Dr. Joseph Warren, President of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, issued this call to the towns on behalf of the Committee of Safety of the Congress: "Our all is at stake, death and desolation are the

consequences of delay. Every moment is infinitely precious. One hour's delay may deluge your country in blood and entail perpetual slavery upon the few of our patriots that may survive the carnage."

The exact number of men who poured into Cambridge in response to this alarm is not known, but estimates place it between sixteen and twenty thousand. They were mainly members of local regiments whose officers were responsible to no higher authority. They were an independent, unruly, undisciplined body of people on the whole, who carried their own guns and some ammunition. The officers had enlisted the men under them, who were ready to use all their individual resourcefulness to fight the British whenever and wherever they could be found. A French general characterized these New Englanders after the battle on Lake George in 1755 by saying: "In the morning they fought like good boys, at noon like men, and in the afternoon like devils, but at all times of day their aim was such that their adversaries dropped like pigeons."

Who was to command this motley mass of men? As the hostilities between England and her colonies grew more and more inevitable, Massachusetts Bay had gone farther than any other of the thirteen in facing this question of a general for the entire colony, and indeed of an army of the colony, instead of the hundreds of militia which were formed in the towns and villages and grouped into regiments. In 1774, when the Provincial Congress came into existence, it established the Committee of Safety with duties of watchfulness and with power to call out and direct the militia "whenever they shall judge it necessary for the safety and defence of the inhabitants of the Province." Jedediah Preble, Artemas Ward, and Seth Pomeroy were elected major generals to take command and to

do so in the above mentioned order. This was the first step taken in the direction of an over-all command in the colony, but the battles of Concord and Lexington came so unexpectedly that the Committee had no time to issue any orders, so all was left to the initiative of individuals and of the officers of the regiments. Fortunately on April 19th and 20th the rebels succeeded in forcing the British back into Boston and establishing a twelve-mile barricade around the city. Now the Provincial Congress was faced with an imminent conflict and the problem was Who should be the commander-in-chief ? Would it be one of the previously mentioned major generals or someone else?

When the alarm of Concord and Lexington reached Shrewsbury on April 19th, Artemas Ward was ill in bed. He had just returned home from a strenuous meeting of the Provincial Congress, of which he was a member. From the time he graduated from Harvard in 1748 and received his M.A. in 1751, he had combined a life of public service with military duties. At Ticonderoga, where he fought under Abercrombie against the French, he spent a strenuous year which brought him military honors and the rank of a colonel, but his health became impaired and for the rest of his life he was to suffer with a kidney ailment. However, he never let this deter him from carrying on his public duties in Shrewsbury and later in Boston, where he was elected to the congresses, committees, and the General Court which helped to break the power of the British in Massachusetts.

When the British saw his growing influence in the cause of the rebellion, they marked him as a dangerous figure and withdrew his commission. A dramatic account of this is left by the Reverend Joseph Sumner, Shrewsbury's much beloved and influential preacher. He

records that a mounted messenger in full uniform, rode into Shrewsbury one morning bearing the order from British Governor Bernard to have Artemas Ward superseded. At the time Ward was on the village common with a group of his friends watching an old meetinghouse being torn down. The messenger handed him the letter, which he read, and one of the bystanders inquired after he finished whether it contained "important news." Ward then read the letter aloud to the small group and turned to the messenger and said, "Give my compliments to the Governor, and say to him, I consider myself twice honored, but more in being superseded than in having been commissioned, and that I thank him for this,"

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holding up the letter to the group, "since the motive that dictated it is evidence that I am, what he is not, a friend to my country."

On April 19th Artemas Ward quickly left his bed despite pain from a kidney stone, mounted his horse, and headed for Cambridge. He was the only one of the three major generals appointed by the Committee of Safety to reach Cambridge that day, so he took command, and instantly called a council of war in Hastings House. Also he established contact with Dr. Joseph Warren, President of the Provincial Congress, and plans were made to complete the blockade of Boston. General William Heath and General John Whitcomb, both of whom Ward knew well, were also present at this council of war, with six colonels and six lieutenant colonels. It was fortunate for Massachusetts and the American Revolution that at this crucial moment there was a core of military men in Cambridge who knew and respected one another and who could assume the type of leadership which at that time was needed.

From April 20th until May 20th the Provincial Congress thrashed out the question of a Massachusetts army and a general to lead it. They thought at first that with fifteen to twenty thousand men already in Cambridge an army might be enlisted then and there. Confusion prevailed as the men, mostly farmers, came and went, depending upon whether there was anything for them to do or any anticipated action. Even the status of the Provincial Congress itself was in question. Consequently no plans were crystallized. This body, although an elected one, was established while the British still held control, but now that this control was broken, perhaps for good, the Congress had to rethink its new position and its relation to an army. With this baffling political situation, and with the added danger that the British were likely to break out of Boston at any moment, Artemas Ward had to contend. He kept his headquarters at Hastings House, but he had no official commission as a commander, and he was to be in this indefinite position from April 20th until May 20th, when the Provincial Congress finally appointed him commander in chief of the Massachusetts forces.

During this anxious first month Ward knew desperate moments. On April 23rd he wrote to the Provincial Congress: "My situation is such that if I have not enlisting orders immediately, I shall be left all alone. It is impossible to keep the men here expecting something to be done. I therefore pray that the plans [for the formation of an army] may be

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completed and handed to me this morning, and that you, gentlemen of the Congress, issue orders for the enlisting of the men." Powder for an army did not exist. Ward urgently requested the Provincial Congress to find powder in Massachusetts, New York, and Connecticut. When President Warren wrote to New York he said: "Not because we suppose you have a surplus, but because we are in the most distressing want."

From April 20th until the end of the siege of Boston Ward kept an orderly book which now is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. The entry for the first day shows how he tried to bring some order out of the chaos, and how he cooperated with the officers around him. The very first order is one that General Heath, not General Ward, sent to the Committee of Supplies and Safety for provisions at Concord — "that they may be brot to Cambridge as soon as possible."

Under general orders Ward wrote: "that colonel Gardener repair immediately to Roxbury and bring all the Bread that can be obtained," and "that colonel Bond bring all the cannon at Watertown, Newton and Waltham together with part of the ammunition to the camp at Cambridge."

Also Ward ordered every officer and soldier "to keep close to his quarters and to be ready to turn out compleatly accoutered at a moment's warning and parade at the meeting house." Another general order was that "a captain, two sergeants, fifty-two Rank and File immediately be sent to bury the dead on the field of Battle, also to take care of the wounded." No guns were to be "discharged in the streets of Cambridge without leave." Finally orders were given to make the town house the guard house, for the colonels of regiments to appoint officers under them, and for a guard to be maintained around Boston with instructions to "keep a vigilant lookout and if the enemy make any movement, or if any discoveries are made to give immediate notice to the General."

From the very beginning Ward turned to the Provincial Congress, such as it was, for his orders. This was a moment when a man might have tried to establish a military command and ignore the weak civil power. But not Ward. He inherited and thoroughly believed in the democratic process of government, no matter how much time and energy its execution involved, and by temperament he was not a dictator. He, a staunch Calvinist, preferred moral persuasion and held daily prayers in the morning outside his headquarters, when he appealed to the New

Englanders in the name of divine Providence. He was a thoughtful person, somewhat slow in speech, and fully convinced that the Massachusetts Bay colony was the land most approved by Providence, and that those in Massachusetts were the Chosen People. The following letter was written by Joseph Warren to Samuel Adams, who was then in Philadelphia:

I see more and more the necessity of establishing a civil government here, and such a government as shall be sufficient to control the military forces not only in this colony, but also such as shall be sent to us from other colonies. The Continental Congress must strengthen and support "with all its weight the civil authority here, otherwise our Soldiery will lose the Ideas of right and wrong, and will plunder instead of protecting the Inhabitants. This is but too evident already; and I assure you entre nous, that unless some authority sufficient to restrain the

Irregularities of this army is established, we shall very soon find ourselves involved in greater Difficulties than you can well imagine.

Ward tried to keep the camps from social deterioration. However there was no enforcement of his orders beyond that which the officers under him were willing to give. This varied with the officers, who in most cases were more anxious to curry the favor of the men than to reprimand them. To restrain the excessive drinking on May 4th he issued the following order:

That no person presume to sell spirituous liquors in the camp but such as have heretofore been licensed for that purpose. That all persons immediately break off this iniquitous practice which has a tendency to Destroy the peace and good order of the Camp. But if there be any such person who will not pay due obedience to this order, their spirituous Liquors are to be seized and given to the commissary general for the use of the army. The commissary general is to be accountable to the province therefor.

The camps became very dirty, and to try to keep the sanitation as it should be the following order was issued on May 2nd:

That the quartermaster of each regiment see that vaults be immediately dug in some bye place for the use of the regiment and that the Parade and Camp be cleaned every day and all the Filth buried — that the colleges in particular and parade around them be kept clean and that privates from each Regiment do attend the orders and directions of the quartermaster for the above Purposes.

Desertion among the men was frequent, as many of them were

farmers and were anxious to return to their fields to plant the spring seeds. Artemas Ward attempted to stop this.

For the future when any deserters come to any of the outguards, they are without the least delay to be sent to the corporal's guard, to the next guard in the lines, who is immediately to escort them in the same manner to the major general commanding that division of the army, who, as soon as he has examined them, will forthwith send them under a proper escort from his guard to headquarters. It will be a breach of orders in any person who gives rum to a Deserter before he is examined by the general.

On paper it looked as if the army was well organized, but a great gap existed between what went out in general orders and what was executed. One officer of the day marched unnoticed in the midst of the guards and found that they were all asleep. He said: "I might have killed the whole of them." So under these conditions with human nature what it is, it is no wonder that the army in Cambridge appeared dilatory, dirty, and irresponsible. Yet Artemas Ward and all those close to him knew that should the British attack, this mass of men would be on their feet ready at a minute's notice to fight as they had in the past. Also Ward knew that under these circumstances any arbitrary command on his part would mean the end of the army such as it was. Fortunately for our cause the British generals would not believe what their intelligence reported about the state of our army. They thought it was a

false alarm to lure them out of Boston, and they feared the deadly aim of those "filthy farmers."

On June 15th another council of war met at which bold action was contemplated. Anxiety persisted lest the British break the seige and take both Bunker Hill and Dorchester Neck. Earlier the fortifications in Roxbury had been strengthened under the command of general Thomas, but Dorchester Neck remained unfortified. Now the onslaught of the English long threatened seemed imminent, and with the regiments filling up in Cambridge and some military experience being given there, the determination to fortify both the strategic points of Bunker Hill and Dorchester Neck grew more and more adamant. At earlier meetings Ward and Joseph Warren opposed this move until the rebels could be better equipped, but now the resolution of the council of war on June 15th showed that despite the shortage of powder, Ward was ready to approve the project of fortifying only Bunker Hill.

On June 16th he issued orders to this effect. Colonel Prescott, Sam Gridley, and Israel Putnam were the leaders of this expedition. A stone now by Austin Hall marks the spot where President Langdon of Harvard led a band of some twelve hundred men in prayer the night of June 17th before they left for Bunker Hill.

What transpired at Bunker Hill is too well known to be elaborated upon here. Criticism of Ward's strategy spread when it was all over, but time has shown that under the circumstances his decisions on June 17th and 18th showed a balanced judgement, and an awareness of the whole situation and not of just a sector of it. His adversaries attacked him for not sending additional reinforcements, but Ward refused to change the disposition of his forces, or to weaken the center of the line at Cambridge, or to shift the Roxbury forces until he knew the British would not extend the attack beyond Bunker Hill. Prescott and Putnam, both impetuous temperaments, issued orders beyond the original plan by placing the fortifications on Breed's Hill and not just Bunker Hill. This provoked the British to attack with line after line of well-equipped soldiers, who exhausted the patriot forces and forced them to use up all their ammunition. It is no wonder that Ward spent two very anxious days, as only he knew how limited was the powder supply. To disclose the truth of this so that the enemy might learn of it, might conceivably have encouraged the British to attack on more than the Bunker Hill sector.

Both Ward and Dr. Warren were ill that day, but they did not fail to perform their duty. Dr. Warren rode to the battlefield to cheer the soldiers. Three days previously he had been appointed a Massachusetts second major general, and he outranked the officers at Bunker Hill. Prescott asked him to take the command when he appeared, but the fighting was under way and Warren refused. Instead he threw himself into the battle, and shortly was killed. His death deprived Massachusetts of a great political leader whose wisdom, judgement, and action had been of incalculable value. For Ward it meant the loss of a close collaborator and friend. That understanding link between the Provincial Congress and the Massachusetts army was broken, as James Warren, who succeeded Dr. Warren in the presidency, was most critical of Ward's command. Yet James Warren admitted, "We dare not supersede him."

From now on the command grew more difficult for Ward. His orderly book shows no mention of the battle of Bunker Hill by name,

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only on the margin under June 18th are the figures 115, 305, 30, totaling 450. Under June 17th, also in the margin, in small writing, is the following: "killed 115, wounded 305 –captured 30," which is his accounting of the famous battle. Immediately following what at first seemed like a disaster, Ward ordered care for the wounded, the dead, and the prisoners of war. Also he asked that "his thanks be given to those soldiers who behaved so Gallantly in the late action at Charlestowne, such Bravery gives the General sensible pleasure, as he is thereby fully satisfied that we shall finally come off Victorious and triumph over the Enemies of Freedom and America."

This project to fortify Bunker Hill was designed to prevent the enemy from moving out of Boston onto the mainland, but it resulted in such severe losses for the British that when word reached England, Lord Dartmouth, who had been so confident of the English position in Boston, quickly decided to replace General Gage with General Howe and to make plans for quitting Boston and perhaps removing the entire force to Halifax and Quebec. At first the rebels did not realize what a moral victory they had won, and that such thinking was transpiring in London and Boston.

After the middle of May both the Massachusetts Provincial Congress and the Continental Congress in Philadelphia realized that Massachusetts could not fight alone. Men and supplies, particularly powder, were needed from the other colonies. The leaders were hesitant to consider the placing of the command in Cambridge in the hands of an outsider, but on May 16th their thinking had evolved to a point where they sent Dr. Benjamin Church to Philadelphia to canvass the possibility of offering the direction of the army to the Continental Congress. After his arrival, John Adams proceeded to show the Congress the need of action on their part to save the army in Cambridge. He knew there was not enough powder in New England to carry the army through a campaign. From June 2nd and to June 14th it grew more and more evident that as the Massachusetts colony was to receive help from the other colonies, the General in command should be from outside Massachusetts, so that there would be no suspicion that the New Englanders, particularly the Massachusetts colony, wished to impose their will on the other colonies, or were using the help of non-New England colonies to break the tyranny of the British in New England alone. If there was to be a war it had to

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be a war of all the colonies united in one command, under the direction of the Continental Congress.

George Washington, a delegate from Virginia, felt his soldierly impulses rising as the discussion of the commander in chief progressed. He had brought with him from Mount Vernon a red and blue uniform he had worn in the French and Indian War, and now he donned it daily. Undoubtedly he began to feel at this moment that he was a man of destiny. John Adams writing on the May 29th said: "Colonel Washington appears at Congress in his uniform, and by his great abilities and experience in military matters is of much service to

us." His military experience however, has been less than that of the generals holding the command in Cambridge.

With such an imposing person in their midst and with the decision to find a commander outside of Massachusetts, quite naturally Washington's stature rose.

To be acceptable to all the colonies it was essential that the commander in chief be native born, of proven courage, and of military prominence, otherwise the troops of some of the colonies might refuse to acknowledge him. He must be a man sufficiently aggressive politically to command the respect of the New England patriot leaders, yet he should be moderate enough to ease the minds of the less ardent of the central colonies. For him to be wealthy and socially prominent was important for the encouragement of the rather small proportion of the well-to-do on the Patriot side.

Hence more and more it seemed to John Adams, who became the spokesman for a leader of the united colonies, that George Washington was the most acceptable choice. All the Massachusetts delegation agreed with him except Robert Treat Paine, who advocated keeping Ward in the command in Massachusetts. On June 15th, three days before the battle of Bunker Hill, Adams nominated Washington, who was elected. While Adams was making his motion, Washington, who sensed the outcome of it, slipped out of the room, so as not to be present when his name was mentioned.

Adams, writing to his wife, said: "I can now inform you that Congress has made the choice of the modest and virtuous, the amiable, generous and brave George Washington Esquire to the General of the American Army, that he is to repair as soon as possible to the camp before Boston.

This appointment will have a great effect in cementing and securing the union of these colonies."

Washington, writing to his wife on June 18th, said, "You may believe, my dear Patsy, and I assure you in the most solemn manner, that so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavour in my power to avoid it, not only from unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity, and that I should enjoy more real happiness in one month with you at home than I can have the most distant prospect of finding abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years. I shall rely therefore confidently on that providence which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me, not doubting that I shall return safe to you in the fall." Little did he realize that the fall was to see some of the most agonizing moments of his life, and that Patsy was to journey to him in Cambridge to be at his side during the difficult raising of the siege of Boston.

A debate followed Washington's appointment as to who should be the commanders immediately under him. Quite naturally Massachusetts felt that with the command given to a southerner, Artemas Ward should be named second in command. At Philadelphia Charles Lee was present, an Englishman who turned against his country, he was eager for a top command under Washington. In fact, he had moments of hoping he might be the commander in chief. He was an engaging character, to whom Washington took a liking, but time was to show his instability, and before the war was over he became a traitor to the

American cause. As Washington knew none of the officers in command at Cambridge, he was glad to have one officer under him whom he knew, so Lee was appointed a major general. Lee had fought at Ticonderoga with Ward, and there he acquired a prejudice against him. The men were opposites in temperament, and Lee found Ward's staunch Puritan strain repugnant to him. He claimed Ward should be a church deacon and not a military man. This prejudice he passed on to Washington.

On June 23rd Washington, Lee, and Schuyler, another major general, left from Philadelphia led by an escort of all the delegates from Massachusetts, as well as by many other delegates from the Congress and a large troop of artillery, many officers of militia in their uniforms, and a band. After five miles the entourage turned back, and Washington and

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his party continued unescorted. Fifteen miles from Philadelphia messengers rushing on horseback brought the first news of the battle of Bunker Hill. The result seemed only to confirm in Lee's estimation the inadequacy of Ward's command. Neither he nor Washington had at that time any detailed idea of what had been happening in Boston from April 19th until then. As they rode on, John Adams returned to Philadelphia to write Abigail: "I poor creature, worn out with scribbling for my bread and liberty, low in spirits, and weak in health, must leave others to wear the laurels which I have sown."

The day before Washington left with two of his major generals John Hancock wrote Artemas Ward from the Congress room:

Honorable Sir, in my task I inform you that this Congress has appointed George Washington, Esquire, General and Commander in Chief of all the forces raised or to be raised by the United Colonies. That Gentleman takes his departure tomorrow morning from this city in order to enter upon his command. I mention the circumstance of his departure that you may direct your movements for his reception.

I have the honor to transmit to you a commission from this Congress, appointing you First Major General and Second in Command of the forces of the United Colonies, you will please to acknowledge the receipt of it. I wish you the divine protection and success in all your undertakings.

This letter is the first official document to inform Artemas Ward of his new status in the command at Cambridge. On June 30th, upon the receipt of it, Ward wrote to John Hancock the following:

I have, Sir, to acknowledge the receipt of the commission of a major general and do heartily wish that the honor had been conferred upon a person better qualified to execute a trust so important. It would give me great satisfaction if I thought myself capacitated to act with dignity and to do honor to that Congress which has exalted me to be second in command over the American army. I hope they will accept my sincere desire to serve them and my utmost grateful acknowledgement for the honor conferred upon me, and pray they may not be wholly disappointed in their expectations — I always have been and am still ready to devote my life in attempting to deliver my native country from insupportable slavery.

Without any hesitation Ward accepted his position under Washington. At first there was some dissatisfaction among a few of the Massachusetts officers with their new ranking, but Ward helped to quiet this, and to keep the Massachusetts forces in line for Washington

to command. By constantly putting the best interests of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and now of the United Colonies, first in his thinking, Ward in his position immeasurably helped the early course of the American Revolutionary War.

The Provincial Congress also ordered Ward to prepare for the reception of Generals Washington, Lee, and Schuyler. President Langdon was asked to vacate his house, excepting one room to be reserved for him, so that this could be Washington's headquarters. Ward was to give "such orders for their honorable reception as may accord with the rules and circumstances of the army and the respect due to their rank, without, however, any expence of powder and without taking the troops from the necessary attention to their duty at this crisis of our affairs."

