





CONTRIBUTIONS

OF

THE OLD RESIDENTS'

Historical Association,

LOWELL, MASS.

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

Vol. V. No. 1.

PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION, OCTOBER, 1892.

"Tis greatly wise to talk with our past hours."—YOUNG.

LOWELL, MASS.:
MORNING MAIL PRINT, 147 CENTRAL STREET.
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A. J. Booth

*I. Memoir of Hon. Josiah Gardner Abbott, LL. D.,
Lawyer, Judge, Statesman and Patriot, read
Nov. 24, 1891, by Charles Cowley, LL. D.*

THE death of Judge Abbott on the second day of last June startled the community by its suddenness. His sickness had lasted only ten days, and had been little known beyond his law office in Boston and his summer home at Wellesley Hills. It did not develop any symptoms of a dangerous character until the last day preceding his death. It began with the grip and finally assumed an acute bronchial form.

The notices of his life which have appeared in the public journals have been kind and appreciative, though not so full in the recital of facts as those who know him best might reasonably desire. The citizens of Wellesley expressed their sense of his worth and of their loss by resolutions and addresses at a public meeting called for that purpose. If that precedent has not been followed in Lowell, it is not because his merits are less appreciated in this city, though thirty years have passed since he ceased to live here. A new generation has come upon the stage of action during those thirty years, which cannot be indifferent to a life so recently closed, and so conspicuous for ability, activity and public spirit.

Nine generations of the Abbott family have flourished in the colony, province and commonwealth of

Massachusetts, including the judge and the children and grandchildren who survive him. The pioneer of the family was George Abbott, an English Puritan, who was born in 1615, came from Yorkshire in 1640, and was one of the settlers of Andover in 1643. The second American Abbott among the judge's ancestors, was Timothy Abbott, who, when thirteen years old, during King Phillip's war, was captured by the Indians and held in captivity for several months. His brother Joseph was killed by them. The third was another Timothy, and the fourth Nathan, who was the first to be relieved of the necessity of living in a garrison house.

The fifth American Abbott was Caleb, whose wife was Lucy Lovejoy, and whose wife's sister was the second wife of the father of the late Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. Thus J. G. Abbott's grand-aunt was the stepmother of the president of the Southern Confederacy. In 1855, while a student in Judge Abbott's office, I visited Washington for the first time, and was introduced by Caleb Cushing, then attorney-general, to Jefferson Davis, then secretary of war. Neither of us then dreamed that we were within six years of such a struggle as the war of secession; and I remember that in the conversation I then had with Mr. Davis, he spoke of the Lovejoys and also of the Maynards as Massachusetts families to which he was allied, and intimated a purpose to visit New England when he had left the cabinet of President Pierce, and to learn more than he then knew of its people.

The sixth in the line of Judge Abbott's American ancestors was his father, Caleb Abbott, who removed from Andover to Chelmsford, married Mercy Fletcher, daughter of Josiah Fletcher, and carried on the business

of a country merchant at Chelmsford Centre. He died in 1846 ; his wife died twelve years earlier.

The Fletcher family to which Judge Abbott's mother belonged were English Puritans who came from Devonshire and settled in Concord, and in 1653 in Chelmsford. William Fletcher, one of these first settlers, owned a large part of the territory which in 1826 was incorporated as the town of Lowell, and built his log cabin near where the City Farm buildings now stand. It is said that Josiah Fletcher, one of his descendants, and one of Judge Abbott's mother's ancestors, married Mary Chamberlain, daughter of the man so renowned in Indian war history for having killed the famous chief, Paugus, though I do not find this in the Genealogy of the Fletcher Family.

Among the nearest neighbors of the Fletchers were the Pierces, whose dwelling house stood near the corner of Chelmsford and Forrest streets. At the time of the Revolution the head of this family was Benjamin Pierce, who became a brigadier-general, governor of New Hampshire, and father of Franklin Pierce, president of the United States.*

Both the grandfathers of Judge Abbott were present at the battle of Bunker Hill, and in the war of Independence. His grandfather Fletcher was for some time in Captain John Ford's company, and rose himself to the rank of captain.†

Josiah Gardner Abbott was of the seventh generation of American Abbots, being the second son and the fourth child of Caleb Abbott and Mercy Fletcher. According to the town clerk's records he was born in

*The best memoir of Governor Pierce is that of the late Joshua Merrill, read before this association, and published in the third volume of its Contributions.

† See Abbot's History of Andover, Bailey's History of Andover, and the Genealogies of the Abbott and Fletcher Families respectively

Chelmsford November 1, 1814, and that is his birth-date as given in the Abbott Genealogy; but for many years he supposed that his birth took place a year later.

The best domestic influences formed his character as a boy. Four events took place during his youth, which contributed to stimulate and enlarge his mind. First, the Unitarian movement, into which his father entered with zeal, and helped to carry the church of Chelmsford out of the Calvinism of the Mathers into the liberalism of Channing. Second, the disruption of the Federal party and the rise of Jacksonian democracy, which was espoused alike by the father and the son. Third, the starting of the North American Review and the development of American literature, of which J. G. Abbott was a reader and a lover from the first. The day of town libraries had not yet dawned; but the people of Chelmsford were in advance of their times, and they established a library by voluntary combination, which was placed in J. G. Abbott's father's store. All of these events, particularly the establishment of the library, contributed to develop the mind of J. G. Abbott to an extraordinary degree of activity and power.

In the summer of 1823 he was old enough to be permitted, with an older brother, to go off some three miles from his home at Chelmsford Centre to attend a brigade muster near Middlesex Village. It is worthy of note that even at that early time of his life he felt greater interest in the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, which was then preparing to start its first water-wheel, than in the evolutions of "the embattled farmers," "the thunder of the captains and the shooting."

"I recollect," he says, "we gave up the delights and attractions of the muster-field and soldiers and their sham fights, and trudged on some two miles farther to

look at the beginning of the place which is now Lowell, and of which I had heard so much talk in the country round about. All I could see was one of the Merrimack Mills, the walls of which were partly finished; but all the surroundings were quiet and even wild enough, with only a few hundreds of people, where now [1876] you number fifty thousand. The recollection of that visit in my early boyhood, has always been very vivid with me, and at times it is difficult to realize the changes going on under my own eyes, in so short a time." *

After viewing this first mill of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, these young visitors trudged on down to Bradley's Ferry, near the present site of Central Bridge.

It is not likely that young Abbott turned his face toward Chelmsford on that day, without a passing glance at the commanding bluff in Belvidere, where St. John's Hospital now stands, where then towered the famous yellow house, the residence of Judge Livermore, with its large and well-kept lawn, adorned with Lombardy poplars, beneath whose shade perhaps at that very moment, the fair young girl, Caroline Livermore, jumped her rope, in utter unconsciousness that her future husband was so near — "so near and yet so far."

From Bradley's Ferry the Abbott boys walked to the farm-house of their cousin, Joseph Fletcher, which stood near the well which may still be seen, covered by a millstone, near the northwest corner of the South Common. There they obtained refreshments, together with information as to the families of the neighborhood. An old log-house, standing partly on the site of the Eliot Church and partly on the adjoining land of Mr. John

* From Judge Abbott's letter in the Proceedings in the City of Lowell at the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Incorporation of the Town of Lowell, March 1, 1876, p. 83.

Dennis, was pointed out to them as the meeting-house in which the Rev. John Eliot preached to the Indians of Wamesit. Two ancient elm trees shaded this relic of the seventeenth century, which was no more to be seen when the Abbott boys next came to this place some years later.*

This first visit of J. G. Abbott to what is now Lowell, preceded by from four to five years that spring afternoon when another slender boy, Benjamin F. Butler by name, stood for the first time on Christian Hill and enjoyed the panorama of the valley at the confluence of the Concord and Merrimack Rivers, which, as he says, "glistened in the sunlight, so that the picture is nearly as vivid now to his memory as when it first struck his wondering eyes." †

Chelmsford had a classical school which Abbott attended. ‡ For four months, from September, 1825, to January, 1826, this classical school was taught by Ralph Waldo Emerson, and the impression made by him upon young Abbott was very favorable. To the last Judge Abbott always spoke of "the American Plato" in terms of praise. §

His next teacher in that school was the Rev. Abiel Abbot, a very able man, whom Harvard College afterwards honored with the degree of doctor of divinity, and of whom a full account may be found in "Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit" Miss Antoinette Abbott, the only surviving child of Judge Abbott's

* Greene's Semi-Centennial Volume of the Eliot Church, pp. 148, 297-301; Lowell Morning Mail, May 21, 1888, and June 16, 1892.

† General Butler's Oration in the Proceedings before quoted, p. 37.

‡ For an account of the remarkable men who attended this school, see Perham's History of Chelmsford, in the History of the County of Middlesex, published by Lewis & Co., Philadelphia, Vol. 2, p. 263.

§ Holmes' Life of Emerson, pp. 49, 50.

parents, writes: "I have often heard my brother say that Dr. Abbot was one of the most thorough teachers he ever had." Dr. George B. Loring eulogizes Dr. Abbot as a noble representative of the best type of our New England character in form and feature and cast of mind; and on meeting Mr. Gladstone, in 1889, he wrote that Mr. Gladstone strongly resembled Dr. Abbot.*

Dr. Abbot was succeeded by Crammore Wallace, under whom Abbott studied for more than a year, and then, in 1828, entered Harvard College. Mr. Wallace afterwards taught school in South Carolina, and was always well spoken of as a teacher by the Abbots.

In 1832 Mr. Abbott graduated. It was during his college life that the nullification troubles reached and passed their crisis, and the firm foot which President Jackson put upon that movement, made him more than ever before a Jackson man.

For a time he taught the Fitchburg Academy. The months which he spent as a teacher, I have heard him say, were among the most important of his earlier life, by reason of their ripening influence upon his mind, and the completer command which he thereby acquired of his previous acquisitions, as well as the new stores of knowledge which he then added to his former stock.

He began the study of law in the office of Joel Adams, near his father's home at Chelmsford Centre. Mr. Adams was a successful lawyer, though his court practice was never large; and Mr. Abbott appreciated and commended his acute legal mind.

On the night of July 2, 1834, the figure of President Jackson was cut and carried away from the frigate *Constitution*, at the Charlestown Navy Yard. Young Abbott

* Loring's Year in Portugal, pp. 5, 6.

fully shared the indignation which that event excited among democrats. In 1861 this figure came into the possession of Mr. Jonathan Bowers, and now adorns his hall at Willow Dale. It is impossible for one who looks at it now, and who has no personal recollection of the teapot tempest of 1834, to realize how much passion the taking away of that figure actually aroused.

In the autumn of 1834, Mr. Abbott took up his abode in Lowell and entered the law office of Nathaniel Wright. He was followed very soon by Mr. James B. Francis, then at the beginning of his distinguished career as an hydraulic engineer.* These two young men, destined to attain the heights of their respective professions, boarded in the same house, and formed a friendship which was ended only by Judge Abbott's death. In the summer of 1835 both of these fellow-boarders narrowly escaped death by typhoid fever, caught probably from the same drain.

In the letter already quoted, Judge Abbott says: "My acquaintance with Lowell began with the latter part of 1834, when it had a population, I believe, of about twelve thousand. I think all who lived there at that time and for the next twenty years, will agree with me in saying that no city of its size, ever contained a more remarkable people, or a pleasanter or more cultivated society. I doubt if any place of as large a population, ever had within its borders a larger number of very able men, who would be marked and remarkable in any community."

If this language seems extravagant, I am sure it is sincere. Curiously enough, Wendell Phillips, who left Lowell about the same time when J. G. Abbott took up

* For an outline of this career see Charles C. Chase's History of Lowell, in the History of the County of Middlesex, already quoted, p. 14.

his residence here, bears similar testimony to Lowell society as he saw it.*

In April, 1836, the town of Lowell was incorporated as a city. Mr. Abbott's personal preferences were for a non-partisan administration of municipal affairs. The fact that one citizen favored a high tariff and another a low tariff, that one favored a national bank and another favored state banks, was not in his judgment a sufficient reason for excluding the one or the other from an equal share in the exercise of municipal functions. But neither party was willing to waive the chance to elect candidates of its own exclusive choice. The only office under the city charter ever held by Mr. Abbott, was that of director of the city library, which he held for the year 1852. His son, Samuel A. B. Abbott, Esq., has followed his father's principles in the management of the Boston Public Library, being chairman of its board of trustees. In deciding who shall be employed in that justly renowned library, party considerations have no place.†

In November, 1836, Mr. Abbott was elected a member of the house of representatives for the year 1837. Two of his colleagues from Lowell in that house, are present to-night, Hon. Josiah G. Peabody and Hon. James K. Fellows. Among other members of that house deserving honorable mention, were Julius Rockwell, the speaker, afterwards judge, Robert C. Winthrop, John C. Park, Thomas Whittemore, Samuel Bowles, Amos Abbott, afterwards Representative in Congress from the Lowell district, and Charles P. Huntington, who afterwards served with Judge Abbott upon the bench. The senate

* See Mr. Phillips' statement in Cowley's History of Lowell, p. 119.

† In 1870 Judge Abbott served as one of the Examining Committee of the Public Library. Ten years later Samuel A. B. Abbott, his son, served in that capacity. From 1879 to the present time he has been one of its trustees, and for the last four years chairman of the board.

of 1837 contained Charles Allen of Worcester, afterwards Chief Justice of the Superior Court, Myron Lawrence of Belchertown, William Livingston of Lowell, and Linus Child, afterwards of Lowell. The governor was Edward Everett, who adorned every position to which he was called. Mr. Abbott's estimate of Samuel Bowles was considerably higher than that formed by other men at that time, though none too high, as the success of the Springfield Republican under his management abundantly proved. But the man who made the deepest impression on Mr. Abbott's expanding mind, was Robert Rantoul, Jr., the leader of the Jacksonian democracy in the house. Rantoul perished in his prime, and few survive of those who knew him. But no man who reads his "Memoirs, Writings and Speeches," will wonder that a mind so well stocked with large and grand ideas, and so capable of clothing them in forcible language, should have exerted a decided influence over the youngest member of the house. Some of the reforms for which Rantoul fought have long since been embodied in statute law, and have ceased to be thought of; but they were "burning questions" in 1837 and for many years thereafter.

In January, 1837, Mr. Abbott was admitted to practice as an attorney and counsellor-at-law. His first client was Daniel Raymond Kimball, who remained his client as long as he lived. He died in 1859 and Mr. Abbott settled his estate as executor of his will. The friendship which Mr. Abbott thus early formed for Raymond Kimball was extended to John F. Kimball, nephew of Raymond and president of the Appleton National Bank, and continued for nearly forty years and was never broken during his life.

His first law partner was Amos Spaulding. Owing to the financial disasters of the year 1837 hundreds be-

came insolvent, and the firm of Spaulding & Abbott received from their business during that year about \$5000.

Mr. Abbott was but ten months older than Richard H. Dana, Jr., who was for many years his contemporary at the bar, but he had made a brilliant start in his chosen profession, and had closed his career in the house of representatives before August, 1837, when young Dana made that voyage from Boston to California, the story of which he has told so well in his "Two Years Before the Mast."

The Western fever was then prevalent in the Eastern States. Caleb Fletcher Abbott had removed from Chelmsford to Toledo, and was anxious that his younger brother should also remove to Toledo and become his law partner there. J. G. Abbott would, perhaps, have yielded to these solicitations had they not been controlled by more powerful attractions, the nature of which may be inferred from the following announcement in the local papers of that time :

"Married in this city, July 21, 1838, by the Rev. Theodore Edson, Josiah G. Abbott, Esq., to Miss Caroline Livermore."