When Washington reached Watertown, James Warren made a speech, to which Washington replied: "Whatever deficiencies there may be [referring to the army] will, I doubt not, soon be made up by the activity and zeal of the officers, and the docility and obedience of the men. These qualities united with their native bravery and spirit will afford a happy presage of success and put a final period to those distresses which now overwhelm this once happy country."

There are no official records of how the newly arrived generals spent their first Sunday afternoon and evening, in Cambridge. One report has it that Ward entertained them with a banquet in Hastings House where "all restraint was cast aside in a spontaneous welcome — glasses clinked, stories were told, and the wine circulated."

The occasion undoubtedly was more restrained than tradition has it, as Ward was not an exuberant man, and neither was Washington. By that date New Englanders had discussed among themselves in town-meeting style the political exigencies of the situation, and "the rank and file" had accepted the action of their representatives in the Continental and Provincial Congresses, and were ready to receive Washington with "deference and fair cordiality."

On July 3rd "the officers placed their men in as good shape as they could," but they were an unkempt [sic.] looking group. No two dressed alike, and some were "armed with fowling pieces, some with rifles, others with muskets without bayonets." When all was in readiness, Washington in a uniform and mounted on a black horse, advanced with his staff to the common, where he received the command from Artemas Ward. "After

a short address to the soldiers Washington took from his pocket a psalm book from which he read the 101st Psalm." What Artemas Ward said on this occasion is not recorded. No mention of the event was made in his orderly book. Washington, who evidently expected to

find a professional looking and acting army was repelled by the sight before him. One of his first impulses was to have the men wash and be given some uniforms.

Now a new era had begun in American history. No longer was the Massachusetts Provincial Congress responsible for the course of the American Revolution on the soil of Massachusetts. Until then the cooperative and understanding leadership of John Adams, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock in the Continental Congress, of Joseph Warren in the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, and of Artemas Ward on the military front had helped to shape the destiny of the colonies, particularly the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in a most precarious moment in their political and military history. Now there was a new alignment of leadership.

On May 17th Joseph Warren had written to the Continental Congress: "Subordination is absolutely necessary in an army, but the strings must not be drawn too tight at first. The bands of love and esteem must be principally relied on amongst men who know not any distinction but what rises from some superior merit." It remained to be seen how a southerner who was used to the handling of slaves would pull the strings of command in New England, and how he would unite the colonies on the battlefield.

On July 2nd Ward issued his last two general orders. First, "that some suitable person in each company in the several regiments be directed to inspect said company daily, that upon finding any complaints of indisposition among the men, the surgeon of each regiment will examine thereinto, and if there be any symptoms of smallpox upon them, that they be immediately removed."

Secondly he ordered that one soldier "be taken out of each company in Putnam's, Prescott's, Bridge's, Frye's, and Glover's regiment, whose daily business shall be to sweep and keep clean the camp." Under these he drew a line across his orderly book, and recorded the date, July 3rd, 1775. Following this, in a florid script he wrote: "By his Excellency George Washington, Esquire, Commander in Chief of the forces of

the United Colonies of North America." From now on he was second in command, with his headquarters in Roxbury. The first general order under Washington as recorded by Ward was "that the colonel or commanding officer of each regiment forthwith make two returns of the members of men in their respective regiments, distinguishing those who are sick, wounded, or absent on furlow, and also the quantity of ammunition each regiment has." Three pages in Ward's rather large orderly book show one order after another emanating from the commander's headquarters. Washington was prepared to draw the lines of command more tightly than they had been drawn, and his method of issuing orders was more authoritative than that of Artemas Ward.

On July 4th Washington said: "It is required and expected that exact discipline be observed and due subordination prevail through the whole army, that a failure in these essential points must necessarily produce extreme hazard, disorder, and confusion, and end in shameful disappointment and disgrace."

The following day he ordered a general court-martial "to be set tomorrow at ten o'clock A.M., for the trial of John Scott for insulting the sentry and attempting to pass the guard to Boston, and James Foster for theft. The witnesses are to attend, and the parties charged

are to have notice this day, that they may be prepared for their trials." In Ward's orderly book there was no record of a court-martial while he held the command, and it was obvious that now Washington meant to enforce his general orders with punishments for their infraction.

In a letter Washington wrote on July 10th to the Continental Congress we get some clue of the early frustrations he encountered in his new command:

My earnest wish to comply with the instructions of the Congress in making an early and complete return of the state of the army, has led to an involuntary delay of addressing you; which has given me much concern. Having given orders for that purpose immediately on my arrival, and not then so well apprised of the imperfect obedience which had been paid to those of the like nature from General Ward, I was led from day to day to expect they would come in and therefore detained the messenger.

They are not now so complete as I could wish, but much allowance is to be made for inexperience in forms and liberty which had been taken (not given) on this subject. These reasons I flatter myself will no longer exist, and of consequence, more regularity and exactness will in the future prevail.

From the time Ward assumed command, he had tried to get an accounting of the number of soldiers in Cambridge, but the officers paid no attention to paper work. Ward understood their reaction and was most patient with them. Periodically he renewed his orders and hoped for some positive reaction to them. He had only a scrappy accounting to present to Washington.

Washington's orders did produce a momentary improvement in discipline, but they were soon followed by a severe reaction. "Harsh words, rigorous punishments and class distinctions were unpleasant fare, and the camps soon seethed with friction." On September 21st Washington advised the Continental Congress that "the greater part of the troops are in a state not far from mutiny." Were the lines being drawn too tightly too suddenly for the New Englander? Washington wrote his half-brother: "I believe I may with great truth affirm that no man perhaps since the first institution of armies ever commanded one under more difficult circumstances."

The shortage of powder and money weighed heavily upon his mind, as it had upon Ward's. And like Ward he had to keep the truth to himself for fear it would reach the enemy. He was discouraged by the way the soldiers came and went without reporting and by the frictions between the men of different colonies, and he found it hard to believe that he could form any kind of a disciplined army here in New England. Also he did not agree with the way the defence had been arranged, but after consultation with his officers, he realized that to change them "would give a general dissatisfaction to this colony and disspirit the people."

In the summer of 1775 the council of Generals Ward, Thomas, Putnam, and Spencer helped Washington to appraise the situation before him and decide how to handle it. Washington found the intense individualism of New Englanders irksome, and in his desperation he thought of a plan whereby he might raise the siege quickly and make it possible for him to end this phase of his command before the winter approached. In a very carefully thought-out letter, which he wrote in his own hand, he outlined his plan to Artemas Ward.

He sent the letter the day before he called a council of the officers, so that Ward might have a chance to think it over before presenting his judgment the following day. The letter in part read:

I think it proper, indeed an incumbent duty upon me, previous to this meeting to intimate the end and design of it, that you may have time to consider the matter with that deliberation and attention which the importance of it requires.

It is to know whether in your judgement we cannot make a successful attack upon the troops in Boston by means of boats cooperated by an attempt upon their lines at Roxbury — the success of such an enterprise depends, I well know, upon the all wise Disposer of Events, and is not within the reach of human wisdom to fortell the issue, but if the prospect is fair, the undertaking is justifiable under the following, among other reasons which might be assigned, namely that there is a need of barracks, of wood and blankets and clothing for the winter. Difficulties will be increased to an insurmountable degree. Also the army is engaged only until the first of January, and the difficulty of levying new troops grows more and more insurmountable.

Our powder (not much of which would be consumed in such an enterprise) without any certainty of supply, is daily wasting, and so I sum up the whole, in spite of every saving that can be made, the expence of supporting this army so far exceed any idea that was formed in Congress of it, that I do not know what will be the consequences.

Despite the attractive idea of ending the hostilities suddenly, Ward in the meeting the following day stoutly opposed any attack by boats. He knew the great shortage of powder, and he knew the strength of the British in numbers and also in ammunition. The battle of Bunker Hill was green in his memory, and although he knew the New Englanders would fight to the last man, he also knew they needed ammunition. Such a plan as Washington's seemed too rash to be attempted at this moment when all supplies were very short. Therefore he and the other Massachusetts officers declined to accept Washington's plan. Ward at this point had tremendous faith in the future, and faith in the ability of the New Englanders to withstand the trials ahead of them, and he was ready to accept the consequences of his judgement.

Washington grew depressed. He wrote in confidence to Joseph Reed in Philadelphia: "Few people know the predicament we are in, on a thousand counts, fewer still will believe, if any disaster happens to these lines, from what cause it flows. I have often thought how much happier I should have been, if, instead of accepting a command under such circumstances, I had taken my musket on my shoulder and entered the ranks, or if I could have justified the measure to posterity and my own conscience, had retired to the back country and lived in a wigwam."

Again in January Washington proposed that an attack be made on

Boston over the ice of the Charles river. Again Artemas Ward opposed this by saying that the attack must be made with "a view of bringing on an engagement or of driving the enemy out of Boston, and either will be answered much better by posessing Dorchester

Neck." Generals Ward, Thomas, Putnam, and Spencer thought in terms of the original plan they had for raising the siege, and no matter what daring ideas Washington produced, they adhered to their own blue print which was conceived before his arrival.

Fortunately the end of January colonel Knox arrived from Ticonderoga with artillery which he and a group of men had heroically dragged over the frozen ground to Cambridge. This added supply of ammunition enabled the generals to feel that now the time had come when the attack might be made with some degree of safety over the Dorchester Neck. So on February 16th, in a council of war Washington accepted this plan and preparations to realize it were begun. Ward's headquarters at Roxbury was the center for the operation. He appealed to the patriotism of his troops, and he challenged "every man in every station and department to exert all his powers for the salvation of America. Freedom and glory, shame and slavery are set before us — let us act like men, like Christians, like heroes, and form a character for the admiration of posterity." With these words ringing in their ears those under his command went into action.

A letter from Washington to Ward at this time ended: "You will settle matters with the officers with you, as what I have said is intended rather to convey my ideas generally, than wishing them to be adhered to strictly."

While these dramatic events transpired on the colonial side, the British were engaged in planning and now executing their departure from Boston. Just at the moment the rebels were poised to attack over Dorchester Neck, the last boats were being loaded. Washington had reports of this, but he was uncertain whether or not this was part of the British strategy to stage a surprise attack from both the land and the sea.

At this point I would like to read two letters which Washington sent to Artemas Ward just before the final attack was made on Boston. I will read from the original letters, which soon will be given to the Massachusetts Historical Society. They may have been written in the very room in which we are now meeting.

Head Quarters Cambridge 12 March 1776

Sir

As a number of the Enemy's Transports have been observed this Afternoon to sail out of the Harbour, and it is possible that before to-morrow morning they may have finished their shameful retreat and the Gates of the Town be thrown open. In that case it is the General's positive orders that no Person whomsoever be suffered to go in, or come out of the Town without his special Licence for that purpose — for besides the great danger of spreading the infection of the small pox in the army, it may be attended with other bad consequences, too many to enumerate. His Excellency also requests that you would be particularly attentive and vigilant the ensuing nights to prevent the Enemy from attempting by some bold stroke in some measure to wipe off the ignominy of their retreat — He also desires you will give proper directions to watch their motions along the Shore as far as Plymouth — and if any thing material should occur to give him the earliest information —

You'll please to be particularly careful

about Milton, Braintree, Cohassett &

Hingham lest they should attempt to

land there. —

By his Excellency's Command

I am most respectfully

Your obtd. & hble svt

Wm. Palfrey esq.

The Hon.^{b1e} Genl. Ward

Headquarters Cambridge

13th March 1776

Sir

His Excellency the General wants to consult with you, General Thomas, & General Spencer upon many matters & as he does not think it prudent at this time that you all should be so far as Cambridge from your posts. I have it in Comand to inform you that he will call at your house, or General Thomas' this day at ten o'clock, where he will expect to meet you & them. Gentlemen I have the Honor to be

Sir

Your most Ob. Svt

Stephen Moylan

General Ward

On March 16th the rebels opened their fire, but the retaliation from the enemy was feeble. The following morning, Sunday, March 17, 1776, Artemas Ward rode at the head of some five hundred troops under the immediate command of Colonel Learned. Without any opposition they

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approached the gate of the city, opened it, and found Boston deserted. We can only imagine what Ward thought as he witnessed the last of the British ships sailing out of the harbor. After eleven months, during which time he saw little of his wife and eight children, the siege of Boston had ended, and the British power in Massachusetts Bay Colony was completely broken.

Little did Artemas Ward and the hundreds of colonists dream, as they rushed to Cambridge the previous April, that they were to embark on a war which was to end in the formation of the United States of America.

At the age of forty-eight Ward's responsibilities to his colony did not cease. For the next twenty-four years, despite ill health, he was to continue in public service in Massachusetts and later in the Congress of the United States in Philadelphia.

A HOUSE AND THREE CENTURIES

BY ARTHUR EUGENE SUTHERLAND

Read September 24, 1957

THE road from Cambridge to Watertown must have been a pleasant way in 1657, probably curving among the pines as wood roads do. Perhaps John Holmes, substantial householder of Cambridge and second-generation American, early on some bracing September morning of that year, may have left his house on the south side of Brattle Street near the lane now called Appian Way, and ridden or walked out the sandy road to savor the clear air and to give himself the pleasure every man feels when he turns around and views his land. John Holmes' farm ran from the tidal marshes along the river back nearly to Fresh Pond; today no one can tell whether in 1657 there was any house on his acres, or whether the first structure rose a little later. Perhaps the precise date is not very important; a year or two, one way or another, is no great matter in this perspective of many lifetimes. Tonight our Society gratefully meets on John Holmes' land, in a house whose beginnings must go back almost, if not quite, to his day.

In our membership there are talented historiographers who may well, in the years to come, reconstruct from records still unsearched a complete and scholarly story of the house which one of our members, John Holmes' most recent successor in title, has generously in her will tendered as a home for our Society. This brief memoir pretends to no such authentic worth. It purports only to assemble, from published accounts and from some other sources, an outline story of this house and of its owners, through the three hundred or so years of its life, to the end that, as we meet to consider this gift, we may think of the men and women who have here spent their lives, and think of the stout frame, the strong walls, and the tight roof that sheltered our predecessors as tonight they shelter us.

John Holmes moved to Salem in 1685, selling the farm to Dr. Richard Hooper. We know little of that first Dr. Hooper; we are not even certain that he lived in the old house. He died in 1690, probably not

leaving his widow Elizabeth very well off, as she obtained a license to keep an inn three years later. But we should do her memory wrong to think of her as a New England Mistress Quickly. In pioneer times many householders entertained travelers much as people do

today when they run "Tourist Rests" to help earn a living. Elizabeth did well by her son Henry; he became a physician like his father, a famous medical man who lived in our old house. In the second decade of the eighteenth century he was physician to the dignified and eminent President of Harvard, John Leverett, and one of the best-known medical records of the time is a bill for services, sent by Dr. Henry Hooper to President Leverett's estate. In this document modesty struggles with pride of achievement; it includes such accounts of professional attention to President Leverett as (speaking of 20th April, 1722):

About wch time he come and complaines his is sick at his stoma; & has an asthma I advise him to ye use of the Elixr. ppn &c. by wch he is restored so I do no more for him as yett charge £2.0.0.

The 16th [July] he goes to ye mineral spring to take ye waters and ye 17th he comes and went into ye salt water. I go in with him to attend him & when he come out dress his leggs as above, and doe thus sundry times & ye 21st July 1722 I visitt at his house & dress his leggs leave plaster & spread for sundry dressings by which means he gitts well and for this my attendce &c I charge £1.0.0.

Why advice to use the Elixir was twice as valuable as all this personal attention, is not apparent after two and a third centuries. Perhaps the good doctor felt that sea-bathing with the President of Harvard was itself worth a good deal. The treatment, one notes a little sadly, was only a temporary palliative, for John Leverett died less than two years later, at what now seems the not advanced age of sixty-two.

By 1733 Dr. Hooper had moved to Newport, and in that year he sold our house to a Boston merchant named Cornelius Waldo. At least part of the time Mr. Waldo kept the house for rental, for it is advertised for rent in the Boston News Letter of 17 March 1742. In 1758, one year less than two centuries ago, Faith Waldo, widow of Cornelius, sold the house to its most notable colonial owner, Judge Joseph Lee of the Court of Common Pleas of Middlesex County. He was a prominent member of the prosperous and conservative families that later gave to Brattle Street the name of Tory Row. He was the son of a Boston shipbuilder and had graduated from Harvard in 1729. He may well have

bought the house to provide a home of suitable dignity for his young wife Rebecca Phips, whom he had married three years before. She was one of the three daughters of Lieutenant Governor Phips, each of whom married into one of the great families that lived along the road to Watertown. Elizabeth Phips, wife of John Vassall, Sr., lived during her short married life in the older Vassall house, on the south side of Brattle Street. The other Phips sister, Mary, wife of Richard Lechmere, lived for a decade in a house next easterly to Judge Lee's, which stood on what is now the northwest corner of Sparks and Brattle Streets.

Tradition ascribes substantial additions by Judge Lee to his new-old house — as was fitting for a judge, son-in-law of the Lieutenant Governor, a founder of Christ Church, and a close friend or relative by marriage of the families that lived in the other six great houses of Tory Row — the Brattle house; the two Vassall houses; the Lechmere and Ruggles houses; and the house of Thomas Oliver, later Lieutenant Governor, the house now known as Elmwood. Probably when Judge Lee bought his house in 1758 its roof was sloping, much like a "salt-box" roof, and he raised it to its present level to make room for more chambers on the

top floor. Some later member of our Society will perhaps have the skill in architectural history that the author of this paper needs and lacks, and will tell us exactly how the house looked before Judge Lee's improvements; will tell us whether the roof had its longer slope toward Brattle Street, or whether it sloped away toward the rear to shelter a summer kitchen where the present library surrounds the great fireplace. Be that as it may, the Judge improved the house as befitted his station and his bride.

The twenty years before the storm broke in 1774 must have been pleasant for the great folk who lived along Brattle Street. The last reminders of those good days were still evident in 1777/1778 when Baroness Riedesel wrote of them. She and her husband, commander of Burgoyne's German contingent, were assigned the Lechmere house for their quarters following the British surrender at Saratoga, and she told in her memoirs:

...they transferred us to Cambridge, where they lodged us in one of the most beautiful homes of the place, which had formerly been built by the wealth of the royalists. Never had I chanced upon such an agreeable situation. Seven families, who were connected with each other, partly by the ties of relationship and

partly by affection, had here farms, gardens, and magnificent houses, and not far off plantations of fruit. The owners of these were in the habit of daily meeting each other in the afternoons, now at the house of one, and now at another, and making themselves merry with music and the dance — living in prosperity, united and happy, until, alas! this ruinous war severed them, and left all their houses desolate except two, the proprietors of which were also soon obliged to flee.

Probably Joseph Lee was one of the latter two mentioned by the Baroness. The Judge was a Royalist but a widely respected man, and he escaped the bitterest of the anti-Tory demonstrations. In 1774, under the Regulating Acts of the British Parliament, he had been appointed one of the "Mandamus Councillors," thirty-six Loyalists designated by writ of the Crown to replace the former council of the colony. The mandamus councillors were immensely unpopular. The most conspicuous of them, Lieutenant Governor Oliver, of Elmwood, was besieged in his house by a crowd demanding his resignation. He gave it, but with a note of protest:

My house at Cambridge being surrounded by 4000 people, in compliance with their commands I sign my name, Thomas Oliver.

Judge Lee, too, was forced to resign as Councillor and took refuge in Boston. But his house was not confiscated and after a time he was allowed to return to it. Here he lived until 1802. One hopes that some of the gracious life he had enjoyed before the war returned to make his old age pleasant. At the time of his death the Columbian Centinel wrote of him:

He was distinguished in society by the manners of a gentleman and by the habits and principles of an honest and honorable man.... He was a good subject to his king, under whom he executed the duties of an important office with fidelity and honor, and with equal fidelity he adhered to the government of the United States since the Revolution.