That event determined that Mr. Abbott should run an Eastern and not a Western career.

In the life of Mr. Abbott, as in the lives of Mr. Evarts, Mr. Benjamin, and many other American lawyers, great and small, there was an episode of journalism. In 1840 he edited the Lowell Advertiser and advocated the re-election of President Van Buren as the representative of Jacksonian democracy. The Advertiser was of course a partisan journal. All the public journals then in the country were partisan except the New York Herald and Garrison's Liberator. But apart from its politics, Mr. Abbott gave to the paper a decided literary flavor. Like

Lord Bacon, "he took all knowledge for his province." The files of the Advertiser, preserved in the City Library,* show that even as a journalist.

" — he bore without abuse
The grand old name of Gentleman,
Abused by every charlatan,
And soiled with all ignoble use."

Many a well-turned paragraph appeared, which owed its origin to the fact that a lawyer was at the helm, and yet his paper had no odor of the law office, and was never used as an aid to his practice at the bar.

One of the worst abuses of journalism in our times is the use of newspapers for or against parties to causes before or during trial. In the case of Mrs. Hannah Kinney, who was tried in Boston, in December, 1840, on an indictment for poisoning her third husband, George T. Kinney, the temptation to give vent through the press to the prevailing impressions against the defendant, was unusually strong. Mrs. Kinney had been the wife of the Rev. Enoch W. Freeman, the popular pastor of the First Baptist Church in Lowell, and was vehemently suspected of having caused his death by arsenical poisoning.† Nevertheless, not a word appeared in the Advertiser's notices of the progress of the case, calculated to aid or hinder the prosecution or the defendant. As soon as the case had ended; that is to say, as soon as it was proper for an editor to express an opinion upon it, Mr. Abbott condemned the conduct of Attorney-General Austin in undertaking the prosecution without further proof.

It was while Mr. Abbott occupied the editorial chair that the Lowell Offering appeared, and no journal greeted

* The volume for 1840 is one of those presented to the city by the heirs of Fisher A. Hildreth.

† Charles Cowley's History of Lowell, pp. 111-114.

it with a warmer welcome than the Lowell Advertiser. While he deplored any condition of society which compelled married women to work for wages outside of their homes, he gave his deepest sympathies to the factory girls in all their aspirations for intellectual and moral culture, as well as in their struggle for the means of living.

While Mr. Abbott edited the Advertiser, the late Daniel S. Richardson, who had already been admitted to the bar, edited the Lowell Courier. Nathaniel P. Banks, afterwards more widely known as speaker, governor and major-general, succeeded Mr. Abbott as editor of the democratic organ in Lowell.

In those days lyceum lectures were much in vogue. On many occasions Mr. Abbott rode out to some town, frequently accompanied by his wife, gave a lecture on some topic of the time, and drove back to Lowell the same night.

In 1842, having some time previously dissolved his connection with Mr. Spaulding, Mr. Abbott formed a co-partnership with Samuel A. Brown, which continued till 1855. Much might be said of these law partners, especially of Mr. Brown, who was a very superior man; but time would fail.

In 1842 he purchased of his mother-in-law a tract of land on Stackpole Street, and built a stone house thereon, in which he resided till 1861. Many of the shade trees on Stackpole Street were planted by him. The songs of the birds in those trees, the murmur of the river below, all the voices of nature in that region, pleased him.

In 1842 and 1843 Mr. Abbott served the state as a senator, being on the two most important committees—the judiciary and railroads. The committee on the judiciary has always been considered of the first impor-

tance; but in the infancy of our railroad corporations, the importance of the committee on railroads was very great; and the results of our early railroad legislation are still felt—sometimes for evil, but more generally for good.

During the year 1843 J. G. Abbott was attached to Governor Morton's staff as senior aide-de-camp.

On August 16, 1843, a meeting of the Abbott family was held in Andover, which appointed Rev. Abiel Abbot, D. D., of Peterboro', Rev. Ephraim Abbott of Westford, Samuel Abbott of Charlestown, and Hon. Josiah G. Abbott of Lowell, to erect a monument to George and Hannah Abbott in their burial place in the South Parish of Andover, and also to prepare a genealogical register of their descendants.

Dr. Abiel Abbot wrote the History of Andover and the Genealogical Register of the descendants of George Abbott of Rowley, Thomas Abbott of Andover, Arthur Abbott of Ipswich, Robert Abbott of Bradford, Conn., and George Abbott of Norwalk, Conn. In this he had Rev. Ephraim Abbott, of Westford, as co-worker. The Genealogy was published in 1847.

When Mr. Littell started his Living Age, in 1844, Mr. Abbott became one of his first subscribers, and he continued to take it and read it till his death. He was equally constant in his patronage of the Lowell Vox Populi, started, partly by his aid, three years before.

Of Judge Abbott's part in founding the city of Lawrence (1845), his brother-in-law, Hon. Daniel Saunders, has spoken in a letter to be published with this paper, showing him to have been one of the fathers of that city. It is by no fault of his that Lawrence stands on the opposite side of the Merrimack from that on which it should have been builded.

How important a part he bore in the upbuilding of Lewiston is but partially indicated by the number of shares of the Lewiston corporations owned by him, or by the number of years during which he was president or director of those corporations. He had an aptitude for large enterprises, and delighted to exercise his powers in various ways.

Among his investments, those in woodlands must not be forgotten. He began the purchase of woodland in several different towns at an early age, and continued it till the shadow of three score years and ten had passed over him. He never sold one of his wood-lots, and he employed Amos Brown and his son and grandson to cut his wood for fifty years and until his death.

About the year 1846 the "Melvin Suits" came to an end, and Grenville Parker, who had been of counsel for the defeated parties, published anonymously his pungent pamphlet on the Judiciary of Massachusetts, reviewing and condemning the rulings of the judges in those cases. John P. Robinson's paper in the second volume of the Contributions of this association presents the other side of these cases, which excited a great deal of feeling at the time. The tide of opinion never ran higher against corporations than when the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River obtained final judgment in the last of these suits. Although Abbott and Brown afterwards became and for many years continued to be the counsel for the victorious corporation, neither of them ever failed, upon proper occasion, to express his dissent from some of the rulings which Parker condemned.*

In 1847 the Appleton Bank, now the Appleton

* Grenville Parker passed his later years in West Virginia, and took an active part in procuring its admission into the Union.

National Bank, was incorporated. Mr. Abbott immediately commenced to make his deposits there, and continued to do so during his life. In fact he never opened any account elsewhere, but during the whole thirty years of his life in Boston, he made all his deposits in that bank through its Boston correspondent. That fact tells its own story as to the sound and wise management of the bank, and the constancy of Judge Abbott's attachments.

In 1848 he "bolted" the democratic nominations—Cass and Butler—for president and vice president, and supported the free soil nominees—Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams. He and Hon. Chauncey L. Knapp were chosen delegates to the national free soil convention, but his professional engagements prevented him from going to Buffalo, and George F. Farley, Esq., of Groton, attended as his substitute.

In 1850 Mr. Abbott was appointed master in chancery, and served as such five years, Hon. Arthur P. Bonney succeeding him.

In 1852, when Kossuth made his tour through the United States, Abbott gave him both sympathy and material aid, and was one of the citizens' committee who invited him to Lowell, and introduced him to the people in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church.

Had the office of attorney-general become vacant during Governor Boutwell's time (1851-52) it was understood that Mr. Abbott would have been appointed, so well established was his reputation at that time.

In 1853 he was elected a delegate to the constitutional convention on the coalition ticket. The new constitution proposed by the convention was rejected by the the people of the state, but the debates in that body prepared the way for the adoption of some of the amend-

ments to the constitution which that convention proposed. This was the only legal body in which Judge Abbott ever sat with George S. Boutwell, Alexander H. Bullock, Benjamin F. Butler, Anson Burlingame, Rufus Choate, Richard H. Dana, Jr., Henry L. Dawes, Charles Sumner, Frederick O. Prince, or Henry Wilson. James K. Fellows, who had been one of his colleagues in the house of representatives in 1837, was one of his colleagues in this convention, Shubael P. Adams, then a Lowell lawyer, now of the Iowa bar, was another of his colleagues from Lowell, and General Butler was another. The rest of the Lowell delegates, John W. Graves, Andrew T. Nute, James M. Moore, Abraham Tilton, and Peter Powers, together with all the defeated whig candidates, have passed to the silent land.

The debates of that convention show that Mr. Abbott favored an elective judiciary, and also favored making the jury judges of law as well as of facts in criminal cases. A notable debate on the right or the power of the jury, under the decisions of the Supreme Court,* to determine the law as well as the facts in a criminal cause, took place between Mr. Abbott and Ex-Governor Morton, without disturbing the friendly relations which had for many years existed between the disputants. Two years later the legislature passed an act intending to embody Judge Abbott's views, which were also the views of many others, including eminent lawyers of all parties.† But in the case of *Commonwealth v. Anthes*, 5 Gray, 185, a majority of the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court decided either that this act did not change the law as it

* *Commonwealth v. Porter*, 10 Metcalf, 263 (1845).

† This jury act of 1855 is embodied in Chapter 214, Section 17, of the Public Statutes, though sadly eviscerated by the opinions of a majority of the judges in *Anthes' case*. This was one of the decisions at which William S. Robinson ("Warrenton") delighted to discharge the arrows of his wit.

previously stood, or that if it did attempt to change the law and make the jury judges of the law, it was unconstitutional and void. The dissenting opinion of Judge Thomas in that case met Judge Abbott's hearty concurrence; and I remember hearing him quote an old English ballad as stating the ancient and true view of the functions of the jury in Crown cases, and I give it from memory as he did:

“ For twelve honest men shall sit on his cause,
Who are judges alike of the facts and the laws.”

After Mr. Abbott had gone upon the bench, his former law partner, Samuel A. Brown, re-argued this question and re-asserted Judge Abbott's views, in the case of *Commonwealth v. Austin*, 7 Gray, 51, but without changing the attitude of the Supreme Court thereon.

When Judge Abbott had formed an opinion after mature deliberation, he was not easily moved. The mere *ipse dixit* of a judge weighed little with him, and where he saw a court palm off a pretext as a substitute for a reason, he did not hesitate to express his dissent in forceful terms. But nothing that he ever said, in the Constitutional Convention or elsewhere, could justify Mr. Dana in referring to him in his diary as feeling anything like a hatred toward the Supreme Court.* If the decisions of that tribunal did not always suit him, it was “ more in sorrow than in anger ” that he signified his disapprobation of the error into which it had lapsed.

In 1855 the Superior Court for the County of Suffolk was established, superseding in that county the old Court of Common Pleas. Its members were Albert H. Nelson, of Woburn, one of Abbott's classmates at college; J. G.

* Adams' Biography of Richard H. Dana, Jr., Vol. I, pp. 240, 242, 243. Mr. Causten Browne showed a far better appreciation of Judge Abbott when he said that he was too proud as well as too generous for any vindictiveness.

Abbott, of Lowell; Charles P. Huntington, of Boston, formerly of Northampton, and Stephen G. Nash, of Boston.

Judge Abbott accepted this appointment with three ends in view: First, to make a good judge, and win such reputation as usually attends a good magistrate; second, to secure for himself a period of comparative rest from the severer labors of the bar; third, to get such an introduction to the bar and business community of Boston as would secure for him, upon quitting the bench, a fair share of the cream of the law business of that city. All these ends he accomplished. The facility with which he despatched business was very great. On one motion-day there were no less than forty-six hearings before him on contested motions which he decided. He was always honest and fair in dealing with counsel. When exceptions were taken to his rulings, he never sought to deprive counsel of the benefit of those exceptions.

One day, in the spring of 1857, I sat in his court for an hour or so, and when he adjourned walked with him to the depot. I remarked that he seemed to enjoy his position. "Oh, yes," he replied, "it's pleasant work and far less exhausting than trying cases at the bar. But I have had enough of it, and can't afford to stay on the bench. Don't mention it at present, but I shall not stay on that perch after this year."

His resignation took effect January 1, 1858. He resumed practice at the bar for the sake of its emoluments, and he did not fail to get them. His salary as a judge was only \$3,000 a year; and his income from his practice during the first year after he left the bench was more than \$29,000. It afterwards rose to \$36,000. These figures represent the returns from regular work, without any of those "windfalls" with which lawyers

are sometimes favored. Large as they are, the professional incomes of lawyers have sometimes exceeded them. The income of Judah P. Benjamin, while at the head of the British bar, is said to have amounted in some years to \$75,000.*

It happened to me to be present when Mr. Benjamin made his first argument in an English Chancery Court.† It was in the year 1868 in London. I had heard him years before in the Supreme Court of the United States, as well as in the senate at Washington. As I listened to that marvelous feat of advocacy and saw how marked an impression Mr. Benjamin made upon the court, the bar and the bystanders, the question arose, how would J. G. Abbott have succeeded had he essayed a career at the English bar? Between Abbott, with his tall, well-proportioned form, his Saxon face and Saxon voice, on the one hand, and Benjamin, with his short and obese body, his Hebrew face and soft Semitic tongue, the differences were marked. And yet there were marked resemblances between the minds and methods of those giants of the forum. There was the same clearness of statement, the same mastery of the case, the same earnest, impetuous, on-rushing tide of speech, flowing without ebb; the same care as to the matter of the argument; the same carelessness as to the form, in both. In my judgment Mr. Abbott would have achieved success, had he sought it, at the bar of the Babylon of London. But my admiration for him was such that I cannot pretend to present any estimate of him as entitled to the weight of an impartial

* Dictionary of National Biography, Art. Benjamin.

† Two cases were heard together, in both of which the United States were plaintiffs. The defendants were Frazer, Trenholm & Co., and John Frazer & Co. Sir Roundell Palmer, now Earl of Selborne, was Benjamin's leading opponent. The plaintiffs prevailed, and, as the legal successors of the Confederate States, recovered a large amount of Confederate property in the defendants' hands.

opinion. I prefer therefore to sketch with rapid strokes the outline of his life, and to give the opinions of others, rather than my own, touching his professional traits.

In 1859 Judge Abbott was chosen one of the overseers of Harvard College, and served as such six years.

In 1859 J. G. Abbott, G. B. Upton and George S. Boutwell, were appointed commissioners under the legislative act of that year to make an award to the city of Boston of compensation for its relinquishment of certain rights on Arlington Street.

In 1860, when George T. Bigelow succeeded Lemuel Shaw as Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, Judge Abbott was offered a place on that bench, but declined it for the same reason which had led him to resign his position on the Superior Court.

In 1860, as a choice of evils, he voted for the Douglass ticket for presidential electors.

In 1861 Judge Abbott removed from 128 Stackpole Street, Lowell, to 6 Arlington Street, Boston. But, although he ceased to be a citizen of Lowell, he never lost his interest in this community. In the letter already quoted he says: "As you know, I have passed some of the happiest years of my life in Lowell, and with it are connected some of the pleasantest and best recollections of the past. I took up my residence there soon after leaving college; there I married my wife; there all my children were born; and there repose the ashes of some of them who so lived and died that I am sure their native city has never had cause to be ashamed of them."

Judge Abbott had early learned in the school of Jackson that the Union is an institution to be maintained, if necessary, by force; and when that Union was menaced with destruction in 1861, all who knew him knew what his position would be. Like his friend, Rufus

Choate, he would say, "We join no party that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union." The first flag raised in Lowell after the Confederate assault on Fort Sumter was accompanied by an eloquent appeal from him which completely electrified the assembled throng.