During the first part of the nineteenth century Judge Lee's grand-niece, Mrs. Deborah Carpenter, lived in the house, but Mrs. Carpenter seems to have moved to an adjoining

house by the late 1840's, for of her at that period Susan Farley Treadwell Nichols has written:

The next year my old friend Mrs. Carpenter expressed a wish that we should hire her house next to the one she occupied, & after much demur on the part of my

husband against hiring such an old house, represented as the oldest in Cambridge (over two hundred years), he consented to have it examined by mechanics who pronounced it worth extensive repairs, & we hired it at a rent of \$125 on a lease of five years & commenced its renovation.

Thus in the year 1850 there came to our house the Nichols family, whose name appears on the bronze plate on the easterly gatepost. Mrs. Nichols continues her story of the work she and her husband undertook to prepare the house for their tenancy:

We found it difficult to procure mechanics willing to spoil their tools on the hard wood beams, the frame of English oak brought over here, & we were obliged to get a squad of workmen from Salem to conclude its preparations for occupancy. Our Cambridge friends were quite interested in our scheme, professing to welcome our return but thinking it a courageous thing to undertake to repair so thoroughly the old house. But as the mechanics said it would be a good house for at least 20 years, & the situation, trees &c were so attractive to us, we went hopefully on, amid many drawbacks. One, was the discovery that the cellar was too low for a Furnace & we should be compelled to use an Entry stove! This compulsion (with my many cares), I felt unwilling to accept & so suggested digging the cellar lower, & making a brick passage under the entry floor for the conveyance of a hot air pipe into the West parlor. This was found practicable & we have thoroughly enjoyed the comfort of the house all these years. At last we were able to procure a landscape paper, as appropriate to the W. parlor, & as the house looked very low for its breadth we purchased the discarded railing of the Chancel of St. Paul's Church, Boston, to serve as a façade giving more height. After the entire finish of the inside of the house at a cost of about \$1,000, [George] & I went to see Mrs. Carpenter with the proposition that we would thoroughly paint the outside of the house on condition that she would extend our lease of five years to six years which she gladly promised to do, for her own pride's sake.

Mr. George Nichols bought the house in 1860, and the Nichols family continued to occupy it for many years. In the early part of the present century it came into the ownership of Mr. and Mrs. Austin T. White, who made extensive changes and improvements, bringing the house to its present state. Mr. White was a grandson of Mr. and Mrs. George Nichols. In time Mr. and Mrs. William Emerson came to the house as tenants of Mr. White, and in 1923 negotiations were concluded for the sale of the premises to Mrs. Emerson. At this time Mr. White wrote to Mr. Emerson, stipulating "...that you will maintain the present or a similar bronze tablet on the gate post. I think you will understand that

I have a strong sentiment about the house in which I was born and which my family lived in for three generations."

In 1925 Mr. White again wrote about the tablet, this time to Mrs. Emerson at 159 Brattle Street; one gathers that some question had arisen as to the authenticity of the information on the gateposts:

Since getting your letter I have been trying to recall the various sources of information from which this tablet was made up. I believe it was mainly from a local history of Cambridge. At the time I was satisfied as to its general accuracy and have no doubt that the main facts are correct as to the approximate dates of its erection and remodelling. I remember at the time that the date of its erection in 1660 approximately coincided with what my grandmother had told me of its age...

If I remember correctly it was impossible to find the name of the original builder or even a correct list of the various owners, because the house passed through many hands, having, I believe, been in our family longer than any other.

...[L]ike all houses that have passed through many hands...there are necessarily certain portions of its history which are obscure.

I went to considerable pains in placing this tablet on the post and consequently it formed part of the agreement for sale with Mr. Emerson that this or a similar tablet should be maintained by you, as you will see by the enclosed correspondence. I should be glad therefore to see the text of the new tablet before it is cast in case you think the information on the present one is inadequate.

I had a particular reason for making this condition as part of the sale, because some Cambridge Historical Society pestered me to allow them to put a new tablet in its place. I cannot, now, recollect exactly what alterations they wished to make, but I did not approve of them. As I had considerable sentiment about the house, I should have been unwilling to sell it without the understanding that the original tablet or one essentially the same be maintained.

There are now two tablets, one on each gatepost. The westerly one reads (with an error in the dates given for Joseph Lee!):

JOHN HOLMES

about1660

RICHARD HOOPER

1685

CORNELIUS WALDO

1733

JUDGE JOSEPH LEE

1758-1860

70

The easterly tablet reads:

NICHOLS HOUSE

BUILT ABOUT 1660

REMODELLED

ABOUT

1760

The house that Francis White Emerson devised to our Society has grown and changed, as living creatures do, through its long life, and today it would be hard to say with confidence which features date from the seventeenth century. The great central chimney is undoubtedly one of the oldest surviving parts; it is said to have been laid with clay and pounded oystershells. The chimney is the core of the house; its spaciousness can be gathered from the projecting brick footholds intended to serve as steps, visible from inside the great fireplace in the present library, by which a man determined to reach the top and careless of soot on his clothing, could, perhaps to sweep the great stack, climb up inside the chimney to the top. The front door and its magnificent lock-box probably date back to 1720 — they may have been paid for with some of the fees earned by Dr. Henry Hooper in caring for his illustrious academic patient. The west-parlor paneling dates from the same time. The window seats and shutters were probably installed by Judge Lee about 1760; a pleasant, and not improbable, fancy can picture a gay evening in that year, the rooms lit with many candles, and the house filled with guests, invited by Judge and Mrs. Lee to admire the new paneling, and to celebrate the victory on September 8 over the French at Montreal that made the British masters of Canada.

As Mrs. Nichols' memoirs suggest, heating the house in cold weather must have been a serious problem in the first two centuries of its life, and this may account for double walls at the east end, and at the west end as well, save for their elimination in the west parlor. This latter change may be one made by Judge Lee in his improvements of about 1760, when he felt the need of more space.

Today's visitor may first be struck by the scenic wallpaper in the west parlor and in the west chamber over it. The paper in the west parlor seems to be the work of the French designer, Joseph Dufour, who was producing much-sought-after landscape paper about 1816-1829. The

west-parlor paper is probably of the design known as "Rives du Bosphore"; the turbaned Pacha, the scimitared soldier, the camel, the distant minarets, the caique with a lateen sail all suggest an idealized picture of Constantinople, drawn by someone who had heard the city enthusiastically described but had never been there. This was a famous paper, so rare that there are still preserved some records of purchasers of sets. One was bought for a house in Montpelier, Vermont, in honor of Lafayette's visit; one was bought for the Monroe Tavern, in Lexington; one was bought for 58 Chestnut Street in Boston. Another set was ordered by a Colonel Lee of Marblehead — a coincidence of names that sets one to wondering.

Dufour's paper was so highly valued, a century and more ago, that it was sometimes sold by the owner of the house where it was first used, and was removed to a new location. This may account for the statement made by Mrs. Nichols about 1850 that she had found appropriate landscape paper for the west parlor.

The paper in the west chamber, on the second floor, seems also to be the work of Dufour of Paris. It is the "Bay of Naples" design, as well known as the paper showing the shores of the idealized Bosphorus. The installation of the "Bay of Naples" in the west chamber may have occurred much later than that of the Rives du Bosphore; it may, indeed, have been put on in the present century, when Joseph Everett Chandler, distinguished architect of forty years ago, was making one of the many general improvements of the house that have, through the years, brought it to its present beauty. The story of the various wallpapers in our house would furnish abundant material for a separate future essay to be read before a meeting of our Society. There is one, and possibly there are two layers of wallpaper under the Rives du Bosphore; the immediately underlying paper, glimpsed where the top-layer is loose at one spot, appears possibly to date from the end of the eighteenth century. There are two layers in the west chamber; the underlying paper there is not now identified.

The library, at the rear of the west chamber and the dining-room, occupies the space where a summer kitchen may have been in Judge Lee's time. The domed oven in the fireplace is probably an original part of that installation; the other oven may be a comparatively recent decorative addition. The present library is the work of Mr. Chandler, installed

while the house was the property of Mr. White. The brick floor dates from that improvement, but was laid to accord with traces of a much earlier brick floor, disclosed when Mr. Chandler's work was in progress. The present state of the great fireplace is again due to the same architect, who made an effort to recreate the general atmosphere of past centuries rather than to restore the summer kitchen exactly as it must have been in Dr. Hooper's day.

There are many other features of our house that deserve long study, and careful, scholarly description, that neither time nor talent allows in these pages. One thing is sure, and needs only the memory of a third of a century: the old house is a reminder of a goodly heritage and a source of reassurance to the visitor who, seeing it for the first time, is reminded that here men long before us worked and hoped and endured, and that we can do as much. I remember a student of thirty-five years ago who used to put down his books late on autumn afternoons and walk out past our house, and stop to read the bronze plaques that tell of its past, and then go on, somehow rested and ready for more work and hope. The men and women who, generation after generation, built this house probably did not think of themselves as purposefully doing some good thing for generations to come; but no one builds a house for today only, and this one is much like a history of three centuries, written slowly, in successive volumes. Of our house can well be said what Henry Sienkiewicz, annalist of his country's struggles, wrote when he laid down his pen at the end of his historical trilogy — that it was made through many years, and with no little toil, for the strengthening of hearts.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

The Cambridge Tribune, December 30, 1916, Second Part, pp. 9 and 10,

"*The Lee-Nichols House.*"

"*The Judge Joseph Lee House, Cambridge, Massachusetts,*" by Joseph Everett

Chandler, 21 House Beautiful 108, February, 1922.

Lucius R. Paige, History of Cambridge (1877), p. 598. Statement of medical services, Dr. Henry Hooper to estate of President John Leverett of Harvard. Baroness Fredericka von M. Riedesel, Letters and Journals, pp. 139, 140ff. Account of the seven great families in Cambridge, pre-1774.

Alice Westgate Hildreth, "Notes by the Way" (Mimeo graphed, 1944).

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Alice Westgate Hildreth and Louise Fletcher Chase, "Notes by the Way" (Mimeo graph, 1946).

Printed Sheet "Open Houses in Cambridge" (May 18, 1946). Notes on various Cambridge houses, including 159 Brattle Street, for League of Women Voters tours.

"The Judge Joseph Lee House" (Mimeo graphed, 1 sheet, unsigned).

Susan Farley Treadwell Nichols (1810-1892), extract from Reminiscences. 2 pages and 1 of "Notes." Set of carbon copies. Refers to pages of original, not known (September, 1957), in Harvard Library.

M. M. Vignales. Card in large type, dated 6/41. Describes wallpaper, history of house in brief, including data on Cornelius Waldo as slave-trader.

LETTERS

Austin White to Wm. Emerson, December 14, 1923 (Copy).

Wm. Emerson to Austin T. White, December 18, 1923 (Copy).

Joseph Lee to Mrs. Emerson, March 13, 1925.

Austin T. White to Mrs. Wm. Emerson, May 8, 1925.

M. Joseph Kenney (George V. Steel) to Mrs. Wm. Emerson, July 21, 1938.

Austin T. White to Mrs. Emerson, June 30, 1941.

Angus MacDonald & Sons to Mrs. Wm. Emerson, May 3, 1948.

Mrs. Clifford A. Waterhouse to Mrs. Wm. L. Payson, August 1, 1957. (Letter

concerning paper.)

Mrs. Henry Dubois Tudor to Mrs. Anna D. Holland, August, 1957.

Mrs. Anna D. Holland to A. E. Sutherland, August 15, 1957.

Memorandum, Conference, September, 1957, Mrs. Payson and Mrs. Clifford Ross.

Concerning dates of interior features

Assorted photographs and negatives.

Drawing, reproducing plan, recorded in Book 810, pag. 403, with deed.

*The publications, letters, and other papers here referred to are in the archives
of the Society at 159 Brattle Street.*

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*THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON: HIS ANTE-BELLUM YEARS**

BY TILDEN G. EDELSTEIN

Read April 22, 1958

IN an essay entitled "The Colonel's Quality," Professor Bliss Perry has suggested that the primary importance of Thomas Wentworth Higginson eventually will be recognized to lie in his contributions to American Literature. While it is indeed correct that Higginson, in his later years, considered himself a writer and critic, and was acknowledged as such by his contemporaries (he was elected to a proposed American Academy of Immortals), this was not the case during the first forty-five years of his life. For during the initial half of his long and eventful life much of his time was spent in the cause of social reform. Only peripherally was Higginson a literary man. It is true that he wrote some poetry and contributed some articles to ante-bellum periodicals, but even his poems and his essays were largely focused on reform and were largely didactic in tone and content. His energies as a speaker, writer, and activist were mainly utilized to further liberal religion, public education, woman's rights, temperance, and the abolition of slavery. Though significantly involved in the whole spectrum of reform causes, abolitionism, as for his contemporaries, became of primary importance to Higginson. Unlike most of his contemporaries, however, his abolitionism assumed a militancy which did not stop at verbal pejoration. Less successful than Wendell Phillips as a stirring orator, and less known than William Lloyd Garrison as an impassioned journalist, Higginson had no peer among the abolitionists in combining oratory, journalism, and overt militancy. No abolitionist called for, and participated in, physical action to the degree he did. If there has been any little justification, in our own day, for not fully recognizing Higginson's contribution to literature, there is far

*Manuscripts from the following institutions have been used: Houghton Library, Harvard University; Harvard University Archives; Newburyport Public Library; First Religious Society at Newburyport; American

less reason for not recognizing the importance of Higginson as a reformer — especially as an abolitionist reformer.

Born in 1823, the tenth and last child of Louisa and Stephen Higginson, Jr., Thomas Wentworth joined the distinguished line of New England Higginsons. Francis Higginson had been one of the first ministers in the Massachusetts Bay Colony; Stephen Higginson, the boy's grandfather, was renowned as a leading merchant and outspoken political figure during America's Revolutionary era. Young Higginson's father, under President John Kirkland, was steward at Harvard, was instrumental in the expansion of Harvard's Divinity School, and was active in the civic affairs of Cambridge. It was he who recommended that more trees be planted in the Harvard yard, a project for beautification which was almost thwarted when one of the college officials allowed his Yankee frugality to get out of hand by insisting, "We have no money to bestow on ornaments." But Stephen Higginson, Jr., persevered and the trees were planted. His youngest son, Wentworth, would have to stand up against even more formidable and widespread opposition to his own efforts at moral beautification.

It appears there was never much money available in the Cambridge household into which Wentworth had been born. A Harvard steward did not receive high wages, but Stephen Higginson, Jr., felt compelled to maintain his large family and himself in a style proper to a nineteenth century gentleman. He contributed generously to charity despite his small income, and tended to view his position as steward as similar in more than name to the duties assumed by those men who administered the great English landed estates. The cost of maintaining a gentlemanly appearance, however, did not cause any real economic hardship during his son's boyhood. Wentworth's Cambridge youth, on the contrary, seems to have been filled with much leisure. The personal fortitude of Louisa Higginson, his mother, helped the family through any difficult times. Her influence was especially important to her youngest son Wentworth, for Stephen Higginson, Jr., died when his son was not yet eleven years old.

Emerson, it is said, always felt the presence of historical ghosts in the streets of Cambridge. One might try to slay some of these ghosts, as Emerson had attempted to do in his famous Divinity School Address, but still Harvard and Cambridge remained a congenial place for them.

Young Higginson, as a Cambridge boy, was also confronted by the many ghosts of Cambridge history, and he remained convinced that the dramatic presence of the historical past throughout his youth forced upon him a feeling for the ideals of American life. But ghosts by definition are amorphous, and their exact identities are usually ambiguous. Besides, to decide which ghosts are deserving of the most veneration depends more on things of this world. Nevertheless, to be a Cambridge boy, and a Higginson, meant that the

American Revolution could be recalled with relative ease — the Hartford Convention with less clarity — and that civic duty constituted an essential part of the values imbued by family training. Higginson's Harvard undergraduate years also did much to develop and shape a personality which would help move him into some of the great events of the ante-bellum years.

At the early age of thirteen Wentworth joined the class of 1841. He was the youngest of the entering freshmen and was perhaps the tallest. Close to six feet in height, extremely thin, and somewhat awkward in appearance, he eagerly helped to launch Harvard on her third century of existence. Harvard was different in 1837 from the Harvard which Higginson's older brothers had attended. Boston-Concord Transcendentalism, though under attack, was attracting attention and gaining some favor among students and faculty. And while the critics of the Transcendentalists might accuse them of a certain headiness, this headiness could not be attributed to any affinity for alcohol. For both liberal and conservative had been touched by the temperance crusade. At this time, one elderly commentator had even remarked, but perhaps with some exaggeration, that he had attended his first Harvard Commencement at which no student or visitor was at all inebriated. For Higginson, throughout his life, temperance was to be a prerequisite for judging personal character; Transcendentalism was to provide a frame of reference with which to view society.

At Harvard, Higginson pursued studies under Henry Longfellow, Carl Beck, Benjamin Peirce, Cornelius Felton, Levi Hedge, and Edward Tyrell Channing. He listened, with varying amounts of attention, to the Unitarian sermons of the Wares, of John G. Palfrey, and of James Walker. As a student of Professor E. T. Channing, a man who exerted a lasting influence on Higginson's style of writing and manner of speaking, the boy wrote that the world too often "only judges from appear-

ances. But a worthy man in [his] own heart...knows that he has done his duty and will be enabled...to bear his loss of reputation." In another undergraduate essay, which anticipated his consistent sympathy with immigration to America, Wentworth argued that people too often ridicule foreigners for "any departure from the customs of their own nation." In his junior year he was given the opportunity to exercise his oratorical skills at the annual Harvard Exhibition performance; equality as a distinctive American ideal was the topic of his public address. The young speaker admitted afterwards that he had frequently stumbled over words in the course of the talk because he had made too much effort to appear relaxed and to scan the faces of his audience to determine who was listening to him. A year later his graduation part showed marked improvement over that previous bit of oratory, though one critical spectator judged the address "well delivered [but] flighty."

As a Harvard undergraduate Higginson was a conscientious and successful student, but not popular with his classmates. Yet things extra-curricula, though limited in number, were appealing to him. He often attended an undergraduate debating club where important topics of the day were oratorically treated. Debated were such controversial subjects as capital punishment, imprisonment for debt, the comparative treatment of Negroes and Indians, and the relative merits of dueling. One debate, concerning abolitionism, almost never began for fear of offending Southern students, but respect for Southern feelings was waning, so the debate finally took place.

By no means, however, was Higginson, the teen-ager, only serious. In his diary are ample illustrations of light-hearted fun and youthful mischievousness. To be the youngest child in a large family and to lose his father just before adolescence did affect his behavior. Yet in a day when the dictum "Those now in town be directed to leave the college and the town of Cambridge" was not infrequently leveled at some erring undergraduate, Wentworth succeeded in staying out of the long-armed reach of President Josiah Quincy. He did partake, at least once, in the traditional fling around the "rebellion tree" during a student uprising against Charles Wheeler, who had succeeded Jones Very as Greek Instructor. But both Wheeler and Higginson survived this bit of discontent. At another time Wentworth readied himself to defend the yard against an impending assault from its perpetual rivals, the Cambridge

"townies." But Higginson was by no means conspicuous among the many Harvard pranksters and malcontents who later became famous and who have been so colorfully described by the various chroniclers of the college.

Midway in his senior year, during midsemester vacation, Higginson toured south to Virginia. It was his first visit to the South. Earlier, as the son of the steward, he had met some Southerners, but Harvard, except for the Law School, was populated essentially only with Northerners, and most of these Northerners were New Englanders by birth. The older law students he met impressed him as being either generally uncouth, or specifically too willing to participate in unchivalrous flirtation with the young women of Cambridge. One prominent classmate was a Southerner, but had an air of obnoxious affectation about him and also was too ready to imbibe alcohol for Higginson to like him. Given even this sketchy personal experience, plus the presence of anti-slavery agitation in New England for at least the last decade, one might expect Higginson to be highly critical of the South during his trip. The contrary, however, was true. Though expressing discomfort at the menial position of the Negroes in the Northern city of Philadelphia, Higginson was remarkably sympathetic to Southern conditions. In a letter written to a classmate back home, he said, "But for the colour of the few visible domestics...I see nothing...to remind me that I am south of the Potomac. I never saw a more industrious or religious household, never one which less resembled the luxury, idleness, dissoluteness..." described by some fellow classmates. This favorable view was gradually transformed in his own mind during the 1840's. Higginson's criticism of slavery and of the South became a major factor in his thought and in his way of life well before Webster delivered his Compromise speech of the seventh of March, 1850.