When the militia of Lowell were called to Washington for the defence of the capital, even before a man of them had buckled on his knapsack, Judge Abbott gave General Butler \$100, to be used for the relief of any suffering among his soldiers. He appeared before a meeting of the bank presidents of Lowell and urged them to lend their money freely to the government to carry on the war. Like Gen. William T. Sherman and other far-sighted patriots, whom shallow men then pronounced "cranks," he foresaw that the war for the Union would be long and bloody, and urged the enlistment of men for not less than three years' service. His three oldest sons entered the army at once, and two of them were sacrificed in the bloody struggle. The Abbott Greys, the company which his oldest son commanded, in the Second Regiment of Massachusetts Infantry,* were the special subject of his care and for them he contributed freely of his money.

Seeing how much the officers and men rallying for the defence of the Union, required to be taught what their duties would be, Judge Abbott wrote a letter to Governor Andrew recommending the formation of camps of instruction. From the plans submitted by him, the Camp Act, so called, the principal bill passed by the leg-

* Fletcher Morton Abbott, M. D., the only one of Judge Abbott's three sons who served in the army who survived the war, began his military career as a lieutenant in this regiment, and afterwards served as captain on the staff of Brigadier-General Dwight. See Quint's Record of the Second Massachusetts Infantry, p. 497. General Hooker said, "This regiment, as is known in two armies, has no superior."

islature at the extra session of 1861, was prepared before the session began. The training received by our volunteers during their brief sojourn at these camps, was of very great value.

When the republican state convention met at Worcester in September, 1861, to nominate candidates for the state offices, its members realized the necessity of enlarging their platform in order to attract, if possible, the war democrats. It was felt that it was desirable in that perilous crisis in national affairs, to make the party simply a war party and to postpone all other issues until the war for the Union had ended. Without one dissenting voice, if my memory serves me correctly, that convention nominated J. G. Abbott for the office of attorney-general. The wisdom of that nomination was too obvious for discussion, and many of the judge's friends, democrats as well as republicans, urged him to accept it. Since that time some persons of a very miscellaneous sort have filled that office; but prior to that time it had been held by lawyers of the first rank, and Judge Abbott's reputation, if not enhanced, would surely have suffered no damage, by filling an office which Rufus Choate and John H. Clifford had adorned. Nevertheless, so fastidious was his sense of personal honor and party fealty, he could not be induced to accept that office. Nothing that has occurred during the last thirty years has changed my opinion that his declinal of that office was a great mistake. It seemed to me that his true place was at the head of the Union party, and that by this declinal he closed upon himself the opening gate to a great career.

In 1862 Judge Abbott wrote: "If we would succeed we must be united in our purpose to fight it out — to conquer. All true men can and must unite to carry out that purpose — they can and must adjourn all other

questions till the war is over. That purpose is large enough, it is holy enough to engross and satisfy all."*

Truer words were never spoken, and they were as applicable to the situation in 1861 as in 1862.

Had Judge Abbott accepted the nomination, he would certainly have been elected; and the republican party, though it had an abundance of leaders, was lamentably in need of such a leader as he. On the other hand, it may be said that by remaining with the democratic party through those years of peril he performed an important service to the country by constantly bracing up that party to support the war; the more so because that party contained thousands of men who were opposed to the war.

The same wise foresight which prompted him to advocate camps of instruction and long terms of enlistment in 1861, led him to oppose the stopping of enlistments in the spring of 1862, notwithstanding the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, of which Senator Wilson was chairman, reported that we already had soldiers enough! Judge Abbott saw clearly and said boldly that the period of the war had been much prolonged, and the sacrifice of life and treasure greatly augmented by suspending the recruiting of our armies so prematurely at that time.

In 1862 Williams College conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

On the ninth of August, 1862, the horrors of war entered his own home; his eldest son, Captain and Brevet Major Edward Gardner Abbott, Company A, Second Massachusetts Infantry, was killed in battle at Cedar Mountain, Virginia; and all the hopes that clustered about his future were blasted in a moment. But this

* From a manuscript found among his papers, entitled "A Divided North, Treason."

terrible parental affliction only intensified his indomitable purpose to suppress the rebellion. When General Lee, flushed by his success in Virginia, led his victorious army into Maryland, and when it seemed not improbable that the flag of the Confederate States would shortly float in triumph over Philadelphia, Judge Abbott wrote an appeal to the people of Massachusetts to meet in Faneuil Hall, irrespective of party, "to take counsel together for the common weal." In response to this appeal "the People's Convention" met on the seventh of October. I do not now enter into any discussion of the merits of the proceedings of that convention. Whatever of success or failure attended those proceedings, the lofty patriotism which animated the call under which that convention met, is beyond all praise. There are passages in that call which for force and elevation of style will lose nothing by comparison with the stirring words of the Declaration of Independence.

On the day preceding that convention Senator Sumner had spoken in the same hall.* I heard Sumner's speech; I also heard Abbott's speech, and as I listened to the thunders of applause which greeted them, I recalled what I had read of the stormy scenes of the Greek republics, when

"Under the rock-stand of Demosthenes
Unstable Athens heaved her noisy seas."

Joel Parker, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, had been selected to make the principal speech on that occasion. He was a learned and able man, powerful in his addresses to the intellect, but weak in his appeals to the feelings. He had none of that versatility which enabled Abbott to convince a

* Sumner's speech appears in the seventh volume of his works.

bench of judges, capture a jury, or ride upon the whirlwind of a popular assembly. No sooner had the convention organized itself, than loud calls arose for Abbott, who, as I happen to know, had made no preparation to speak on that day, though his heart and soul were full. He could stir the emotions. One blast on Abbott's bugle-horn was worth a thousand Parkers.

The day of that convention was one of those "momentous occasions" referred to by Webster in his oration at Plymouth Rock, "when great interests are at stake and strong passions excited," and Judge Abbott had just those qualities which such occasions require. "Clearness, force and earnestness," as Webster said, "are the qualities which produce conviction." The vast assembly was thoroughly electrified by his speech, particularly by the peroration. Pointing to the broad canvass on which Webster appears replying to Hayne, and raising his voice to its loudest, clearest tones, he said: "Let us here, in the presence of its greatest defender, swear that we will give fortune, that we will give life, that we will give all, to support that constitution and establish its sway over the whole land."

To realize how much these words really meant, one must recall the circumstances under which they were spoken — the fact that the oldest son of the speaker had shortly before been laid in a soldier's grave in the Lowell Cemetery, and that both of his other sons in the army were so broken in health that their mother had gone to Antietam to give them her personal care. Called to the scene of that battle by the condition of her second son, she met on the field her third son suffering from the delirium of fever in the brain. But none of these things moved him.

In the senatorial election of 1863, and again in

1869, Judge Abbott received the support of the democrats in the legislature, but the republican majority was overwhelming, and Charles Sumner was elected. The same empty honor was repeated to Judge Abbott in 1877, when Senator Hoar was chosen.

On the sixth of May, 1864, his second son, Major and Brevet Brigadier-General Henry Livermore Abbott, while gallantly leading his regiment, the Twentieth Massachusetts Infantry, in the battle of the Wilderness, was fatally wounded. "Had he lived," General Hancock said, "he would have been one of our most distinguished commanders."

Richard H. Dana, Jr., who visited the Army of the Potomac only ten days before Major Abbott's death, wrote: "Sedgwick spoke in high terms of the Massachusetts regiments, especially the Twentieth, and of Major Abbott, who now commands it. He thinks Abbott a bright, particular star." Charles F. Adams, who has preserved this testimony in his biography of Dana, adds that "it was thought at the time, by those most competent to judge, that no braver officer, nor one of greater military promise, there laid down his life."

To lose such sons as Judge Abbott lost in battle was terrible at the best. But the conviction that the movements in which they fell were culpably ill-advised and even absurd, added poignancy to parental grief. To lose brave sons when their loss is inevitable in defence of their country, has been the hard lot of many a father. To lose them through the stupidity or obstinacy of their commanders, is more than flesh and blood can bear. Many a father, many a mother, became sour and disaffected under such painful trials. But not so with the parents of these brave brothers, whose twin monuments in the Lowell Cemetery will perpetuate their names till

the marble shall crumble and the granite shall decay.* Through all those times which tried men's souls there was no truer patriot than J. G. Abbott.

Several volumes would be required to contain an account of the hundreds of cases in which Mr. Abbott acted as counsel during the more than fifty years of his practice at the bar. No such account will be attempted, neither would it be desirable even if it were practicable. For as the life of man on earth is but a span, so the interest in the daily concerns of that life endures but for a moment. "A book is the only immortality," as Rufus Choate once said; and the best efforts in advocacy are generally forgotten with the occasion which called them forth.

I will mention three capital cases and three or four other cases in which Mr. Abbott was concerned, and refer to one hundred and ten volumes of the Massachusetts Reports (from the 43rd to the 152nd) for notices of the cases argued by him before the full bench of our Supreme Judicial Court. Yet these indicate but a part of his professional work. There are other cases of his in the United States Supreme Court and Circuit Court Reports and in the reports of other state courts, and there are also hundreds of cases not reported at all (except in newspapers) because they were never carried to the court of last resort.

His first capital case was that of the alleged murderers of Jonas L. Parker, who was butchered in a most atrocious manner at Manchester, N. H., on the night of March 26, 1845.† In 1848 Asa Wentworth and Henry

* For accounts of the operations in which these gallant officers fell, see Gordon's Brookfarm to Cedar Mountain, Swinton's History of the Army of the Potomac, the histories of their respective regiments, and the general histories of the war. For their personal history, see Harvard Memorial Biographies, Vol. II, pp. 77-104, and Cowley's History of Lowell, pp. 181, 182, 189, 190.

† Potter's History of Manchester, pp. 619-624.

T. Wentworth were arrested upon suspicion, but after examination were discharged. In 1850 they were arrested again, together with Horace Wentworth and William C. Clark. They were prosecuted by Samuel H. Ayer, the county solicitor, and were defended by Franklin Pierce, Charles G. Atherton, J. G. Abbott and B. F. Butler. Public feeling ran very high against them, but they were not indicted; and no evidence sufficient to justify a verdict of guilty was ever adduced against any of them.

About the same time J. G. Abbott and B. F. Butler defended Daniel H. Pierson, of Wilmington, on his trial before the Supreme Judicial Court at East Cambridge, upon an indictment for the murder of his wife and two children. Pierson was convicted, and executed July 26, 1850. From him General Butler obtained information tending strongly to show that Jonas L. Parker was murdered by said Clark, who was a relative of Pierson. This man had been arrested and examined on suspicion, but escaped indictment by setting up a false *alibi*. Pierson also attempted to escape the gallows by a false *alibi*, but failed.

Referring to the question who murdered Parker, I am permitted to quote the following from a letter written by General Butler to a son of his client, November 5, 1885, after his client's death :

“I had been of counsel prior to that trial, as I was afterwards, for a man named Pierson, who was convicted of the murder of his wife and two children, committed in Wilmington in this state. That murder was committed in a very singular manner and with a very singular weapon, to wit, a shoemaker's knife ground to a point; and a razor was left on the table by the woman's bedside and means taken to have the murder appear to have been a suicide. That murder was not committed until some years after the Parker murder, but before the investigation of the Parker murder, as that was not

tried until some five years after the deed was committed. Upon the trial of the Parker murder it came out that the murder was committed with exactly such a knife, and a razor was left by the dead body. I was struck with the coincidence as I had grounds for suspicion against a relative of my Wilmington client, and the fact was known that on the night of the murder of Parker, which took place between nine and ten, at Manchester, N. H., a wagon drawn by a white horse, with two men in it, passed through Lowell in the direction of Wilmington, and the marks of the wheels of such a wagon were found in the mud near the murdered man, which wagon apparently drove off in the direction of Lowell. As my client was about to be hanged and it could do him no harm, I questioned him, assuring him that it should not be used to his prejudice, as to whether or not he drove a wagon that time down from Manchester to Lowell and thence to Wilmington. He admitted that he did. I asked him who was in the wagon, and he said he did not want to tell me. I asked him with what instrument it was done, and he said with a shoe knife and razor. I asked him what the razor had to do with it. "Why," he said, "the man might have cut his own throat with the razor." I asked him also what was done with the \$1,000 bill which Parker was supposed to have had in his pocket which never could be traced. He said there was no \$1,000 bill taken from Parker, that he hadn't any such bill. And, without remembering the circumstances now, I questioned him until I was convinced that the person I had in my mind was the man with him. But as the grand jury found no bill against my client, and as Pierson was hanged, I did not feel called upon to talk with anybody about it because I supposed there was nobody so foolish now as to believe that the Wentworths had anything to do with the murder of Parker."

Perhaps "more is meant than meets the ear" in this letter. Perhaps Daniel H. Pierson himself, as well as Clark, was implicated in the murder of Parker.*

On the nineteenth of June, 1860, Bryant Moore shot and killed his wife, at No. 61 East Merrimack Street. Under the shadow of the scaffold he wrote a strong appeal to Mr. Abbott to defend him. That appeal could not have been made at a more inopportune time, for

* Lowell Morning Mail, Nov. 12, 1885.

Mr. Abbott was then almost overwhelmed with cases. Nevertheless he could not with his high views of the duties of the bar, refuse such a call for help. He requested me to do certain things in the preparation of the defence, saying that if I would relieve him of that part of the work, he would undertake the defence. The trial took place in December, 1860, and it appeared from the start that an acquittal was impossible. The most that could be done was to save Moore from a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree, and thus save his neck. The evidence would have entirely justified the highest verdict, but through Mr. Abbott's remarkable power of persuasion, the jury returned a verdict of guilty of murder in the second degree,—a pure triumph of advocacy. Moore's sentence was imprisonment at hard labor for life. At the end of three years, however, a pardon was granted to him, through the exertion of Mr. Abbott's powers of persuasion over Governor Andrew's Council. The number of capital cases in which pardons have thus been granted in this state, has been very small, notwithstanding the statements that have repeatedly been made to the contrary. Moore afterwards spent some years in Kentucky and Tennessee. He returned to Lowell under the name of "Col. John B. Lowe," the military title having been conferred upon him by himself. He showed deeds of land to John B. Lowe, and undertook to borrow money upon the security of a mortgage thereof, but nobody here would lend him a sou, and he left for other fields.

Mr. Abbott's criminal practice in his earlier years was very large, and if there was any merit in a case he made the most of it, but he never liked the associations which the criminal lawyer cannot avoid. He always preferred the pursuit of remedial justice; and after he left the

bench his practice was almost wholly confined to civil causes. But time would fail to mention more than two or three of them.

In 1870 Mr. Abbott and B. R. Curtis argued, before the Supreme Court at Washington, the case of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts against the Liverpool Insurance Company, 10 Wallace, 566, in which it was held that the defendants were a corporation, notwithstanding the British Parliament had said that they were not.

About the same time he argued, before the same court, the case of the Merchants' Bank against the State Bank, 10 Wallace, 604-676. Sidney Bartlett and William M. Evarts were with him, while B. R. Curtis, C. B. Goodrich and B. F. Thomas were against him. The case is one of the first importance to banks and bank cashiers. Mr. Abbott rested his case on one ground. Mr. Bartlett, his associate, rested the claims of their common client upon another. A majority of the court adopted Mr. Abbott's view and not Mr. Bartlett's. Judges Clifford and Davis dissented, and Judge Miller did not sit.

In the case of the Land Company against Daniel Saunders, 103 United States, 316, Mr. Abbott had his brother-in-law for his client, and John L. Putnam, now judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the First Circuit, for his leading opponent. Never did counsel feel surer of victory in a case than did the counsel for the Land Company. Nevertheless the decision, which relates to the construction of deeds, and is of great importance, was in favor of Mr. Saunders.