Upon being graduated second in his class and being elected to Phi Beta Kappa, the seventeen-and-a-half year old Higginson became a teacher near home, at a Jamaica Plains day school for boys. He heartily disliked the job, but was able to find some solace in having sufficient time to continue his reading. He was excited by Carlyle, Coleridge, Dickens, and Hawthorne, as well as by some of the German authors who had gained such great popularity in American intellectual circles.

The young teacher himself wrote prolifically in his diaries. One ex-

cerpt does give some indication of the zeal he exhibited during the later, more militant phase of his life.

With others I rushed to the pump & tried to get to the fire through the house. ... I was accordingly up on the 2nd ladder — a line of buckets having been formed — I got excited directly . . . staid on the ladder . . . then inside the house, working like a horse. I worked furiously all the time & my excitement support[ed] me through fatigue . . . tremendous labour . . . the thorough soaking [and] the violent blows from empty buckets. Oh it was glorious.

Fire-fighting adventures were not enough, however, to make the life of a private-school teacher attractive, and so Higginson tried tutoring temporarily the children of his Brookline cousin, the humanitarian-minded Stephen H. Perkins. Here he listened and talked with some of the leading liberal Unitarian ministers of the day like James Freeman Clarke and William Henry Channing. He also met Dr. Walter Channing's daughter and his own future wife, Mary Elizabeth Channing, who herself was much interested in reform and in liberal religion. Journeys to Elizabeth Peabody's Boston book shop not only meant the enlargement of his library, but also further stimulated his interest in Boston-Concord Transcendentalism and in its magazine, the Dial. The need in American life for a passionate kind of intellectualism was a theme he derived from his reading. Sometimes, while in Boston, he heard the moving anti-slavery oratory of Wendell Phillips and it too left him much impressed. By 1844 Higginson wrote, "I have pretty much concluded that a consistent abolitionist...must choose between the Liberal Party and the Disunion Party. I don't like the dilemma at all, but I fear I must come to it."

His contacts and experiences in Brookline helped move him to return to Cambridge to study independently without matriculating at Harvard. In 1844, a year later, he entered the Harvard Divinity School, but withdrew after one year. Commenting on one of the discussions, he wrote in his notebook, "Unsatisfactory, more so than any we had before. Nothing new brought out...words, words, words."

The words of a petition circulated around Cambridge, which opposed the annexation of Texas to the United States, did have greater meaning to Higginson. With the outbreak of the Mexican War a few months later, he wished Massachusetts would have the courage "to refuse her quota" of troops. He hoped she would defy Secretary of War William

Marcy's proclamation to Governor George Briggs, which stated, "Whatever may be the difference of opinion as to the origin or necessity of a war, the constitutional authorities of the country have declared war with a foreign country exists." Higginson and some of his contemporaries viewed this war as a Southern plot to extend slavery; J. G. Palfrey, formerly dean at the Divinity School, agreed, and soon entered politics in the role of a "conscience Whig." Anti-slavery meetings began to grow larger, and Higginson was seen at them with greater frequency than previously. At one of these meetings, describing the reception to a speech delivered by a Northern Negro woman, he depicted the audience's appreciation as "a truly beautiful and noble scene, one which opens to one's view the prospect of a Future where Human Brotherhood shall be a reality of daily life, & honour & respect be given where they were due." His conception of a better world focused more and more on the

anti-slavery issue, and his life goals moved increasingly toward a desire to participate in the "great period of commencing Reconstruction."

Befriended by a new group of divinity students, and having conceived of the Divinity School as growing more liberal, Higginson felt encouraged to return to ministerial training in September, 1846. He did so with increased determination. To a former graduate of the school he wrote, "Oh Sam, we can do something to help this poor world along, if we keep true to ourselves. [If I could preach] to a congregation like Theodore Parker['s in size and composition] I should feel as if every sermon were as good as a miracle."

In July, 1847, Higginson was graduated and preached a Visitation sermon which stressed the clergy's obligation to take up the cause of reform. During the following September he was ordained, though not yet twenty-four years old, as minister of the First Religious Society at Newburyport, Massachusetts. At the ordination by Higginson's invitation, W. H. Channing, J. F. Clarke, and T. T. Stone — probably the three most liberal New England Unitarian ministers with the exception of Parker — thundered against societal abuses from the high-perched pulpit of this Newburyport church. The editor of the conservative Newburyport Daily Herald listened, and in return sounded a warning. The new minister, said he, has "radical and imaginative notions"; man has as much chance, he argued, to alter a God-governed world as a farmer has who wants to control the weather. But Higginson believed that past

men had made significant changes in the world and that other men could do so in the future. "I have no sort of doubt," said the new minister, "of its being my mission — in some form or another — that is speaking to men, in the pulpit or elsewhere."

Speaking to men soon meant preaching on behalf of liberal religion, temperance, woman's rights, peace, and anti-slavery. The voices of others were also brought to the ears of his congregation. He surprised and shocked his listeners one Sunday morning by inviting without any previous announcement the formidable Theodore Parker. Higginson was directly responsible, furthermore, for summoning Ralph Waldo Emerson to address the local Lyceum. And to many men of that day, Parker and Emerson were the twin apostles of atheism and anarchy.

Political issues soon attracted the Reverend Mr. Higginson's active interest. With Martin Van Buren as the Free Soil presidential nominee against the Whig Zachary Taylor and the Democrat Lewis Cass, the minister electioneered for Van Buren and for the local congressional Free Soiler. When the Whigs triumphed and some of the leading men of the First Religious Society helped finance a torchlight parade through the streets of Newburyport, Higginson reminded his parishioners that "torches might turn night into day...but never moral darkness into light...." A few weeks later, on Thanksgiving morning, members of the church settled in their pews to hear the minister's special Thanksgiving sermon. He began by once again chiding them about the recent Taylor victory, and went on to assert that the president-elect was a slaveholder, and that "slavery or no slavery, consistency or inconsistency, honor or dishonor, that spirit in the Northern people which 'lives by bread alone' [had] secured its PROTECTIVE TARIFF." To charge most of his congregation with having supported a slaveholder for president because of self-interest and

a desire to procure a tariff for monetary gain could have hardly been a pleasant appetizer for many Newburyport Thanksgiving dinners.

A few more such conflicts between minister and congregation, evidenced by decreasing church attendance, soon made it clear to Higginson that he was no longer wanted as minister. So he officially resigned in 1849, having labored two years at the Newburyport helm. Strongly had he felt that the words he had spoken were the truth, and with greater frequency would he be outspoken for what he deemed was

God's truth, and act firmly upon what he thought was God's conception of right. The Newburyport Daily Evening Union, though against abolitionist immediacy, lamented the end of Higginson's ministership because it saw in this termination a violation of free speech. The editor facetiously suggested that a committee of public safety be set up to censor, in advance, the sermons of future ministers.

Remaining in the Newburyport area for another three years, Higginson continued to be active in community affairs. He delivered Sunday evening talks and Lyceum lectures; and he helped to raise money for, and to organize and teach, a free evening school for those townsmen over fifteen years of age who were unable to read or write. For the most part, factory laborers, both male and female, attended these classes.

On the seventh of March, 1850, Senator Daniel Webster delivered his plea for compromise between North and South. Webster with his uncompromising words against the "strange enthusiasm" of the abolitionists relinquished his political leadership of much intellectual opinion. To Higginson, if compromise meant sanctioning slavery and the mandatory return of slaves to their masters, then compromise really meant that one side asserted, "Two plus two equals six," whereupon the other side compromised and agreed that two plus two equals five. One doesn't compromise, he argued, with the fact that slavery is a sin. Higginson's neighbor, John Greenleaf Whittier, concurred. "My door is open," he said, "to the oppressed from Austria or South Carolina." With final passage, in September, 1850, of the Fugitive Slave Bill, Higginson, in a daily column which he had just begun in the Newburyport Union, exclaimed, "We pledge ourselves...never to cease from agitation until that law be not only repealed, but replaced by another as vigorous for freedom as this for slavery...." Here was a vow which he abided by with all his energy.

It was with reluctance that the parishless minister accepted a month later the Free Soil nomination for Congress. His words had varied from advocacy of political agitation to advocacy of a Garrisonian brand of disunion. But the opportunity to speak to a new audience as a political office seeker was too filled with possibilities for him to pass up. Said he, "If you want someone to elect, you had better look elsewhere — but if you want someone to stand and be shot at, it will be so." On the way

down to defeat, to be sure, verbal bullets were also fired from the Higginson arsenal. Defeat was neither surprising nor inglorious. He aired his anti-slavery views in the stump speeches he delivered during the election campaign.

The first actual experience Higginson had with the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Bill occurred at Boston in April, 1851. Thomas Sims, an escaped Georgia slave, had been captured and placed under arrest. It was now the law that a runaway slave had to be returned to his master with the greatest possible haste. But Higginson asked himself, and all who would listen to him, "Is it not a crime to permit a fellow being to be carried into slavery...? Can there be any moral obligation to commit a crime?" Yes, it was a crime, and no, there could be no such moral obligation, answered the Vigilance Committee, which had been set up to meet such questions. The committee members — and Higginson was one of them — were certain there was a law higher than man-made law which forbade sanctioning slavery. Samuel E. Sewall, Robert Rantoul, Jr., and Richard Henry Dana, Jr., volunteered their legal services in defence of Sims. The law enforcement authorities, with the memory of the successful escape from Boston of the captured slave Shadrach a month earlier, were more fearful of another such incident than they were of the court giving Sims his freedom. A large contingent of policemen was placed at the entrances to the Court House; four feet off the ground, completely surrounding the building, was draped a heavy iron chain. Higginson still hoped to free Sims.

His plan was to capture, in pirate fashion, the ship Acorn in which Sims was expected to be carried back to Georgia. Higginson's other plan was to place mattresses near the Court House, during the darkness of night, and by means of a prearranged agreement with Sims — through a liaison — have the Negro jump from the top story of the building onto the mattresses, at which point he would be met by a carriage and whisked off to Canada. Neither plan could be put into action. It was uncertain whether the Acorn would be the transporting ship for Sims; and before the mattress plan could be put in motion the authorities installed bars in the windows of the room in which Sims was being held.

The continual secret meetings and messages required during the Sims incident moved Higginson to reflect on the paradox of it all. "It is so strange," he mused, "to find one's self outside of established insti-

tutions; to be obliged to lower one's voice and conceal one's purpose; to see law and order, police and military, on the wrong side, and find good citizenship a sin and bad citizenship a duty."

Sims arrived back in Savannah, Georgia, on April 19. Theodore Parker reminded his audience that this date was, ironically, the same day on which in 1775 the "shot heard round the world" was fired. Charles Sumner also understood. To a leading anti-slavery man in Congress, he wrote, "The prosecutions here in Boston will keep . . . [anti-slavery sentiment] before our public." By now Higginson had come to equate the South with sin and slavery, with thriftlessness and moral degeneracy. His tour of part of the South while a Harvard undergraduate had occurred a decade earlier, but things had changed in the South since that time. And perhaps what was more important, his own views had changed. While many Southerners who were not even slaveholders defended slavery as the Southern way of life, many Northerners, like Higginson, came to view the South as both alien and inferior

to the North. In anti-slavery speeches Higginson began to talk of his undergraduate Southern visit as the time he was irrefutably convinced of the horrors of slavery and of life in the South.

Before planning any further anti-slavery activities, Higginson assumed, in 1852, ministerial duties at the Free Church of Worcester, a Parkerite church that opposed certain conservative aspects of New England Unitarianism. The Free Church had the largest Protestant congregation in Worcester, a congregation which at times, according to Higginson, seemed to be more radical than he wished to be. Congregation and minister mutually stimulated each other. Boston had always been the arch-rival of Worcester, and Higginson's new townsmen prided themselves in being heirs to the legacy of western Massachusetts' radicalism. The minister bought a home in town, and it became a substation on the Underground Railroad; his house and his hospitality provided a stopping-off place for slaves fleeing to Canada.

At the end of May, 1854, Higginson was summoned to Boston by the Vigilance Committee in response to the seizure of the fugitive slave Anthony Burns. Passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was imminent and there was much emotion exhibited by even those previously cool Bostonians. The committee held continual meetings, and prominent at these meetings was the Worcester minister. Force, he insisted, was the

only way the captured slave could be freed. Dana once again prepared a legal defence, as he had done for the Sims case. But Higginson and some of his Worcester men made their own sort of preparations. In the Higginson Collection at Harvard's Houghton Library there is a receipt for the purchase of one dozen hatchets sold to a Mr. Higgins at a 5 per cent discount. Guns and knives were also collected by the Worcester men. On the damp evening of May 26, Thomas Wentworth Higginson put his large black umbrella aside and led a group of men to a direct assault on the Court House where Burns was jailed. The Reverend Mr. Higginson, Harvard Phi Beta Kappa, master of seven languages, justifiably considered kindly, urbane, and charming by those who knew him, now had hold of a battering ram. The door was forced open and Higginson, with a few others, stormed in, but were met by a barrage of clubs and cutlasses wielded by the Court House guards. In the course of the melee one guard was killed and Higginson had his chin gashed by a sword, his head clubbed violently. Reinforcements failed to arrive in aid of the attacking band, so the charge was beaten back. But Higginson, by this act, believed he had irrevocably divorced himself from those well-meaning anti-slavery sympathizers who were mostly indignant umbrella wavers and furious cane shakers. Umbrella waving and cane shaking were flailing the air; abuses, in his opinion, were taking place on the solid ground of Massachusetts.

With the attack repulsed, federal troops moved into Court House Square. The adjoining streets were roped off, and the mayor called for the state militia. Inside the Court House, Dana spent four hours summing up the case for the defence, but to no avail. Burns would be sent back into slavery. In preparation for the march of the prisoner to Boston's Long Wharf, a six-pound cannon was dispatched from Charlestown, set up in the square, and pointed toward the crowd. The entire Boston Police force was pressed into duty, an act which moved the Chief of Police to resign in protest against the use of local manpower and local funds to enforce federal law by returning a man to slavery. Surrounded by a force of heavily

armed guards, the captured fugitive slave — dressed in the new suit which the marshall and other special officers had purchased for him — was slowly marched to the docks. Some two thousand federal, state, and city forces participated in the rendition of Anthony Burns. On June fourth Higginson preached a sermon, "Massachusetts in

Mourning," to his sympathetic Worcester congregation. It was probably the most powerful sermon he ever delivered. Somberly and slowly he intoned, "Today is, or should be to every congregation in Massachusetts, a day of funeral service — we are all mourners." His voice grew louder and more excited as he defended the use of arms "if men array force against freedom." He continued:

I have lost the dream that ours is a land of peace and order. I have looked thoroughly through our "Fourth of July" and seen its hollowness and I advise you to ... revoke [the] appropriation for its celebration...and only toll the bells in all the churches, and hang the streets in black.

The way to promote Free Soil is to have your own soil free...peaceably if you can; forcibly if you must....No longer conceal Fugitives and help them on, but show them and defend them. Let the Underground Railroad stop here...! Hear O Richmond! and give ear O Carolina! henceforth Worcester is Canada to the slave.

Burns was gone, but once again defeat was to be turned into a sort of victory by gaining new supporters, many of whom had been opposed or apathetic to the anti-slavery cause.

With the final passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill some New Englanders were encouraged to embark for Kansas. Down at the Boston railroad station, amidst the hubbub of goodbyes, the departing emigrants and their well-wishers sang words indicating that reforming zeal had been successfully linked to a heroically conceived past.

We cross the prairies, of old

The Pilgrims crossed the sea,

To make the West, as they the East,

The Homestead of the free.

It took more than zealous words to make Kansas free. Not peaceful settlement, but bloodshed soon became part of territorial life. Higginson, in 1856, as an agent for the New England Emigrant Aid Society made two trips into this chaotic area. Through public speeches he encouraged the movement of free settlers to Kansas, and acted as overseer for the transportation of food, clothing, and Sharps rifles. He himself traveled armed. Kansas furnished an experience which further enforced his belief that the North and the South were irreconcilable. This view was expressed by his leadership of the Worcester Disunion Convention.

Said Higginson, "No sir! disunion is not a desire, merely; it is a destiny. It is in vain to talk of difficulties in effecting the process. The laws of human nature are taking care of these difficulties very rapidly."

"Bleeding Kansas" subsequently assumed even greater importance for Higginson and for the Union. For out of Kansas came John Brown and his four sons, in search of guns, ammunition and money. And in search of more anti-slavery action. Higginson became a member of the "secret six," a group of prominent Northerners who were in intimate contact with Brown and who led the fund-raising drive in his support. More than the others, did Higginson think Brown the right man for the hour. In the minister's opinion, Osawatomie Brown, the man with the piercing eyes, could strike a blow against slavery. Such a blow would either immediately end slavery by the spread of slave insurrection all through the South, or it would at least force the political parties to face the issue of abolitionism squarely. The other five members of the conspiratorial group — Samuel Howe, George Stearns, Gerrit Smith, Frank Sanborn, and Theodore Parker — had been outspoken, like Higginson, in behalf of abolitionism, yet John Brown was, to these five men, even more uncontrollably fanatic than the men they had heretofore met. Nevertheless, with Higginson on his side, Brown obtained the necessary backing from the "secret six." Assembling close to a thousand pikes to be used by those insurrectionary slaves, plus two hundred revolvers and two hundred rifles, John Brown plunged inside the South on October 16, 1859.

The exploit at Harper's Ferry resulted in overwhelming defeat; fifteen people were killed and John Brown was taken prisoner. Upon Brown's capture and the seizure of many of his private letters, some of the "secret six" fled the country. One member suffered a temporary breakdown and sought refuge at a mental hospital. In John Brown's Body, Stephen Vincent Benét wrote:

Only the tough, swart-minded Higginson

Kept a grim decency, would not deny.

And it is true that Higginson stood his ground and even came to the defence of Brown, helped raise money to pay the cost of legal counsel, carefully planned for the escape of Brown, and considered a plan to kidnap Virginia's Governor, Henry Wise. Brown was executed and

Governor Wise was not kidnaped, but the sectional animosity which had been growing for so long reached a grand crescendo with the John Brown raid. The already difficult efforts at reconciling North and South became even more difficult.

In April of 1861 Fort Sumter was fired upon and the great and terrible Civil War had begun. A year later Higginson received his commission. He wrote to James T. Fields, editor of the Atlantic Monthly, "In a few days I expect to go to Beaufort, S. C., to take command of a black regiment which I would rather do than anything else in the world...." Higginson had now officially changed titles. The Reverend Mr. Higginson had become Colonel Higginson. The Colonel would head the first freed slave regiment in the Union Army. Only Higginson, among those famous Massachusetts abolitionists like Phillips, Garrison, Parker, and Sumner, had clearly succeeded in both speaking and fighting for the anti-slavery cause. No

longer, as in the days of the Sims case, would good citizenship have to be a sin and bad citizenship a duty. Loyalty to country and allegiance to liberty, for Higginson, had finally ceased to be opposing concepts. He had now brought to fruition, in dramatic fashion, an alliance between the life of the mind and the life of the body. In largely theoretical terms the necessity for such a union had been posed in America by Boston-Concord Transcendentalism. It had been accomplished in Europe by some of the intellectual revolutionaries of 1848.

For Higginson, a descendant of Francis Higginson, the minister, and Stephen Higginson, the statesman, Christian and democratic ideals could only be made real by social action and personal responsibility. His own personality — his temperament, his training, and his subsequent needs — interacting with the great historical forces of the ante-bellum years, produced a man both intrinsically interesting and historically significant.

With love and admiration William Dean Howells, commenting upon Higginson's long and active life, wrote, "At the beginning he preached the good fight, and to the end he fought it." This surely applies to the ante-bellum years of Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

THE GEORGE G. WRIGHT COLLECTION

BY F. STUART CRAWFORD

Read November 4, 1958

JUST a hundred and ten years ago, on October 27, 1848, was born in Boston a man who, coming to Cambridge as a very young child, lived here until his death at the age of nearly eighty and became deeply wrapped up in the city and its welfare, which he did much in a quiet way to promote. George Grier Wright was the son of William and Ellen Wright. His father had come from England to this country in 1840, and from 1853 until his death in 1898 was the proprietor of a bakery on the southwest corner of Mount Auburn and Dunster Streets, on the site of the original First Church, property now occupied by the tailoring establishment of J. Press. The second floor of the building was used as an armory by the Cambridge City Guard until 1857, when it was remodeled as a residence for the Wright family, who had previously lived next door at 92 Mount Auburn. Both sites remained the property of the Wrights until 1926. It was perhaps in 1870, when the wooden building was replaced by one of brick, that William moved his residence to 13 Dunster Street. His son, George, and daughter, Helen, lived with him until his death in 1898. George and Helen then returned to quarters above the bakery, with an entrance at 45 Dunster Street, living there until 1902, when they moved to a house at 20 Mellen Street.