To argue questions of law before a bench of judges, requires qualities of a different kind from those which are required to argue questions of fact before a jury. How successful Mr. Abbott was in the latter field of labor, hundreds of verdicts of the impanelled farmers,

mechanics, and merchants of Middlesex and Suffolk, abundantly attest. Not less successful was he before benches of judges. Some who heard his argument in behalf of Mr. Saunders in 1880, thought it one of his best efforts. So thoroughly had he mastered and absorbed his case, he scarcely looked at his brief while he spoke. So thoroughly was he master of himself and of the situation, the presence of the most august tribunal on this continent only stimulated him to put forth his best efforts; and this he did with such clearness and lucidity, such strength and power, that when he sat down he felt that his case was won—and, to the great surprise of his opponents, it was won.

Equally surprised were his opponents at the decision won by him in the case of St. Anne's Church,* one of the most important decisions ever made touching estates upon condition as distinguished from estates in trust. In that case John P. Robinson, after many years' retirement from practice, appeared with General Butler as counsel for the church. He never argued another case, but was afterwards confirmed in that church. He cared nothing for the sarcasms levelled at him by J. R. Lowell, though they will transmit his name longer than anything that he ever said at the bar. One of them runs thus :

“ But John P.
Robinson, he
Says they didn't know everything
Down in Judee.”

One of the most just and most discriminating estimates of Judge Abbott, is that of Hon. J. Lewis Stackpole, of Boston, as follows :

“ Judge Abbott's reputation as a lawyer was won in the court room, not in the closet. Endowed by nature with a body and mind

* See 14 Gray's Reports, pp. 586-613. See also Charles Hovey's History of St. Anne's Church in the third volume of the Contributions of this association, pp. 309-323.

of great vigor, with never satisfied ambition, and untiring powers of work, he early came in conflict with the most prominent lawyers of the Middlesex bar, and proved himself an opponent worthy of their steel. When later in life he came to the Suffolk bar, he had become an advocate well trained to encounter its leaders, who included Mr. Choate, Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Durant, Mr. Chandler and Judge Hoar.

“His power of statement of mixed questions of law and facts was unrivalled. None knew better than he how to elicit facts from a reluctant or dishonest witness, and his appeals to juries were always forcible and judicious, and met with merited success. His grasp of the law was eminently a practical one, and for many years he was one of the most trusted counsellors and advocates of the Suffolk bar.

“He always possessed the confidence of the court, his kindness to younger members of the bar was proverbial, and his death is a distinct loss to the profession.”

He tried a great many cases for younger lawyers; and to the junior counsel associated with him in such trials, he was always a tower of strength.

Judge John Spaulding, formerly of Groton, now of Boston, writes :

“When I entered the profession, early in the fifties, there were giants at the Middlesex bar, and a young lawyer was under the necessity of securing one of them in every important trial in order to match his opponent. The Middlesex bar was then renowned, not only for its great legal ability, but also for the thoroughness of its trials.

“Having read law with the late George F. Farley, Esq., of Groton (at that time considered at the head of the Middlesex bar), and having been admitted to practice, some of the prominent citizens of that town induced me to open my office there. I soon found myself engaged in some very important cases with my old instructor as my opponent. I therefore deemed it necessary to seek legal aid and readily found it in Judge Abbott. He was always gentle, encouraging and able, and although we waged many a hard-fought battle with giants on the other side, we were signally successful. *We never lost a case!* I recollect being often obliged to call him to my aid on the very eve of an important trial—it was wonderful how readily he would grasp the evidence and how eloquently and forcibly he would present it to the jury. I always found him a gentleman, high toned

and honorable. I looked upon him as one of nature's noblemen and shall always cherish his memory with fond recollections."

Outside of his own profession Judge Abbott was a promoter of various enterprises, in which he invested his capital and employed his talents. It would be tedious to enumerate all of the corporations in which he served as president or director, and I will mention only a few of the principal of them. For three years (1860-62) he was president of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company at Lowell. For fifteen years (1861-76) he was president of the Atlantic Cotton Mills at Lawrence. For thirty-five years (1857-91) he was a director of the Hill Manufacturing Company at Lewiston, Me. From the death of Homer Bartlett, in 1874, until his own death, he was president of that company, and was succeeded in that office by his son, Samuel A. B. Abbott, Esq., who also succeeded him as a director of the Franklin Company at Lewiston, Me. For twenty-eight years (1857-85) he was a director of the Boston and Lowell Railroad; and he was president of that corporation from 1879 to 1884, both inclusive. He was a director of the North American Insurance Company at Boston, from its organization in 1872 to his death. He was the principal promoter of the Union Water Power Company at Lewiston, and president of it from 1870 until his death. His son, Grafton St. Loe Abbott, is its treasurer.

It happened to me toward the close of the war to be brought much in contact with General William T. Sherman. The physical and intellectual characteristics of the general and the judge were much alike. Both of them had that keenness of intellect which penetrates at once to the heart of a subject. Both of them had that lucidity of mind and that quickness of movement which enables one to form mental combinations with marvellous

rapidity. They held the same opinions on the topics of that time. While not opposed to arming the blacks, both held it to be an insult to the twenty millions of white men in the North to say that they could not suppress the five millions of secessionists without the aid of the three millions of blacks. And when the Confederate forces disbanded both held that the war should cease. In nothing were they more alike than in their intellectual independence.

One of the most notable illustrations of Judge Abbott's independence of mind and self-reliance was the famous case of the Trent in 1861. The seizure of the Confederate envoys, Mason and Slidell, and their imprisonment in Fort Warren, in Boston Harbor, were the subject of the greatest rejoicing among the rash and the inconsiderate, and also among thousands who were neither rash nor inconsiderate. Statesmen and lawyers like John A. Andrew, George T. Bigelow, B. F. Butler, Peleg W. Chandler, Caleb Cushing, Richard H. Dana, Jr., Edward Everett, Theophilus Parsons, William Whiting, and a galaxy of lesser lights, glorified Captain Wilkes, and endorsed the outrage which he, without orders, had committed upon a neutral steamer plying between neutral ports. To me, on the contrary, the shouts of the populace in that critical hour presaged nothing less than the doom of the American Union. But among all the lawyers of Boston old enough and conspicuous enough to give weight to their opinions, I found but two who were in accord with me—Judge Abbott and Hon. Charles Levi Woodbury. "We can never," Judge Abbott said, "justify on our principles the seizure of these envoys aboard the Trent."* Mr. Woodbury expressed the same

* Cowley's *Leaves from a Lawyer's Life Afloat and Ashore*, pp. 36-38.

opinion in a letter to Postmaster-General Blair, his brother-in-law, who replied that he had already presented that view to the cabinet, but that all his associates were against him. It looked for a time as if the United States would become involved in a war with Great Britain in addition to that with the Confederate States, and that, too, upon a point upon which all the precedents were against us. Fortunately, however, we then had as our representative at the Court of St. James, Charles Francis Adams, a man not to be moved by wind and clamor. He wrote to Everett and Dana, and to all his correspondents in the United States, correcting their false views, and urging them not to stullify themselves by contending against Great Britain upon a point upon which her position was manifestly right and in harmony with our own contention heretofore. Mason and Slidell, as we all know, were given up; but it required great moral courage, as well as mental independence, to advocate giving them up when they were first brought to Boston. Abbott, Adams, Woodbury, and those of less prominence, who said, from the start, that Wilkes had erred, stood like Athanasius against the world.