Young George was educated in the public schools of Cambridge, graduating from the High School in 1867. He was secretary of his class. The master of the school during his years there was the distinguished Shakespearian scholar, William J. Rolfe, whose "companionship" Wright recalls with appreciation in reminiscences of his schooldays published in the local press. Under Mr. Rolfe's guidance an enthusiastic debating society flourished, and it was no doubt here that George Wright first acquired his life-long interest in civic questions. A list he gives of some of the subjects of debate is, significantly, headed

by the question: "Should partisan politics be considered in municipal elections?" and it was the cause of non-partisan municipal government in general, but particularly in Cambridge,

bridge, that remained Wright's most abiding interest during the rest of his life.

Shortly after his graduation he began his business career as a clerk for Gilman Brothers, wholesale druggists in Boston, but two or three years later, in 1870, he took up the grain business in Cambridge, with offices at 84-86 Mount Auburn Street in the new brick building where his father's bakery was also conducted. After thirty-two years as a grain dealer he retired in 1902, and the remainder of his business career was occupied with the care of various real estate properties in Cambridge and Brighton, amounting to over a million dollars in value, which he managed for the Harvard Associates and other trustees. His office remained at the same address until he at last sold the family property in 1926, after which his place of business was at 50A Boylston Street.

Wright was a member, at one time or another, of an astonishingly large number of organizations, but that he was not a mere "joiner" is indicated by the responsible roles he played in the administration of many of them. As a businessman he belonged to the Boston Commercial Exchange, the Boston Chamber of Commerce, the Boston Board of Trade, the Citizens' Trade Association of Cambridge, and the Boston Real Estate Exchange. He was a charter member of the Harvard Square Business Men's Association, which he served as its president from its founding in 1910 until 1915. In 1922 he resigned as chairman of the Municipal Affairs Committee of the Association in protest at the action of some members in applying for special licenses to exempt them from the twenty-minute parking ordinance the Association had worked to secure. On this occasion an editorial appeared in the Cambridge Chronicle for December 16, 1922, from which I quote:

George Wright is one of the few men who, for years, has given of his time and strength, without stint, to the promotion of the interests of Cambridge. He has studied the needs of the city, and evolved wise methods of dealing with difficult problems. More than this, he has been able, as a natural leader, to persuade other leading men in his section to adopt his views, and the measures he has devised. Few men in the city better deserve to be called "public-spirited."

In spite of, or perhaps because of, his courageous protest, he was again elected President of the Association in 1923, when the Cambridge Sentinel commented:

The sage of the Square, Geo. G. Wright, has been chosen to head the Harvard

Square Business Men's Association. A most sagacious choice, presenting a man of intelligence, character and energy, of so high quality that it is a pity to confine it to one little section of the community.

In 1925 Wright became the first and only president emeritus of the association.

Among social and fraternal organizations he was a member of Mount Olivet Lodge of Freemasons, of the Newetowne Club, of which he was treasurer from 1884 to 1890, and of the Cambridge Club. He was a charter member of the Colonial Club of Cambridge. In 1876 he was elected an honorary member of the Cambridge companies of militia, and became a contributing member of Post 56 of the G.A.R.

He served as clerk and treasurer of Christ Church in 1874, and as treasurer of the Prospect Union (sometimes referred to as "The Working Man's University") from 1894 to 1909; he was a member of its corporation from the beginning.

But the cause dearest to his heart was the promotion of civil service reform and of non-partisan municipal government. He was treasurer of the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association for twenty-eight years, from 1881 to 1909, when it was merged with the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association, and he was treasurer of the old fifth congressional district Civil Service Reform Association throughout its existence. He belonged to the Massachusetts Reform Club, and was at one time treasurer of the National Municipal League.

In 1889 he was one of the organizers of the Library Hall Association of Cambridge, the forerunner of the present Cambridge Civic Association, and from the beginning until 1900 served as its secretary. I quote from his own account of the purposes of this association:

The Library Hall Association of Cambridge is a body of well-known citizens, representing all sections of the city, a great variety of occupations and interests, and all political parties. The purposes of the Association, as stated in the By-laws, are "to secure the nomination and election of proper candidates for municipal offices; to procure the punishment of all persons who may be guilty of election frauds, mal-administration of office, or misappropriation of public funds; to advocate and promote intelligent discussion of municipal affairs by the publication and distribution of reliable information in relation thereto." Above and beyond all questions of policy or of candidates, the Association supports and stands for the principle of non-partisanship in municipal affairs, asserting that in the choice of a city-government national issues have no place whatever.

The association published annually a "Record of City Government" (listing attendance and votes of members of the City Council), and the secretary was largely responsible for collecting and writing up this and other material on candidates and issues in each annual city election. While Wright was secretary, ninety-five per cent of the candidates endorsed by the association were elected.

He was also a member of the Good Government League, which replaced the Library Hall Association in 1903, and of the Cambridge Taxpayers' Association. He never sought public office himself, believing he could more effectively work for good city government as a private citizen, but in 1903, at the mayor's request, he became a member of the Sinking Fund Commission of the City, and was its chairman from 1912 until his final illness forced his retirement in 1927.

National politics occupied less of his attention except in 1884, when, upon the nomination of Elaine he became a member of the Committee of 100 of Massachusetts Republicans and

Independents who bolted the party — the "Mugwumps." He served on the finance committee and as delegate to the conferences held in New York, and traveled 5,000 miles in New England and the West during the campaign of that year as representative of both the Massachusetts and national Independent groups.

Next to good government for Cambridge his chief interest was in the history of his city and of the town from which that city had been born only two years before his own birth. He began collecting printed material dealing with Cambridge almost as soon as he graduated from high school, and carried it on with undiminished enthusiasm until his death. He was a charter member of the Longfellow Memorial Association in 1882, and one of the original members of the Cambridge Historical Society in 1905. He was treasurer of this Society from 1924 until his death in 1928.

Both his civic and historical interests bore fruit in numerous published articles. He wrote various pieces in the Cambridge Chronicle and the Cambridge Tribune on such subjects as the first Town Hall, reminiscences of the Cambridge High School, the founding of the Tribune, the growth of the city, and the introduction of a pure water supply, and a paper of his on "The Municipal Government of Cambridge" was published in the Proceedings of the National Conference for Good Govern-

ment held at Philadelphia in January, 1894, and one on "Non-partisan Municipal Elections" in the national periodical Municipal Affairs in 1900. An account of the origin, purposes, and activities of the Library Hall Association appeared in the annual report of that association in 1896. An eleven-page pamphlet on "The Sinking Funds of the City of Cambridge" was published in 1915.

He read three papers before the Cambridge Historical Society, all of which will be found in the Publications of the Society. One on "The Cambridge Public Schools, 1800-1870" was read October 30, 1918, one on "Gleanings from Early Cambridge Directories" on January 26, 1921. The third, on "Early Cambridge Newspapers," was read for him at the meeting of January 24, 1928, which he was unable to attend because of his last illness.

Cambridge, indeed, may surely be said to have been the dominating preoccupation of George Wright's life. As in his preference for working for civic improvement as a private citizen rather than as an official, so in his life-long absorption in Cambridge and Cambridge affairs one is reminded of Socrates, whose single-minded devotion to Athens was so notorious that he himself felt he owed a loyalty to the city's laws beyond all his fellow citizens. Yet, while Socrates is reported to have been so city-minded that he rarely even took a walk outside the walls of Athens, a peculiarity he explained by saying that trees could teach him nothing, while men in the city could, it is interesting that almost the only facts I have found recorded about Wright's private life are that he was an amateur naturalist, and that, beginning when he was in his sixties, he was in the habit of taking walks of eight to fifteen miles starting at some country railroad station and ending at another. For some years his sister was his companion on these jaunts; after she was no longer able to go with him he continued them alone. And he had made a collection of books on the White Mountains.

He died after a long illness on May 20, 1928, survived by one brother, six nephews, and two nieces, and is buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery. By his will he left a fund for social work, two free beds to the Cambridge (now the Mount Auburn) Hospital, "preferably for unskilled workers," and other bequests to the Holy Ghost Hospital, to the Boston Floating Hospital, to the Cambridge Home for Aged People, to Christ Church

for missionary work and Sunday School, and to Harvard College "in recognition of service rendered from the Library."

The books on the White Mountains were left to the Cambridge Public Library. To the Cambridge Historical Society he bequeathed the result of the favorite hobby of his last sixty years, a collection of 152 volumes bound in three-quarters leather, each containing from one to over thirty publications concerned with Cambridge. The spine of each volume bears at the top the gold stamp "Cambridge Documents," at the bottom "George G. Wright," and in between, the inclusive dates of the various items contained, and occasionally a special title such as "Harvard Square Business Men's Association," "Old Home Week," "Charters," or "Miscellanies." The dates range from 1814 to 1926.

It is indeed a very miscellaneous collection. I imagine it started as a file of the reports of the City government, and these in fact probably make up the larger bulk of the collection. Each year the city issues a volume entitled "The Mayor's Address at the Inauguration of the City Government and Annual Reports Made to the City Council," or more briefly "City of Cambridge: Annual Documents." Of this publication, sometimes running to over eight hundred pages a year, the Wright Collection has a complete set from the beginning of the city government in 1846 through 1926, and for most years a duplicate copy also. For many years the School Committee and the Park Department published their reports separately as well as in the "Annual Documents," and these separate issues were in many instances more full, or in other ways different from those in the omnibus volume; they were also often illustrated. Of these also Wright collected fairly complete sets, with duplicates for most years. Other separate reports of City departments such as the Board of Survey, the Planning Board, the Superintendent of Streets, and the Water Board, are well represented at certain periods, while still other regularly issued documents are found only for a few years; for example, the list of dog licenses for 1898, 1899, and 1901 only, and the list of jurors for 1902 to 1906 and for 1909. From the period before 1846 the best represented serial is the Annual Report of the School Committee, for 1841 to 1846.

There are also many incomplete sets of annual reports of numerous organizations not connected with the government — hospitals and philanthropic institutions, social and fraternal associations — in which Wright

was interested. Those best represented are the Cambridge Hospital, the Avon Home "for children found destitute within the City of Cambridge," the Cambridge Social Union, the Prospect Union, and the Library Hall Association.

Apart from serials, he must have soon begun to preserve everything that came his way dealing with the city government. We find many brief reports of City Council meetings on special issues, and much longer transcripts of legislative hearings bearing on the interests of Cambridge.

Most of the publications I have mentioned so far probably came to Mr. Wright without any special effort on his part, were preserved, and eventually bound from time to time. Apparently, when he had acquired enough documents to fill a good-sized volume, he would have them bound with little regard for homogeneity of subject matter, although in many cases one year's issue of the City "Annual Documents," either with or without the separate School Committee and Park Department reports, is bound alone. Thus some volumes bear the date of a single year, others may range over several years.

When we come to the items in the Collection which Wright must have sought out as a collector, we find a much more miscellaneous character. Evidently he kept his eye out for everything he could find having any connection with Cambridge. There are many old sermons delivered from Cambridge pulpits, mostly on special occasions, publications on the history of some of the churches, guide books, tax bills, high school graduation programs, real estate prospectuses, accounts of celebrations, one or two early Harvard catalogues, published addresses, books on the early history of Cambridge, the souvenir program of the opening of the University Theatre. Here again, even more than with the previously mentioned material, the only principle of arrangement appears to be that what came to hand was bound when he had gathered enough to make a volume; within the volume the items are arranged by date.

The value of the collection as a whole is difficult to assess for one, like myself, with little experience in historical research. It is undoubtedly true that the greater bulk of the items, notably the annual reports of the city government and of other local institutions, could fairly easily be found elsewhere in Cambridge. And of the miscellaneous non-serial books and pamphlets a short random sampling has not revealed many that are not in Widener or Houghton. A few items I have not found in

the Harvard Library catalogue may be of interest as typical of the breadth of character of the Collection:

One of the earlier pamphlets is a "Report of Committee appointed by the Town of Cambridge to investigate the affairs of its Almshouse," printed in 1833.

A controversy of the sixties is represented by two publications, "An address to the people of Cambridge from the School Committee, concerning a recent case of corporal punishment in the Allston Grammar School," of 1866, and "Progress in school discipline. Corporal punishment in the public schools. Addressed to the citizens of Cambridge," by Morrill Wyman in 1867.

An amusing item of 1862 is a handbill beginning, "Stolen! From many citizens of Cambridge, on the 4th instant, the rest and quiet of the holy Sabbath Day. . . . This act was done by decision of the Union Railway Company to run their Cars on the Sabbath." The anonymous author, who signs himself PRO, continues by arranging in parallel columns the Fourth

Commandment and the following injunction, which he supposes laid down by the offending Company: "Thou shalt not remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Seven days shalt thou labor and do all our work, for the Sabbath day we have blotted out, and now shalt [sic] [sic.]do all the work we require at your hands. Let the Lord rest if He will on His Sabbath day and hallow it too, but you shall do neither the one nor the other. For, who is the Lord that the Union Railway Company should fear Him, or what profit can this Company gain by obeying Him?"

A twelve-page brochure which is presumably rather rare concerns the controversy which apparently resulted in the resignation of the Reverend Nicholas Hoppin as Rector of Christ Church in 1874. It contains a communication from sixteen ladies of the parish to the vestry expressing their feeling "that the prosperity of the church at this critical time would be furthered" by the rector's resignation. There follows a communication of similar tenor signed by nine other ladies, and a "counter-communication" from seventy-two others who believe "that the financial embarrassment of the church for the last two years has been largely if not wholly owing to a cause for which [the rector] is not responsible." Then comes a lengthy statement by the Reverend Mr. Hoppin explaining the financial situation, defending his course, but offer-

ing to submit his resignation if the parish will make arrangements to compensate him for the loss of his living. It is interesting to note that the signers of the three communications account for all but one of the ninety-eight ladies of the parish; the gentlemen seem to have refrained from putting their sentiments on record, except that it was William Wright, the father of George, who had been a member of the parish for thirty three years, who requested of the rector that these documents be printed. His request appears here by way of introduction, and in it he refers to Mr. Hoppin's reply as "your honest, logical, and unanswerable statement." Incidentally, this was the year in which George Wright served as Clerk and Treasurer of Christ Church.

In spite of the fact that there may be few really unique copies of books and pamphlets in the Wright Collection, it will surely be convenient for students of various aspects of Cambridge's history to have available in one set of volumes so representative an assemblage of documents. For the less serious browser the collection is full of attractions.

Among the subjects best represented is that of the public schools. The annual reports of the School Committee have already been mentioned. Of special value, since not likely to be found in other files of these reports, is the clipping of an editorial from the Cambridge Tribune which is pasted inside the cover of the report published in 1914. This is a castigation of the behavior of the Committee for that year, who, being morally bound to print the report of the previous year's Committee, had presented as "the report of the Committee and of the Super-intendant" the Superintendant's report alone, actually suppressing their predecessors' report for fear of invidious comparisons with their own record. Another interesting item is the quarterly report card, from the year 1850, of a student in the Cambridge High School. The High School graduation programs are preserved for ten of the years between 1850 and 1882.

There is also a rich mine of material, perhaps not easily found together elsewhere, on the streets of Cambridge, especially deliberations and orders of the City Council with regard to

the construction and acceptance of new streets and the improvement of old. For example, there are several documents concerned with a proposed widening of De Wolf Street, which was to become a tree-lined boulevard leading to Memorial Drive all the way from the Yard. This proposal was in the air from

1902 to 1908, but seems, like so many attractive civic projects, to have come to naught.

Public transportation is another well-represented field. There are numerous reports of the different street railway companies and fare schedules. We find some hint of the rivalry between competing companies, as in the protest of the Charles River Street Railway Company at the tearing up of their tracks "by the Union Railway or its employees" where they crossed the latter's tracks, although on a site granted by the Board of Aldermen. This was in 1882.

A fascinating book of 182 pages, issued in 1887, is entitled The Meigs Railway. This is a description by its inventor, Joe V. Meigs, of a most intriguing mono-rail elevated system. Its one rail being supported by a single line of columns, the structure is much less obstructive of light than the familiar two-rail elevated track with cumbersome supports. Unusual safety features are claimed for the invention by Mr. Meigs. A trial section of such a railway was actually built in East Cambridge, and an account of the tests there carried out, resulting in the approval of the State Engineer, is contained in the book, which is illustrated with many fascinating drawings.

Many items deal with the water supply of Cambridge, and reveal the gradual steps by which additional sources were sought as the city grew. Still another well-represented field is that of bridges.

I have left till last in this rather desultory survey of the material in the Collection what is probably its most unique and most valuable feature, namely, the newspaper clippings on certain topics in which Wright was especially interested. It would appear that he took pains to cut out and paste onto pages later bound into volumes of the Collection (often along with pamphlets) everything he could find in the public press about certain subjects at certain dates. Thus we find a considerable number of pages of clippings on the fiftieth anniversary of Cambridge as a city in 1896, and on the sinking funds of the City in 1915 and again in 1917. A whole volume is occupied by clippings and other literature on Old Home Week in 1907, another on the revision of the City Charter, 1913-1916. Another contains stories and articles on the history of Cambridge clipped mostly from the Chronicle or Tribune from 1910 to 1926. Three volumes are devoted to items on the Harvard Square Business Men's Association and its activities from 1910 to 1923, when, under Mr. Wright's

leadership, it had been very active indeed. These are surely a rich mine of material for historians of Cambridge business.

And finally, Mr. Wright's chief interest: Cambridge politics. Under the heading "City Elections" he gathered every conceivable item dealing with the annual municipal elections. Here we find not only everything in the newspapers — editorials, accounts of candidates' campaigns and speeches, discussions of issues, election returns — but also all the ephemeral publications connected with elections, such as campaign literature issued by the various parties, candidates' appeals for support, and even copies of the ballots. Before 1878 we find only a few items, mostly ballots, which he presumably picked up later. The clippings begin in 1878, when Wright was thirty, and from that time on he obviously let nothing connected with the annual campaigns escape him. At first the election material for each year occupies a few pages in a volume largely devoted to other documents, but the number of these pages grows steadily until by 1896 the material for each year takes up a whole volume by itself. After 1915, perhaps as the result of less heated elections under the new charter, the material falls off somewhat in bulk; the last volume of this sort covers the campaigns of 1919, 1920, and 1921. Why there is no coverage for subsequent years I cannot say, but it seems not unreasonable to suppose that Mr. Wright just hadn't got around yet to the immense labor of clipping and pasting up the items of the last few years of his life.

Because of the very miscellaneous character of the Collection, and its arrangement chiefly by the order of acquisition of the items, it has been practically unusable in the absence of a catalogue. I was asked to prepare some sort of guide to the material this past summer, and it has been suggested that an account in this paper of the nature and principles of the catalogue which I have drawn up would be of value for those who might wish to make use of the Collection.

The first problem that presented itself was what method of reference to employ. As I have stated, the 152 volumes are normally distinguished merely by the dates, on the spines, of the included material, and in numerous instances two or three volumes bear the same date or dates. It was finally decided to number the whole Collection, arranged in chronological order, from 1 to 152; when two or more volumes bore the same date, they were assigned an arbitrary order among themselves. Small

paper labels were pasted at the top of each spine and inside each front cover bearing the volume number assigned, preceded by the letter W. Hence in the catalogue a volume is referred to as W98 or W133, as the case may be.

I fear the following account of the catalogue may appear to be largely an apology for its shortcomings. I wish to stress the fact that what I have done can be regarded only as a preliminary sorting out of the material in the Collection, and my catalogue, which is on cards and in longhand, could certainly be expanded by much more detailed analysis of items, and made somewhat more convenient to use by duplication of cards for the same publication under different headings. Other improvements which will be obvious as I continue my description might also be made, but at least a first step at sorting out this confusing mass of materials has now been taken.

I began by copying out on a card the title (preceded by the author's name, if any) of each separate publication in the 152 volumes. Place of publication, publisher's name, date, and the number of pages were added. In numerous cases where there was no title, a brief

description of the content of the document was substituted in square brackets, which were also occasionally used for other data not contained on the title page. In the upper right hand corner of the card was placed the number of the volume of the Wright Collection in which the document was to be found; if there was a duplicate in another volume, this fact was noted. No indication of the placing of an item within a volume is given, and this may in many cases entail rather laborious searching in a volume containing numerous items. But there were practical difficulties in the way of devising any scheme of numbering individual publications. Actually many of the volumes still contain a loose sheet of paper on which Mr. Wright had listed, apparently for the guidance of the binder, the dates and a catchword title (such as Almshouse, Water, School, Hoppin) of the items in the order in which they were to be bound. But these are missing from many volumes, and can hardly be expected to remain indefinitely even where they are still preserved. One project for the future improvement of the utility of the Collection might well be the pasting into each volume of a table of contents showing the order of items contained.

For a few serials represented by only two or three issues separate

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cards were made for each issue, if they were contained in separate volumes of the Collection. Series of greater length, if contained all in one volume, were listed on a single card, but with the separate paginations of each issue. But in the most frequent case of relatively long series spread over numerous separate and non-consecutive volumes of the Collection, as for example the City Annual Documents and many other sets of reports, I have listed the titles once, followed by the years represented, each on a separate line followed by the volume number in which it is to be found.

For instance, I quote a few lines from the list of issues of the "Report of the Trustees of the Cambridge Hospital":

1890	W4
1893	W50
1901	W50; another copy in W65.

These cards, of course, bear no volume number in the upper right-hand corner, but if, as often occurs, the series takes more than one card to list, the indication "Card 1," "Card 2," etc. is to be found there. The thousands of newspaper clippings, could not, of course, be listed separately except in the case of a few of special interest, such as some of the historical articles on Cambridge. But as the clippings occur in bunches each dealing with a single subject, you will find such cards as

*[Clippings concerning the Library Hall Association's
investigation of the civil service laws],*

with the date 1890 and the volume reference W48;

[Clippings and circulars, typescript petitions, concerning-

local transfers on the street railway, 1893];

[Miscellaneous clippings, letters, and other documents

concerning Cambridge Taxpayers' Association, 1908-

1912].

Groups of brief documents other than clippings which are gathered together in one volume and which could not practicably be listed separately are similarly lumped, as:

[Miscellaneous documents concerning extension, re-

location, acceptance, etc. of various streets, 1903-

1907];

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[Circulars etc., concerning band concerts arranged by

Citizens' Trade Association, 1892];

[Announcements and invitations from the Cambridge

Historical Society, 1915-1926].

The great collections of clippings on City elections have been dealt with like the longer serials, the group for each year being listed on a separate line followed by its volume number.

The arrangement of the cards in the catalogue itself was the biggest problem. Since economy forbade the duplication of cards, and comparatively few items had a known author, it was determined to classify each publication by what appeared to be the chief subject dealt with, such as Celebrations, Churches, Harvard University, Newspapers, Water Supply, and so on. In many cases these main subject headings were subdivided, as Churches into Christ Church, First Church, First Parish, St. Paul's, etc.; Transportation into Boston Elevated, Cambridge Railroad, Union Railway, etc.

As an example of one of the more extreme cases may be given the subdivisions adopted of the main classification City Government: Aldermen, Annual Documents, Census, City Hall, Council and Officers, Employees, Finance, Heating and Lighting, Precincts, Vital Statistics. Yet an even greater number of topics which might have been made subdivisions of City Government were so well represented, often requiring subdivision themselves, that they seemed to deserve the status of main divisions. Hence in the catalogue, before all other cards headed City Government will be found a card reading:

City Government. (For before 1846 see Town of

Cambridge.) See also Building Ordinances; Cemeteries; Charters and Ordinances; Dog Licenses; Elections, City; Electricity; Fire Department; Good Government League; Health: Board of Health; Housing; Jurors; Library Hall Association; Overseers of the Poor; Park Department; Parks; Planning Board; Playgrounds; Police; School Committee; Schools, Sewers; Streets; Streets: Superintendent of Streets; Survey, Board of; Taxation; Water Supply; Water Supply: Water Board; Wright, George G.

All of these have been treated as main headings, and many of them subdivided.

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The main heading has been placed in the upper left-hand corner of each card with the subdivision, if any, on the next line, both in block capitals, and the cards as a whole have been ordered alphabetically by main heading and subheading. But all cards bearing the same subheading (or the same main heading, if not subdivided) are arranged simply in order of date, since no alphabetical arrangement seemed practicable.

Any such classification by subject matter is bound to be arbitrary in some degree, and I cannot claim complete consistency in determining whether a topic was to be made a main heading or a subdivision, as will be obvious from the example quoted above in the case of governmental activities. Another egregious instance is that of non-governmental organizations. Many such have their own main heading, such as the Cambridge Club, the Citizens' Trade Association, the Y.M.C.A.; while others like the Cambridge Humane Society, the Economy Club, and the Newetowne Club are merely subheadings under the main classification Associations. But here again a "see also" card will refer the searcher to the location of associations not to be found under this classification.

I have tried to be generous with cross-reference cards. Thus there is a card headed Railroads, which bears simply the direction "see Transportation." A card headed Fresh Pond will advise you to "see Water Supply: Fresh Pond." When a cross-reference is to a particular work, and there are more than two or three cards under the heading referred to, the date is given in parentheses after the heading. Thus:

EPITAPHS

see CEMETERIES: MT. AUBURN (1858);

CEMETERIES: OLD BURYING GROUND

(no date being given for the second reference because there is only one card with that subheading).

This type of reference is most frequently used for names of authors, or of persons mentioned in a title which has been classified under some other heading. For example:

ALBRO, JOHN A.

see CEMETERIES: CAMBRIDGE CEMETERY;

CHURCHES: FIRST CHURCH (1860),

the first reference being to an address by the Reverend Mr. Albro at the

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consecration of the Cemetery, and the second to an account of the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his settlement as pastor of the church.

It may seem strange to a user of the catalogue searching for a work by author's name that he will in most cases be directed by cross-reference to a subject-heading, but given the nature of the greater part of the material in the Collection, and the impracticability at this time of supplying duplicate cards, the principle of preferring subject-headings for the main entries of items appeared to be well justified.

I cannot close this paper without expressing my gratitude for the opportunity of working on this Collection, not only for the interest, to a layman at least, of the items themselves, many of which revealed to me unsuspected pages in the history of Cambridge, but also for the privilege of becoming acquainted, to some extent, through the Collection, with the personality of the collector, George Wright, for whose character I conceived an increasing respect and affectionate admiration. This lifelong businessman gradually disclosed himself as a valiant fighter for honesty and decency in the civic life of Cambridge, a generous supporter of good causes, and a man with the instincts of a scholar, though handicapped by his limited formal education. I should be glad to know more of his private life, and I suggest that an investigation of this together with a more detailed study of his services to the city would be not only rewarding in itself, but a well-deserved recognition of a great, though hitherto too little-known benefactor of Cambridge.

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DAVID THOMAS POTTINGER

BY ARTHUR EUGENE SUTHERLAND

Read January 27, 1959

HISTORICAL societies properly concern themselves with a great variety of matters. Germane to our corporate purpose is whatever may show, to the people of today, our

Cambridge world through the eyes of yesterday. To this end we have rightly taken among our concerns the significant men and women who have lived and worked in our city.

David Pottinger, President of the Cambridge Historical Society from 1955 to 1958, is surely such a man. If we were to consider only his wise guidance of our affairs at the time when the Nichols-Emerson house came to be our most important material possession, this brief span of years would still be so important to us as to merit a grateful memorial. But an account of his life belongs in our annals for other reasons, reasons even more closely connected with the history of Cambridge, its University, and its neighboring cities. During many of his active years in Cambridge, he was here a principal officer of one of the world's great university presses. During his long and useful life as a teacher in Thayer Academy at South Braintree, many boys were deeply influenced by his character, his conscientious learning, and his talent as a guide to young students; of these boys Cambridge has had its fortunate share. In his own school and college days, he received, through distinguished sons of Harvard University, an impress which he felt all the rest of his life. His work as an independent publisher, his work as an author, all was done when he lived here. His life, in a true sense, has been part of the history of our city.

His parents were William and Adelaide Abbott Pottinger; he was born on Christmas Day, 1884, in their family house in East Boston. That community still kept, three-quarters of a century ago, appealing reminders of the departed glory of McKay's shipyard and of the clipper ships which from its ways had sailed swiftly to all the world's ports. The clippers had gone, by then, and with them had departed the captains, and

the ship-builders whose tall old houses stood on the high ground overlooking the water. By 1884 waves of newcomers were displacing the older residents; but a few of these earlier families still clung to their customs and their old houses. Among these were the Pottingers and their neighbors, the family of Professor Charles Hall Grandgent of Harvard, noted Dante scholar, who much interested and inspired the boy David during his early days in East Boston. For a time the Pottinger family changed their residence to Fall River; but David came back to East Boston High School, where he studied under its able principal John F. Eliot, and, among other outstanding teachers, Charles W. Gerould. Mr. Gerould, a graduate of Harvard in 1883, was a teacher of the old tradition, simple in his doctrines, ambitious for the intellectual growth of his students, exacting in his demands upon them. To trace the sources of a man's character and manners is a difficult enterprise, but perhaps to Charles Gerould's example might be ascribed some of the dignified courtesy, the restraint tempered by kindly consideration which was always apparent to the members of this Society when Gerould's one-time pupil presided over its meetings.

The fortunate members who came to our gathering at the Harvard Faculty Club on October 26, 1954, will recall with vivid pleasure David Pottinger's paper "I Too in Arcadia." In it he told of his coming to Cambridge to take entrance examinations for Harvard on a hot Commencement day in 1902, when, looking through the temporary picket fence, he spotted President Theodore Roosevelt. The Harvard of 1902 was that of Charles William Eliot in the years when he had seen his work grow to full fruition. This was the Harvard of Dean Le Baron Russell Briggs, of Charles Hall Grandgent, of Carl Günther von Jagemann, of William James, George Herbert Palmer, Luther Rice, of Hugo Münsterberg, George Foot Moore, and

George Lyman Kittredge. It was a great time, as are all times at Harvard, and of this David Pottinger was at once conscious. He has told us that in these surroundings he instinctively felt at home, and that here he remained centered for the rest of his life, even during the few years when he was, as he put it, "not actually on the list of registered voters."

He graduated with the Class of 1906, and then for thirteen years followed the exacting career of a teacher in boys' schools. He first taught for three years at Fishkill-on-Hudson, New York, and then for ten

years he was an English Master at Thayer Academy in South Braintree, Massachusetts.

One of his students at Thayer, our member David Washburn Bailey, recalls his first sight of David Pottinger, when David Bailey went to the Academy in 1912 to take a competitive examination for admission. Mr. Pottinger had required the boys, among other ordeals, to identify the form of the verb "putting" and to give its principal parts; the present Secretary of the Harvard Corporation remembers with gratitude the forbearance of the English Master when young Bailey asked whether the verb was intended to be putting as in placing, or putting as in golf!

Mr. Bailey, who was to be a close friend of this teacher all the rest of his life, gives us a picture of David Pottinger forty-seven years ago.

A slim red-haired, ruddy-complexioned young man in a well-worn but always spotlessly neat blue serge, with the stiff-starched high turnover collar of the period. Pale blue eyes that could smile agreeably in conference, but that could bore like gimlets through any luckless student who was idle or inept in class. A cultivated voice — (he read beautifully when he wished to illustrate a literary point) — but a voice which could rasp when discipline was called for. And a friendly interest in students as individuals, which was something quite apart from the necessarily formal manners of the classroom. Long before it was the accepted thing for high school teachers to schedule conference periods with students, David was doing it. All his upper middlers met with him individually to go over their efforts at English composition and to learn by direct criticism, in the give-and-take of uninhibited conversation, how to express their thoughts with "unity, coherence, and emphasis." The quotation from Adams Sherman Hill is a propos, for David introduced to his high school boys and girls the teaching methods which Professors Hill and Briggs and Copeland had developed with success among college undergraduates. Small wonder that David's students, quick as boys always are to recognize genuine interest in their problems and their growth, came to make him their confidant and adviser. For many of them, the weekly conferences with him became one of the most significant features of life at Thayer Academy, and even the old headmaster, a formidable disciplinarian of the Harvard Class of '69, touched their lives less closely than David.

For some years, between 1907 and 1915, David found vacation employment at the Harvard Summer School. He also became an active member of the Appalachian Mountain Club and, accompanied sometimes by a group of schoolboys, camped in the White Mountains of New Hampshire or over the Maine boundary in Shelburne or Farmington. Later he was a member of the first Appalachian group to develop the camp at Cold River in the Evans Notch, and later still he became a familiar figure for many years at Hayford's and in Wonalancet. He was a good camper, a steady if not powerful walker, always equable in disposition

when on the trail, though it is true that he complained occasionally of a feeling of acrophobia and could never be persuaded to look over the edge of precipitous cliffs, no matter how enticing the prospect below.

For several years (1910-1913) David was enrolled as a part time student in the graduate school at Harvard. Although his financial circumstances were such that he had to teach every year, he thought for a time of working towards the Ph.D. He did receive his A.M. in 1913; but an experience in a course in Middle English (he used to say) proved disillusioning. Two professors gave the course jointly. David had prepared a paper with considerable care, and Professor Kittredge marked it "A." The other professor, however, insisted that it be downgraded to an "A minus." He noted acridly that Pottinger had "paid too little attention to final silent e in the Northumbrian dialect.

In the latter years of his teaching at Thayer Academy, David Pottinger became actively interested in editing and publishing. In 1915 appeared his edition of Hamlet with which he hoped, as he said in his preface, "to help pupils in secondary schools to an understanding of Shakespeare's language and to some appreciation of his thought." Any teacher will understand the slightly wry insight of the editor's next observation, for he expressed some doubt of any schoolboy's capability of full appreciation.

David Bailey's memories of his friend tell of his change of interests at this period:

It was about this time that David turned from English studies to become one of the first men enrolled in the printing and publishing course offered by the celebrated Boston printer, Daniel Berkeley Updike, under the auspices of the then aspiring Harvard Business School. Updike's course was a small but intensive one. It was offered for a few years only, and it is quite probable that David Pottinger was its most distinguished "alumnus." At any rate, Updike became a continuing influence in David's life. The dozens of books which David later designed and produced at the Harvard University Press reflected the simplicity and artistic integrity which were typical of Updike. Even David's later years of association with another great typographer, Bruce Rogers, hardly diluted the Updike influence; indeed Rogers himself would not have had it otherwise.

By the fall of 1917 David was ready for a change in his life work. Teaching, though always rewarding in human satisfactions, he found increasingly exhausting; and he sought a new outlet for his energies in the publishing business. It is ironical that he should have made the break just at the time when he was offered one of the plums of secondary English teaching in New England — a senior mastership at Phillips Exeter. But David was not to be diverted, and — after a few months as advertising manager of the New York Nation under Oswald

Garrison Villard (during which that magazine printed a greater lineage of book advertising than it ever had before or was to carry for many years afterwards), he returned from Greenwich Village to Cambridge to take up a new post just then opening at the Harvard Press under its first director, C. Chester Lane. In more than a quarter-century at the Press David performed almost every imaginable staff function. He wrote advertising, treated with authors, traveled as salesman, supervised production, and — during the prolonged illness of the Press's second

director, Harold Murdock — served as director de facto for months at a time. His understanding of authors' problems was sharpened by his own personal experience in the writer's craft. Even as a young teacher he had edited books; besides his school edition of Hamlet for Longmans Green, he had prepared an anthology of English essays for Macmillan. In after years he wrote and lectured on the history of printing, on typographical design, and on the early history of the publishing business on the Continent. He wrote many articles for typographical journals. His scholarly volume on The French Book Trade in the Ancien Régime, 1500-1791, published only a few months before his death, will stand as a permanent monument to his memory. Not intended to be superficially entertaining, it is readable, thorough, discerning, well documented and attractive to one more than superficially interested in the life it pictures. No future historian of the book trade will ever need to retrace the ground which David covered in the six or eight years of research which went into this work.

During David Pottinger's work at the Harvard University Press, but before he was given a corporation appointment by the University, he and David Bailey, in their spare evening hours, undertook a publishing venture of their own. They formed a partnership in 1925 under the name of Washburn and Thomas — taken from the middle names of Messrs. Bailey and Pottinger. Under that imprint they published some fifteen titles, including David McCord's early essays; a collection of charades written by Dean Le Baron R. Briggs; Yankee Ballads, by M. A. De Wolfe Howe; and the Psalms of David in Metre, According to the Version Approved by the Church of Scotland — generally called the "Scottish Psalter," with an introduction by Mr. Pottinger's longtime friend, William Allan Neilson. Washburn and Thomas was an admirable hobby for its participants, but an average of two titles a year is a heavy assignment for the spare time even of two talented men. Both partners, by the beginning of the decades of the 1930's, were finding their official duties increasingly demanding, and they wound up Washburn and Thomas. The business of the partnership had paid its own way, which is no small tribute to a publishing house run for the

fun of it. The Washburn and Thomas books show by the distinction of their typography the interest in printing as a form of art which was to occupy an increasing place in David Pottinger's later life.

In 1943 he left the Harvard Press to become Production Manager and Editor of College Textbooks for D. C. Heath and Co., and he remained in this work until his retirement in 1951. His remaining seven years were devoted to authorship and to the guidance of the affairs of the Cambridge Historical Society.

It would take a long time for the listener to hear read a list of Mr. Pottinger's many published essays on various aspects of the art of printing. In 1941, the Harvard University Press published his Printers and Printing. Of this book he says to his readers, in a charming foreword:

I imagine you are like one of the many people — book collectors, librarians, young men and women in publishing houses, and many alert readers — who from time to time have asked me various questions about printing. These inquiries have had little interest in minute points; they have really been searching for the means to increase their appreciation of typography and their enjoyment of books as works of art. Accordingly, in answering them I have had to simplify what is really a very complicated subject and to provide, as it were, a series of pegs on which they

could later hang more detailed information. Although these chapters will not tell you how to become a printer, I hope they will partially satisfy your layman's curiosity.

It is a gracious little book, itself an example of beautiful typography. The pictures of early printing shops are charmingly selected; the examples of various types are pleasant to study; and from each page there emerges the understanding, the kindness, and the quiet humor of the author.

*A tragedy of many a painstaking and scholarly writer, is that the end of his life finds a great book not quite written because the temptations and delights of research have been a little too attractive for a little too long. It was the deserved good fortune of David Pottinger, and of his friends, and of everyone who will wish to study the history of publishing, that during the last year of his life he completed his most significant writing, *The French Book Trade In the Ancien Regime, 1500-1791*, published by the Harvard University Press. In its five parts this book tells of authors in the Ancien Regime, of the development of the book trade, of the master printers, of the workmen, and finally of the*

*auxiliary trades, such as paper-making, book illustration, and binding. Mr. Pottinger had long been interested in French writers. He had been a contributor to *The Critical Bibliography of French Literature, Vol. III*, edited by David C. Cabeen. He was naturally at home with the master printers of old France. His last book, as David Bailey said, "makes it unnecessary for students to engage in more research in its field."*

May 21, 1932, Mr. Pottinger was married to Mildred Clark Stone in Wellesley. Their daughter, Evelyn Ann, born December 18, 1934, is following in the scholarly footsteps of her father. Most of the members of our Society must have had the pleasure at some time of visiting the Pottinger house at 9 Clement Circle where, in an atmosphere of cultivated leisure — if leisure is the right word for a man as busy as David Pottinger — he worked in what would be miscalled his retirement.

He had been a member of our Society since 1925. He had, most appropriately, served as Editor of our Proceedings from 1929 to 1940. He had been Secretary in 1942-1943; and again from 1948 to 1952. He was Vice-President in 1953-1954, and was President from 1955 until his death on November 30, 1958. He would have been seventy-four years old on Christmas Day.

Occasionally a man and an institution seem peculiarly suited to one another, and it would be hard to think of a President for our Society more fitting than David Pottinger. A sound historian in his own right, he was wonderfully suited to the encouragement and guidance of laymen interested in historical matters. His years of important business affairs had given him familiarity with matters of practical detail. Over our gatherings he presided with an easy and cordial dignity which will always be remembered by those of us who saw him. Tonight's meeting when we remind one another of him and of his work, now finished, is not for that reason sorrowful. Too much of him was grace and wit for us to be sad in his memory. Meminisse iuvabit.

ANNUAL REPORTS

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1957

THE YEAR 1957 proved to be a busy and eventful one in the history of the Cambridge Historical Society, although when it opened with its fifty-second annual meeting on January 29 at the Longfellow House there was no indication of what was to come. On that evening the usual reports of the officers were read and accepted. Mr. Pottinger announced the resignation of Mr. Nichols as Treasurer after sixteen years of faithful and imaginative service. He also spoke feelingly of the death of Judge Walcott on November 11, 1956, and of how much the Society owed to his leadership.

This was the first year for changes in the major offices under the new plan for rotation. Miss Lois Lilley Howe became our Honorary Vice-President, and appreciation was expressed for the friendly and capable way in which Mrs. George W. Howe had served as Secretary. Mr. William L. Payson presented a most interesting and scholarly paper on "Notes on some Tory Land Titles." He limited them to those of the seven largest landholders and had maps to show their boundaries and their relationship to present street plans.

The spring meeting was held on April 23 in the new Radcliffe Graduate Center, 6 Ash Street, through the kind permission of Dean Cronkhite and President Jordan. The Dudley gavel and the new reading desk and lamp were used for the first time. Mr. Pottinger reported the bequest to the Society by Mrs. Frances White Emerson of her house and

land at 159 Brattle Street with the sum of \$20,000, the interest from which was to be used for maintenance. The property was to be used for the purposes of the Society but could not be leased or sold. A committee had been appointed to study the situation and later to report to the whole Council.

An important paper on "The History of the Inns and Hotels of Cambridge" was read by Mr. Chauncey Depew Steele, Jr., beginning with the first license granted in 1636 and carrying through three hundred years to the opening of the Hotel Continental in 1926. Afterwards the large number of members and their guests enjoyed viewing the rooms of the Graduate Center, so individually and attractively furnished.

The Garden Party meeting was held June 4 at the Longfellow House. Mr. Pottinger read the interim report of the committee on the Emerson bequest which expressed the responsibility of each member to take part in the final decision, and also he asked for expressions of opinion. Then Mrs. Amos N. Wilder presented an excellent paper on "Artemas Ward and the Siege of Boston," which described the important role played by her ancestor in the early days of the Revolution and was based in part on family letters and documents. The refreshments were served outdoors.

On Sunday afternoon, June 9, the Emerson House and its grounds were opened to the members of the Society so all might see what the bequest included. Ten ladies served as room hostesses.

For the fall meeting, held on September 24, we met for the first time in the Emerson House. A lively history of the house was read by Mr. Arthur E. Sutherland. He pointed out that although the deed for the land was dated 1657, no one knows who built the original house. He dealt mostly with the outstanding personages who had owned the house and kept it in tune with the times, Dr. Hooper, Judge Lee, and the Nichols family. Mr. Pottinger reviewed briefly the steps taken by the Council from the time of Mrs. Emerson's death to the present moment. Next, Mr. Payson moved that the bequest be accepted. The motion was seconded and discussion was called for. The vote, when taken, was unanimously for acceptance. There was a momentary, dramatic silence followed by applause.

A fifth meeting was held on October 15 to ratify changes in the wording of the By-laws and to ratify two new Articles proposed and

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approved by the Council to meet the new conditions brought about by the acquisition of the house. The changes redefined the duties of the officers and authorized voting by proxy as well as in person. The first new Article established three committees — for Finance, for the House, and for the Grounds and Buildings. The second one established the position of the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar, to be held by the member of the Society acting as curator of the house. These changes and the new Articles were ratified by vote.

The Council met seven times during the year to attend to three main pieces of business in addition to the routine ones. The first dealt with finances, authorizing the new Treasurer to handle the Society's bank accounts and to give him the power to change investments with the consent of the new Finance Committee. The second dealt with the bequest of the house and all that entailed. The third was changing the By-laws to be in accord with the new conditions.

We are grateful to our speakers, to our officers, to all the members who served on hospitality, and this year particularly to the ladies who took charge of redecorating this house and to the legal members who drew up our various agreements and official documents.

Respectfully submitted,

ANNA D. HOLLAND

Secretary

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1958

DURING THE YEAR 1958 the Cambridge Historical Society continued to adjust to the ownership of a most interesting house. At our fifty-third annual meeting on January 28th held for the first time in the Lee-Nichols House, the usual reports of the officers were read and accepted, also that of the Nominating Committee. In addition Mr. Pottinger announced the membership of the three new Standing Committees. For the literary part of the program Mr. George I. Rohrbough read the sketch of "William Brewster, Cambridge Naturalist," written and read originally by Mr. Glover M. Allen in May, 1937. It seemed appropriate to read again this paper at a time when we were trying to preserve the last bit of our natural wilderness.

The spring meeting was held on April 22nd in the Lee-Nichols House. In our voting for the acceptance or the rejection of the proposed changes in the corporate purposes of the Society proxies were used for the first time, producing a vote of 196 in the affirmative and 2 in the negative. After this, Mr. Pottinger introduced Dr. Tilden G. Edelstein of The Johns Hopkins University, who read a paper entitled, "Thomas Wentworth Higginson, His Ante-bellum Days." It described the struggle in the young minister's conscience between being a law-abiding citizen and his deep feeling of the injustice of slavery.

The garden party meeting was held May 27th at the home of Mrs. Henry D. Tudor. In his opening remarks, Mr. Pottinger recalled that this was the sixth time that Mrs. Tudor had opened her lovely home for the Society. Mr. Clifford K. Shipton of the American Antiquarian Society read a paper on "Samuel Langdon, An Unsuccessful College President." Because of "his learning, eloquence and piety" Langdon was installed in 1774 as President of Harvard College, but in spite of his earnest endeavors he proved completely unfit for the position and resigned in 1780. After the paper the many members and guests wandered around the garden and viewed the old Wyeth House nearby.

The fall meeting was held November 4th in the Longfellow House.

Mr. Pottinger announced that the Commissioner of Corporations had allowed the changes in our charter made necessary by the acquisition of the Lee-Nichols House, also that the George G. Wright Collection, now stored in the house, had been indexed by Mr. F. Stuart Crawford. Mr. Crawford was then introduced and spoke on the life of Mr. Wright and read interesting excerpts from the collection. George Greer Wright had lived a long and full life in Cambridge, dying at the age of eighty, and during those years he had made a large collection (two hundred and fifty-two bound volumes) of papers and documents dealing with the City of Cambridge.

The Council held six meetings, which is more than would be normally necessary, but questions about the house arose which had to be settled. The big question was whether or not to have restored the two old wall papers in the west rooms, one upstairs and the other downstairs. We sought the advice of museum and antiquarian authorities, all of whom

considered the two wall papers to be outstanding assets of the house and recommended their restoration. So after much thought the Council authorized Mr. William J. Young, Head of the Research Laboratory of the Technical Staff at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, to proceed with the work. A sidelight on the possible archaeological value of the parlor wall paper was shown by the great interest aroused at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London last summer when Miss Noyes showed them photographs of the paper in hopes they could identify it.

The Council also discussed the question of opening the house. The House Committee through its chairman, Mrs. Roorbach, presented its plan of holding an Open House on May 28th. The Council approved and voted a small sum for necessary paraphernalia. It also voted that no openings could be held during the renovation of the wall paper as it might delay this work. The May 28 Open House was well organized and gave promise of larger ones later on.

We were deeply grieved by the sudden death on November 30th of our President, Mr. Pottinger. He had been a member since 1925 and had served equally well in one office after another for a total of twenty-four years, a very distinguished record. The Society has suffered a great and irreplaceable loss.

Another link with the past was broken by the death on December 9 of Mr. John Taylor Gilman Nichols. He became a member in 1915 and

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had taken an important part in the activities of the Society. His last service had been as Treasurer for sixteen years, 1941 through 1956.

We are very grateful to our speakers, to our officers, especially to Mr. John W. Wood, our Vice President, who has exercised the presidential powers these last two months, to the members who have served on our hospitality committees and the various standing committees, and to the legal member who has guided us through the intricacies of the law.

Respectfully submitted,

ANNA D. HOLLAND

Secretary

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REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1957

Income

Investments:

Savings Banks	\$555.72
Bonds	44.29
Common Stocks	1,323.80

\$1,923.81

Operations:

Membership Dues	\$1,166.00
Guest Fees	34.97
Sale of Publications	38.70
Donations for Current Expense	5.00
Special Donations	700.00

1,944.67

Total Income \$3,868.48

Operating Expense

Operations:

Meetings	\$519.90
Clerical and Postage	270.53
Printing and Stationery	120.68
Acquisitions	34.82
Publications	1,216.60
Miscellaneous	64.52

\$2,227.05

Real Estate — 159 Brattle Street:

Repairs and Maintenance	809.90
Insurance	442.67
Other (Advisory)	75.00

1,327.57

Total Operating Expense \$3,554.62

Net Income \$ 313.86

STATEMENT OF INCREASE IN FUNDS

Permanent Fund

Net Capital Gains \$2,457.63

General Fund

Net Income for Year	\$ 313.86
Special Donations for House	\$1,000.00

1,313.86

Plant Fund

Real Estate, Furniture and Fixtures, and Collections	4.00
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Total Increase in Funds \$3,775.49

<i>Assets</i>	<i>Funds</i>
<i>Permanent Fund Assets</i>	
Principal Cash (Checking Account)	\$ 1.00
Savings Accounts	5,462.77
Bonds, at cost (market value \$5,460)	5,038.54
Common Stocks, at cost (market value \$26,539)	23,278.92 \$33,781.23
<i>General Fund Assets</i>	
Savings Accounts	6,424.83
Cash (Checking Account)	468.43 6,893.25
<i>Plant Fund Assets</i> (At nominal values for record purposes)	
Land	1.00
Buildings	1.00
Furniture and Fixtures	1.00
Collections, et cetera	1.00 4.00
<i>Total Assets</i>	<u>\$40,678.48</u>
<i>Permanent Fund</i>	
Restricted Principal:	
Cook Bequest	\$ 1,006.67
Life Membership Fund	1,275.00 \$ 2,281.67
Unrestricted Principal:	
Bequests and Donations	18,319.89
Unexpended Income	10,721.04 29,041.93
Capital Gains	<u>2,457.63</u> \$33,781.23
<i>General Fund</i>	
General Fund	5,893.25
Special Fund for House Renovations	1,000.00 6,893.25
<i>Plant Funds</i>	
Emerson Bequest	2.00
Plant Fund	2.00 4.00
<i>Total Funds</i>	<u>\$40,678.48</u>

Oakes I. Ames, *Treasurer*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1958

Income

Investments:

Savings Banks	\$ 403.82
Bonds	281.09
Common Stocks	<u>1,162.80</u> \$1,847.71

Operations:

Membership Dues	\$1,206.00
Guest Fees	35.96
Sale of Publications	23.50
Special Donation for Mouse Renovation	1,000.00
Voluntary Donations	835.00
Contributions in Memory of David T. Pottinger	272.50
Special Donations	<u>2,300.00</u> <u>5,672.96</u> <u>\$7,520.67</u>

Expense

Operations:

Meetings	\$ 587.36
Clerical and Postage	277.92
Printing and Stationery	96.10
Miscellaneous	<u>157.15</u> \$1,118.53

Real Estate — 159 Brattle Street:

Repairs and Maintenance	1,189.93
Insurance	257.40
Acquisitions	89.88
Other	40.00 <u>1,577.21</u> <u>2,697.74</u>

Net Income \$4,822.93

Deduct:

Addition to Structural Repair Fund	\$1,000.00
<i>Balance of Income for the Year</i>	<u><u>\$3,824.93</u></u>

STATEMENT OF INCREASE IN FUNDS

Permanent Fund

Balance, January 1, 1958	\$33,781.23
Additions:	
Emerson Bequest	\$20,000.00
Anonymous Donation	1,000.00
Associate Life Membership	50.00
Balance, December 31, 1958	<u>\$54,831.23</u>

General Fund

Balance, January 1, 1958	\$ 6,893.25
Add:	
Balance of Income for the Year	3,824.93
Balance, December 31, 1958	<u>\$10,718.18</u>

Plant Fund

Balance, January 1, 1958	\$ 4.00
Add:	
Appropriation from Net Income to Structural Repair Fund	\$ 1,000.00
Balance, December 31, 1958	<u>\$ 1,004.00</u>

<i>Assets</i>	<i>Funds</i>
<i>Permanent Fund Assets</i>	
Savings Account	\$ 4,325.65
Bonds, at cost, (market value \$20,951)	21,183.29
Common stocks at cost (market value \$38,988)	<u>29,322.29</u>
	<u>\$54,831.23</u>
<i>General Fund Assets</i>	
Savings Accounts	10,247.79
Cash in Checking Account	<u>470.39</u>
	<u>\$10,718.18</u>
<i>Plant Fund Assets</i>	
(Non-cash items at nominal values for record purposes)	
Savings Account	\$ 1,000.00
Land	1.00
Buildings	1.00
Furniture and fixtures	1.00
Collections, et cetera	<u>1.00</u>
	<u>\$ 1,004.00</u>
	<u>\$66,553.41</u>
<i>Permanent Fund</i>	
Restricted principal:	
Cook Bequest	\$ 1,006.67
Emerson Bequest	20,000.00
Life Membership Fund	<u>1,325.00</u>
	<u>\$22,331.67</u>
<i>Unrestricted Principal:</i>	
Bequests and Donations	\$19,319.89
Unexpended Income	<u>10,722.04</u>
	<u>30,041.93</u>
Capital Gains	<u>2,457.63</u>
	<u>\$54,831.23</u>
<i>General Fund</i>	
General Fund	\$9,718.18
Special Fund for House Reno- vation	<u>1,000.00</u>
	<u>10,718.18</u>
<i>Plant Fund</i>	
Structural Repair Fund	1,000.00
Emerson Bequest	2.00
Plant Fund	<u>2.00</u>
	<u>1,004.00</u>
	<u>\$66,553.41</u>

Oakes I. Ames, *Treasurer*

REPORT OF THE EMERSON SCHOLAR FOR THE YEARS 1957 AND 1958

AT THE OUTSET of this first report of the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar, the thought uppermost in his mind is the extraordinary kindly helpfulness which his wife and he have encountered on all sides. Merely to list the persons and their deeds would take more time than you wish this report to consume. The good things which have been handed down from the past are surely safe for a long future when so many are willing to take such trouble for them.

Of these many persons I shall name now only one, hoping that all the others know already the gratitude which the Society, and we two in it, feel toward them. David Pottinger's memory needs no words from me, but we do all need words ourselves for our loss. There is a little comfort in knowing that he lived to read, in that periodical which is not seldom severe in its reviews, I mean the *Times Literary Supplement*, a review of his own recent scholarly pioneering book which was full of the hearty praise the book deserves.

Frances White (Moffat) Emerson died 10 March 1957 and her (second) husband, William Emerson, 4 May 1957. The President of the Society, David T. Pottinger, had conferred at length with them about the house, so that when the will was probated there was a clear understanding of their wishes; and this understanding the President was at pains to communicate to the future Emerson Scholar during their talks in the summer. The Emersons certainly did not wish to create a busy administrative "center," or tourist "mecca," with signs swinging in the breeze; neither, at the opposite extreme, did they want the house to be merely a private dwelling. Their desire and their hope were that without ceasing to be what it always had been, it might also belong, through the Society's good offices, to the Cambridge community.

This understanding was reinforced by talks with Mrs. Emerson's son, Donald Moffat, the writer, whose generosity to the new inhabitants is recorded gratefully here. He lived to know that a transition was made, and to believe that some at least of the feeling he and his family had for the house had been handed on.

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William Emerson's great folio volume on the bridges of France has been installed in a place of honor; many of his other books, including much of his architectural library, the kind gift of Donald Moffat to the undersigned, remain where they were; and a fine picture of Ralph Waldo Emerson hangs where it always did. We have obtained copies of some of Donald Moffat's books. Certain editions of William Blake, Mrs. Emerson's great interest, and the subject of the distinguished collection begun by her father, William Augustus White, were also given to me, and remain in the library. (It is said that Mrs. William Emerson's father bought the house from the proceeds of the sale of a single Blake item.) These are indeed only symbols, but their presence does a little to express the relationship of the house to those who gave it to the Society. May their minds and spirits always abide in it!

Mrs. Donald Moffat and Mr. Alexander Moffat were also helpful during the period of transition. Mr. Edward W. Forbes, a member of the Society, and a cousin, as well as college room-mate, of William Emerson, has been a kind and learned counselor, as will appear below. Walter Barron, who had been with the Emersons for several years, stayed on through the summer. We moved in on 1 September 1957 — necessarily before the Council had fully sanctioned us — and we became strictly legitimate occupants during the next month. Mr. William L. Payson was occupied throughout a long period in arranging legal aspects; we signed an agreement with the Society at the end of December 1957. The appointment as Emerson Scholar was proposed by the Council and voted by the Society on 4 September 1957.

The scores of volumes of bound Cambridge records, comprising the Wright collection, were moved into the house in the spring of 1958. Except in a vague general way, no one knew what was in these volumes, and Mrs. Henry D. Tudor urged that some sort of catalogue be made. Knowing as I did that Mr. F. Stuart Crawford had coped successfully with Avicenna and the Mediaeval Arabic versions of Aristotle, I thought that possibly he might be undaunted when faced by old Cambridge hospital reports. David Pottinger discussed the project with Mr. Crawford, and the labeling and cataloguing went forward in the Naples room during much of the summer, ending just in time for even dustier work to begin there, as I shall report in a moment. We can all feel happy about the whole Crawford operation: not only did an entertaining evening

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result from it when he read a paper on Wright, but, as you should also know, all of the volumes are now labeled on the outside, and there is a complete card catalogue.

About many other aspects of the house there was much committee pondering of just what to do, but I think that all of us can be happy, as we look back, that during the past fifteen months things have somehow worked themselves out as they should. The first task, it is

now plain, was the study of what we have, and the conservation of it in such form as to make it available and safe. We could not well decide what to do to the house, until we knew what is really here.

The task of exploration is now about half completed, but the half that is done is the more difficult, and probably the more exciting, half. Three particular jobs have been tackled. First, the discovery of the old fireplace in the dining room. It was opened up by Mr. Abbot L. Cummings, of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, who was induced by Mrs. William L. Payson to take an interest in the house. The Emerson scholar assisted by carrying out masses of old bricks, and labeling, under Mr. Cummings' directions, a large series of objects, ranging from mouse nests of venerable age to masonry, now all stored and orderly; while Mrs. Dow courageously combatted the clouds of eighteenth century dust, the only thing of which we did not see fit to preserve a sample. There are still some lower strata to excavate in the fireplace, if we can reach them, and then it will be in order to insert into the fireplace a person of less than medium size, so as to measure and to photograph the far oven, the inside of which no one has seen since the eighteenth century. (It will also be desirable to extract the said small person after his work is done.

Upstairs in the Naples Room the job was first of all to deal with the paper. Restoration, for all who have to do with the artefacts of the past, is a horrendous business. To restore is often to destroy or at least to damage. Your officers and committees were hesitant, your Scholar not least, and in the many anxious conferences Mr. Edward Forbes was the most helpful of all, combining as he does technical knowledge and administrative experience. Mr. William Young and his able assistants from the Museum of Fine Arts had not worked long on their large undertaking when it became clear that the fears were groundless, because the damage had already been done. The entire sky, a large area all round

the room, had been painted, when the paper was put on, a mud-brown color to conceal the fact that dirt had already made most of it a mud-brown color. Large sections of the paper, moreover, were put on in the wrong places. Any restoration was bound to be an improvement.

After some fruitless searches, two sets of the same Naples paper were found: one was photographed helpfully by a member (Mr. Alden Foss), and Mr. Young had a day with the other set, which is in the Wallingford mansion in Kennebunk, Maine. By the projection of photographs onto our wall, every detail can be exactly restored. The Naples Room is more than half done at this writing; I wish it were possible, without ruining the time of Mr. Young, for all members to see the process going on; but soon all can see the result.

Select passages of mud have not been preserved for comparison, but I think the verdict will be that an extraordinary improvement has taken place. Even without considering the unpublished and apparently unique Bosphorus paper downstairs, which has only begun to be dealt with, we can say that no one probably ever can do more to enhance the interior beauty of the house than Mrs. Henry D. Tudor, who has made possible the work in these rooms.

The third task of study and conservation was the fireplace and fireplace wall in the Naples room. Again Mr. Cummings supplied the expert knowledge, the skill, and the energy; the

Emerson scholar extracted hand-made nails, urged the exploration of everything possible when Mr. Cummings hesitated to remove a board, and took dictation from Mr. Cummings when all was done. Our debt to Mr. Cummings is very great indeed for services freely given.

After some sessions with the most expensive carpenters it has been my lot to try to manage, panels were hung on piano hinges, and in due course the Society can examine this work also. Here again, mercifully, the decisions anxiously taken seem all to have been the right decisions. The whole wall will open to reveal one side of the room as it was in 1700; to reveal also — the most startling discovery — high up under the ceiling, a charred beam where an eighteenth century fire was put out just in time to prevent its burning the house down. A few more inches of burning into inaccessible timbers, and the fire would have been out of control.

All the rest that ought to go into this report must wait for another

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year, including the two jewels of the whole business (jewels from my professional epigraphical point of view), two semi-legible chalked inscriptions. If some measure of my own gratitude has any place here, let the imagination contemplate what it is like for a Greek archaeologist, dealing as he must with records of a period almost hopelessly remote, and buildings usually preserved only to topsoil level, to live with archaeology over his head.

Respectfully submitted,

STERLING DOW

Hudson Professor of Archaeology,

Harvard University

William and Frances White Emerson Scholar

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LIST OF MEMBERS, 1957, 1958

<i>Caroline Elizabeth Ayer (Mrs. R.W.) Albright</i>	<i>Elizabeth Winthrop (Mrs. C.S.) Bolster</i>
<i>Raymond Wolf Albright</i>	<i>Sylvia Church (Mrs. I.) Bowditch</i>
<i>Margaret Wilder (Mrs. P.F.) Alles</i>	<i>Florence Royer (Mrs. W.H.) Bradley</i>
<i>Paul Frost Alles</i>	<i>Laura Post (Mrs. S.A.) Breed</i>
<i>Elizabeth Gardner (Mrs. C.) Almy</i>	<i>*Martha Thacher Brown</i>
<i>Mary Almy</i>	<i>Mary MacArthur (Mrs. K.) Bryan</i>
<i>Harriet Hastings (Mrs. O.I.) Ames</i>	<i>McGeorge Bundy</i>
<i>James Barr Ames</i>	<i>Mary Lothrop (Mrs. McG.) Bundy</i>
<i>Mary Ogden (Mrs. J.B.) Ames</i>	<i>Eleanor Sheridan (Mrs. D.E.) Burr</i>
<i>Oakes Ingalls Ames</i>	<i>Douglas Bush</i>
<i>John Bradshaw Atkinson</i>	<i>Hazel Cleaver (Mrs. D.) Bush</i>
<i>Louise Marie (Mrs. J.B.) Atkinson</i>	<i>Bernice Cannon</i>
<i>Catherine Smith (Mrs. D.W.) Bailey</i>	<i>Paul DeWitt Caskey</i>
<i>David Washburn Bailey</i>	<i>Ruth Blackman (Mrs. P.D.) Caskey</i>
<i>Ellen Nealley (Mrs. G.) Bailey</i>	<i>Louise Fletcher (Mrs. C.L.) Chase</i>
<i>Gage Bailey</i>	<i>Dudley Clapp</i>
<i>Helen Diman (Mrs. I.W.) Bailey</i>	<i>(A) Roger Saunders Clapp</i>
<i>Frances Josephine Baker</i>	<i>(A) Winifred Irwin (Mrs. R.S.) Clapp</i>
<i>Alethea Pew (Mrs. E.J.) Barnard</i>	<i>Arthur Harrison Cole</i>
<i>Edmund Johnson Barnard</i>	<i>Anna Stechel (Mrs. A.H.) Cole</i>
<i>*Mary Emory Batchelder</i>	<i>(L) Mabel Hall Colgate</i>
<i>Ruth Richards (Mrs. A.) Beane</i>	<i>**Marie Schneider Conant</i>
<i>**Florence Barrett (Mrs. R.) Beatley</i>	<i>Mary Conlan</i>
<i>Ralph Beatley</i>	<i>John Phillips Coolidge</i>
<i>Pierre Belliveau</i>	<i>Mary Elizabeth Welch (Mrs. J.P.) Coolidge</i>
<i>Helen Thomas (Mrs. H.L.) Blackwell</i>	<i>Theresa Reynolds (Mrs. J.L.) Coolidge</i>

<i>Howard Lane Blackwell</i>	<i>Phyllis Byrne (Mrs. G.) Cox</i>
<i>Frank Aloysius Kenney Boland</i>	<i>Abby Chandler (Mrs. J.F.) Crocker</i>
<i>Velma Louise Gibson (Mrs. F.A.K.) Boland</i>	<i>John Franklin Crocker</i>
<i>Charles Stephen Bolster</i>	<i>*Martha Crocker</i>
	<i>Katherine Foster Crothers</i>

**Died*

(A) Associate member

***Resigned*

(L) Life member

<i>Esther Lanman (Mrs. R.A.) Cushman</i>	<i>Dorothy Tenney (Mrs. A.S.) Foss</i>
<i>Robert Adams Cushman</i>	<i>(A) Francis Apthorp Foster</i>
<i>Sally Adams (Mrs. C.F.) Cushman</i>	<i>Ingeborg Gade Frick</i>
<i>Richard Ammi Cutter</i>	<i>Claire MacIntyre (Mrs. R.N.) Ganz</i>
<i>Ruth Dexter Grew (Mrs. R.A.) Cutter</i>	<i>Robert Norton Ganz</i>
<i>Gardiner Mumford Day</i>	<i>Alice Holland (Mrs. H.G.) Garrett</i>
<i>Cecil Thayer Derry</i>	<i>Catherine Ruggles (Mrs. H.G.) Gerrish</i>
<i>Thomas Henri DeValcourt</i>	<i>Hollis Guptill Gerrish</i>
<i>Frank Currier Doble</i>	<i>Henry Lathrop Gilbert</i>
<i>Helen Dadmun (Mrs. F.C.) Doble</i>	<i>Priscilla Brown (Mrs. H.L.) Gilbert</i>
<i>James Donovan</i>	<i>Roger Gilman</i>
<i>Frances Cooper-Marshall (Mrs. J.) Donovan</i>	<i>Robert Lincoln Goodale</i>
<i>Helen Winthrop Dougherty</i>	<i>Susan Sturgis (Mrs. R.L.) Goodale</i>
<i>Elizabeth Flagg (Mrs. S.) Dow</i>	<i>Dusser de Barenne (Mrs. J.D.) Greene</i>
<i>Ethel Dora Appleton (Mrs. G.L.) Dow</i>	<i>Jerome Davis Greene</i>
<i>George Lincoln Dow</i>	<i>(L) Helen McQuesten (Mrs. P.) Gring</i>
<i>Sterling Dow</i>	<i>Addison Gulick</i>
<i>Arthur Drinkwater</i>	<i>Margaret Buckingham. (Mrs. A.) Gulick</i>
<i>Dows Dunham</i>	<i>Lillian Helen (Mrs. T.) Hadley</i>
<i>Marion Jessie (Mrs. D.) Dunham</i>	<i>Edward Everett Hale</i>
<i>James Morse Dunning</i>	<i>Helen Holmes (Mrs. E.E.) Hale</i>
<i>Mae Bradford (Mrs. J.M.) Dunning</i>	<i>Constance Huntington Hall</i>
<i>Aldrich Durant</i>	<i>Richard Walworth Hall</i>
<i>(L) Ethel Harding (Mrs. F.C.) Durant</i>	<i>Amy deGozzaldi (Mrs. R.W.) Hall</i>
<i>Faith Lanman (Mrs. A.) Durant</i>	<i>Franklin Tweed Hammond</i>
<i>Eleanor Clark (Mrs. O.) Earle</i>	<i>Charles Lane Hanson</i>

<i>Osborne Earle</i>	<i>Mary Caroline Hardy</i>
<i>* Walter Frank Earle</i>	<i>Mary Louise Perry (Mrs. R.W.) Harwood</i>
<i>Charles William Eliot, 2nd</i>	<i>Christina Doyle (Mrs. R.H.) Haynes</i>
<i>**Elizabeth Lee (Mrs. F.M.) Eliot</i>	<i>Robert Hammond Haynes</i>
<i>*Frederick May Eliot</i>	<i>Florence Wilhelmina (Mrs. N.) Heard</i>
<i>Regina Dodge (Mrs. C.W.) Eliot</i>	<i>Lucy Gregory (Mrs. R.G.) Henderson</i>
<i>*Frances White (Mrs. Wm.) Emerson</i>	<i>Robert Graham Henderson</i>
<i>Mary Fife (Mrs. L.E.) Emerson</i>	<i>Albert Frederick Hill</i>
<i>* William Emerson</i>	<i>Dorothy Woodbridge (Mrs. G.G.) Hill</i>
<i>Mary Lillian (Mrs. R.C.) Evarts</i>	<i>Gordon Green Hill</i>
<i>Richard Conover Evarts</i>	<i>Georgiana Ames (Mrs. T.L.) Hinckley</i>
<i>Pearl Brock Fahrney</i>	<i>**Eleanor Holmes Hinkley</i>
<i>**Claire (Mrs. P.) Faude</i>	<i>Janet Elliott (Mrs. R.B.) Hobart</i>
<i>Marian Carter Thomson (Mrs. R.M.) Faulkner</i>	<i>Richard Bryant Hobart</i>
<i>Richard Manning Faulkner</i>	<i>Elizabeth Chandler (Mrs. E.W.) Hockley</i>
<i>Eleanor Tyson Cope (Mrs. H.W.) Foote</i>	<i>Anna Coolidge Davenport (Mrs. C.M.) Holland</i>
<i>Henry Wilder Foote</i>	<i>George Wright Howe</i>
<i>Edward Waldo Forbes</i>	<i>Lois Lilley Howe</i>
<i>Lois Whitney (Mrs. A.B.) Forbes</i>	<i>Rosamond Coolidge (Mrs. G.W.) Howe</i>
<i>Alden Simonds Foss</i>	<i>*Eda Woolson (Mrs. B.S.) Hurlbut</i>

<i>Elsie Powell (Mrs. E.) Ingraham</i>	<i>Nancy Johnson (Mrs. S. B.) Parker</i>
<i>Dorothy Judd (Mrs. Wm. A.) Jackson</i>	<i>Stanley Brampton Parker</i>
<i>Pauline Fay (Mrs. A.L.) Jackson</i>	<i>Frederica Watson (Mrs. Wm. L.) Payson</i>
<i>William Alexander Jackson</i>	<i>William Lincoln Payson</i>
<i>(L) Constance Bouvé (Mrs. H.A.) Jenks</i>	<i>Barbara Welch (Mrs. E.) Peabody</i>
<i>(L) Henry Angler Jenks</i>	<i>*Bradford Hendrick Peirce</i>
<i>*Ethel Robinson (Mrs. W.S.) Jones</i>	<i>Marion Hilton Pike</i>
<i>Llewellyn Jones</i>	<i>Elizabeth Bridge Piper</i>
<i>Susan Wilbur (Mrs. L.) Jones</i>	<i>Mary Friedlander (Mrs. J.S.) Plant</i>
<i>** Wallace St. Clair Jones</i>	<i>(L) Bremer Whidden Pond</i>
<i>Frances Ruml (Mrs. W.K.) Jordan</i>	<i>Lucy Kingsley (Mrs. A.K.) Porter</i>
<i>Wilbur Kitchener Jordan</i>	<i>Faith Eddy (Mrs. J.M.) Potter</i>
<i>Albert Guy Keith</i>	<i>*David Thomas Pottinger</i>
<i>(L) Theodora Keith</i>	<i>Mildred Stone (Mrs. D.T.) Pottinger</i>
<i>Frederick Hammond Knight</i>	<i>Alice Edmonds Putnam</i>
<i>Lucy Harrison (Mrs. F. H.) Knight</i>	<i>Mary Clement Parker (Mrs. H.W.) Read</i>
<i>Louise Higgins Langenberg</i>	<i>Fred Norris Robinson</i>
<i>Rowena Morse (Mrs. Wm. L.) Langer</i>	<i>George Irwin Rohrbough</i>
<i>William Leonard Langer</i>	<i>Martha Fraser (Mrs. G.I.) Rohrbough</i>
<i>Marion Florence Lansing</i>	<i>Alfred Sherwood Romer</i>
<i>(A) Susan Taber Low</i>	<i>Ruth Hibbard (Mrs. A.S.) Romer</i>
<i>Dorothy St. John Manks</i>	<i>Anne Elizabeth Hubble (Mrs. G.B.) Roorbach</i>
<i>James Watt Mavor</i>	<i>Gertrude Swan (Mrs. J. C.) Runkle</i>
<i>Elinor Gregory (Mrs. K.D.) Metcalf</i>	<i>Paul Joseph Sachs</i>
<i>Keyes DeWitt Metcalf</i>	<i>Charles Rodney Sage</i>
<i>** Helen Bonney (Mrs. H.) Montgomery</i>	<i>Marjorie Llewellyn (Mrs. C. R.) Sage</i>

<i>Alva Morrison</i>	<i>Agnes Goldman (Mrs. A.) Sanborn</i>
<i>Amy Gallagher (Mrs. A.) Morrison</i>	<i>Cyrus Ashton Rollins Sanborn</i>
<i>James Buell Munn</i>	<i>Edward Joseph Samp, Jr.</i>
<i>Ruth Crosby Hanford (Mrs. J.B.) Munn</i>	<i>*Henry Hallam Saunderson</i>
<i>Elizabeth Dunham (Mrs. G.H.) Nadel</i>	<i>Laura Dudley (Mrs. H.H.) Saunderson</i>
<i>George Hares Nadel</i>	<i>Erwin Haskell Schell</i>
<i>Elizabeth Flint (Mrs. F.H.) Nesmith</i>	<i>Esther Sidelinger (Mrs. E.H.) Schell</i>
<i>Edwin Broomell Newman</i>	<i>(L) Edgar Vigers Seeler, Jr</i>
<i>Mary Beaumont (Mrs. E.B.) Newman</i>	<i>(L) Katherine PerLee (Mrs. E.V.) Seeler</i>
<i>Emily Alan Smith (Mrs. J.T.G.) Nichols</i>	<i>Eugenia Jackson (Mrs. P.P.) Sharples</i>
<i>*John Taylor Gilman Nichols</i>	<i>Philip Price Sharples</i>
<i>** Edward Wentworth Norris</i>	<i>Carol Mary Smith</i>
<i>**Emma Salom (Mrs. E.W.) Norris</i>	<i>Clement Andrew Smith</i>
<i>Grace Wyeth (Mrs. A.P.) Norris</i>	<i>Edna Stevenson Smith</i>
<i>John Torrey Norton</i>	<i>(L) Margaret Beal Earhart (Mrs. C.A.) Smith</i>
<i>Rose Eleanor Demon (Mrs. J.T.) Norton</i>	<i>William Stevenson Smith</i>
<i>Penelope Barker Noyes</i>	<i>** Livingston Stebbins</i>
<i>Joseph A. O'Gorman</i>	<i>Chauncey Depew Steele, Jr.</i>
<i>Isabel Marchant (Mrs. W.G.) O'Neil</i>	<i>Marian Elizabeth (Mrs. C.D., Jr.) Steele</i>
<i>Walter George O'Neil</i>	<i>Lura Gaston (Mrs. G.S.) Summers</i>
<i>Doris Madelyn (Mrs. F.M.) Palmer</i>	
<i>Foster McCrum Palmer</i>	

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

BY-LAWS

As adopted 17 June 1905, with amendments to 28 April 1959

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, autographs, photographs, furniture, furnishings and other objects of historical interest, together with the right to provide a place or places for the preservation and exhibition of the same; of preserving for posterity and exhibiting buildings and places of historical or antiquarian interest; of procuring the publication and distribution of manuscripts and papers of historical or antiquarian interest, and generally of promoting interest in research in relation to the history of Cambridge, in buildings of historical or antiquarian interest situate therein and in objects of antiquarian, historical, literary or artistic interest.

III. REGULAR MEMBERSHIP

Any resident of, or person having a usual place of business in, the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, or any town or city within twenty-five miles of the city limits of said Cambridge, 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 payment of the current fees.

IV. LIMIT OF REGULAR MEMBERSHIP

The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred and twenty-five

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

An indefinite number of associate members may be elected provided that such candidates are not eligible for regular membership as defined in Article III of these By-laws. Nominations for associate 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 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 fourteen 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, an Editor, 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-PRESIDENTS

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 order of their rank.

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.

XI DUTY OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds and securities of the Society and shall keep its accounts in proper books; shall receive and pay all moneys and collect all debts; shall have power to sign and endorse checks in the name of the Corporation and to receipt for all moneys due the Corporation; and shall make all investments and disbursements of its funds, but only with the approval of the Finance Committee. He shall give the Society a bond, in amount and with sureties satisfactory to the Council, conditioned for the proper performance of his duties; but he may be excused from giving such bond, by majority vote of the Council. 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 EDITOR

The Editor shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of the preparation for the press of the Society's proceedings and of their printing, publication, and distribution, as well as of the printing and distribution of other pamphlets and books issued by the Society for general circulation.

XIII. 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 those lodged at the headquarters building of the

Society and except the records and books kept by the Secretary and the Treasurer. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIV. DUTY OF COUNCIL

The Council shall have the general management of the property and affairs of the Society, shall arrange for the 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.

XV. MEETINGS

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

XVI. QUORUM

At meetings of the Society ten members and at meetings of the Council four members shall constitute a quorum. Members of the Society may vote either in person or by proxy in writing filed with the Secretary. No proxy which is dated more than six months before the meeting named therein shall be accepted, and no such proxy shall be valid after the final adjournment of the meeting.

XVII. STANDING COMMITTEES

At each Annual Meeting the President shall appoint the following Standing Committees: 1. A Finance Committee, which shall consist of the President, the Treasurer, and one member of the Society at large, the latter to be preferably a member regularly engaged in the investment business. This Committee shall, subject to the control of the Council, supervise and direct the investment of the funds of the Society; shall review the annual budget of the Society and the budgets of the Committee on Grounds and Buildings and the House Committee; and shall see that the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers are properly audited and that securities are examined and accounted for each year.

2. A Committee on Grounds and Buildings, which shall consist of five members, chosen from the Council and from the Society at large. This Committee shall, subject to the control of the Council, have charge of the buildings and grounds at 159 Brattle Street, Cambridge, and any other buildings and grounds that may hereafter become the property of the Society.

3. A House Committee, which shall consist of five members, chosen from the Council and the Society at large and including the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar. This Committee shall, subject to the control of the Council, have charge of the interior decoration of the house at 159 Brattle Street, Cambridge, and of any other houses that may hereafter become the property of the Society; shall work with the Emerson Scholar and any other custodians of the Society's buildings in order to accomplish suitably the purposes of

the Society in the ownership of such buildings; and shall submit to the Finance Committee an annual budget.

The President shall be ex-officio a member of all Standing Committees and shall fill all vacancies that may occur between Annual Meetings of the Society.

XVIII. THE WILLIAM AND FRANCES WHITE EMERSON SCHOLAR

In grateful recognition of the long interest of Frances White Emerson and William Emerson and of their munificent bequests to the Society, the Council

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shall annually appoint a member of the Society to be known as the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar. The Emerson Scholar shall occupy the house at 159 Brattle Street, Cambridge, free of charge and under conditions outlined in Articles of Agreement satisfactory to the Council. He shall also have charge, under the direction of the Council, of the headquarters building of the Society and of all books, manuscripts, memorials, furniture, and furnishings of the Society lodged therein. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIX. DUES

The amount of the annual dues for regular and associate members shall, except as to those heretofore exempted from the payment thereof, be fixed from time to time by a majority vote of the Council.

XX. RESIGNATION OF MEMBERSHIP

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

XXI. DISSOLUTION

If at any time the active membership falls below ten, this Society may be dissolved at the written request of three members, according to the laws and statutes of this Commonwealth.

XXII. DISPOSITION OF PROPERTY UPON DISSOLUTION

Upon dissolution of the Society, the books, manuscripts, collections, the invested and other funds of the Society, and such other property as it may have, shall be transferred to such institution or institutions doing similar work as may seem best to the members of the Society.

XXIII. AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS

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