In 1874 Judge Abbott was elected a member of the House of Representatives of the United States. His seat being contested, he was not admitted till near the close of the first session. It was in the session which began in December, 1876, and closed in March, 1877, that he most distinguished himself. He was a member of the special committee which the House of Representatives sent to South Carolina to investigate the facts connected with the presidential election in that state, and the report of that committee was prepared by him. N. P. Banks, who had succeeded him as democratic editor in Lowell, was one of his colleagues on this committee. He was

personally opposed to the bill creating the electoral commission, which was introduced during his absence and without his knowledge; but after that bill had been proposed by the democrats in congress and accepted by the republicans, he felt it to be his duty to see that its provisions were carried out. Had that commission been filled as it was at first intended, New York would have had a democratic representative on it and Massachusetts would not. But New York had two candidates for one place — Fernando Wood and “Sunset” Cox — neither of whom was quite such a man as the place seemed to require. Judge Abbott’s friends, without his knowledge, resolved to propose his name for that place to the democratic congressional caucus. They did so, and the caucus adopted it at once.

The letter of Senator Hoar, who sat with Abbott on that commission, and the letter of General Butler, to be printed herewith, sufficiently indicate the importance of the part borne by Judge Abbott on that commission. He sat next to Garfield, who had known his brother, Caleb Fletcher Abbott, in Toledo, and who was afterwards “shot into immortality.” It was Abbott’s sincere conviction that by the action of that commission the office of president was given to the wrong man. But he refused to listen to the solicitations of some of his fellow-democrats to aid in preventing the completion of the counting of the electoral votes. He saw that Mr. Hayes must have the office under the forms of the constitution, or General Grant must be permitted to continue to discharge its duties *by consent*, without any title to it at all. Between these alternatives he chose the former and he never regretted it. In thus insisting on carrying out the decisions of the electoral commission, after having himself voted against those decisions in the commission,

and in insisting that Hayes should thus be accepted as president, Judge Abbott rendered a service to his country, the magnitude of which can only be appreciated by those who remember how repugnant that result was to the democratic party.

It was not known outside of a few that Judge Abbott wrote an address to the country on behalf of the democratic minority of that commission, which was put in type and one copy printed to be signed by the democratic members of the commission, but it was never signed and the original manuscript was destroyed.*

Judge Abbott was unwilling to give this proposed address to the public during his life: but I was permitted to make a copy of it, and the seal of secrecy is removed by his death.

In 1884, the democrats, after long exclusion from power, elected their candidate as president. By invitation of Mr. Cleveland's private secretary, Judge Abbott met the president-elect at Albany, and had a free and full exchange of views on the political situation and the selection of cabinet officers. I have been told by those who stood in such positions that they might be presumed to know, but never by Judge Abbott, that he was offered a place in the cabinet. If he was not so invited, he certainly should have been. A cabinet containing two ex-members of the Confederate States government, should have included at least one war democrat. Had President Cleveland sought and followed Judge Abbott's counsels, his famous message on the tariff would have undergone considerable revision before being sent to congress, and its menace to the wool industry would have been carefully excised. No people ever lost their liberties by

* For this proposed address see the February (1892) number of the Magazine of American History.

keeping sheep. Had Mr. Cleveland learned that important lesson, he might perhaps have been re-elected. Judge Abbott's views on the tariff were published in the *Boston Sunday Globe*, June 26, and republished in the *Lowell Morning Mail*, June 27, 1887, and in many other journals. They were in substance the same which he had published in the *Lowell Advertiser* in 1840.

"For many years to come," he says, "the country will have to raise from \$100,000,000 to \$200,000,000 a year by taxation in some form. On account of the unequal distribution of property, no method of taxation can be devised that is as fair and just as that of taxes on imports. A tariff should discriminate against luxuries and in favor of necessaries. So too it should in favor of our home industries and home labor."

In the fall of 1887, Judge Abbott suffered the greatest affliction of his life. He had lost two sons in their childhood, and two more on fields of battle. He had followed his oldest daughter and the husbands of both his daughters to premature graves. But the great sorrow of his life came with the death of Mrs. Abbott.* The following letter, written in the shadow of a home made desolate by her death, indicates his appreciation of her worth better than the words of any other man could do. It is his reply to a condolatory letter from Hon. John F. Kimball, president of the Appleton National Bank:

BOSTON, October 5, 1887.

MY DEAR KIMBALL:

I thank you from my heart for your very sympathetic letter; to one heart-broken as I am, sympathy from a friend is good and helpful.

You cannot, and I trust you may never know, what such a blow

* Mrs. Abbott wrote the memoir of her father, Judge Edward St. Loe Livermore, which was read before this association when her husband was elected an honorary member in 1879. It was published in the second volume of our Contributions, and afterwards reprinted separately with additions.

means. Living as we have so long together, with nothing literally ever coming between us, my wife was absolutely a part of myself, and taking her away is wrenching away a part of my own soul. It is not the loss of a common woman—she inherited the robustness and strength of will and character of her father, the judge, and of her grandfather, the first senator from New Hampshire, combined with the tenderness and love she took from her mother—a rare meeting of qualities. I used often, in times long past, to say that if I should be called to my last account, half the bitterness of death would be taken from me by the consciousness that I left behind me one who would take care of the family better even than I could myself.

All this comes to me now that I have lost her, and I find the burden a very heavy one to bear. I again thank you for your feeling and sympathy. . . . Faithfully your friend.

J. G. ABBOTT.

From this time his face assumed a sadder, more abstracted look than before. Like Rabbi Samuel, son of Naomi, he could say, "Time can replace all things, but never the wife of my youth." He was a domestic man from the start, and grew more and more so to the end. It was not in courts of law, it was not in political activities, that he found his greatest happiness. It was in his own home, among his children and grandchildren, in his own fields covering four hundred acres, with his horses and his dogs, among the trees which he trimmed and the flowers which he planted with his own hands. Mr. Gladstone never took more delight in his home life at Hawarden Castle than Judge Abbott in his baronial hall at Wellesley Hills. If he did not enter into the public discussion of religious topics like Mr. Gladstone, he was as perfect a pattern of the domestic and social virtues as "the grand old man" himself.

He had completed seventy-six years and seven months, and seemed likely to continue to perform all his usual duties and enjoy his accustomed pleasures for ten

or fifteen years more, when the inevitable hour came, and he passed to the life beyond life. To the family and friends of such a man as Judge Abbott, however long delayed, death always comes too soon. But the sharp grief of love and friendship finds some alleviation in the contemplation of the true nobility which distinguished him through life, and in the beauty of the example which he has left to his posterity.

The Rev. Leighton Parks, rector of Emanuel Church, Boston, where for many years Judge Abbott attended public worship, writes: "I believe he was a man who tried to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with his God."

Five of his sons, Fletcher Morton, Samuel Appleton Brown, Franklin Pierce, Grafton St. Loe, and Holker Welch, together with Mrs. Sarah Abbott Fay, his youngest daughter, widow of William P. Fay, survive him. There are also eight grandchildren, and it is not unlikely that this number may be increased, so that his race seems destined to a long continuance upon the earth. The recollections of Judge Abbott which survive him in the hearts of those who loved him, are more precious than words can express.

"To live in hearts we leave behind
Is not to die."

His Excellency William E. Russell, Governor of Massachusetts, being about to visit Lowell, was invited to be present at the meeting at which the preceding memoir was read. He returned his thanks for the invitation, and said: "Engagements that have already been made, and invitations already accepted, will prevent my attend-

ance. This is a great disappointment to me, as I should like exceedingly to join you in your tribute to the memory of one who was an able and much respected jurist and lawyer, and a distinguished citizen of our commonwealth."

Hon. Moses T. Stevens, Representative in Congress from the Lowell-Lawrence District, sent a letter, which was read, expressing his regret that other engagements compelled him, at the last moment, to deny himself the pleasure of listening to the able treatment of so good a subject as Judge Abbott, whose forefathers like his own, were among the first settlers of Andover, and for six generations inhabitants of that ancient town.

LETTER FROM SENATOR HOAR.

WORCESTER, MASS., September 17, 1891.

Hon. Charles Cowley, Lowell, Mass.

MY DEAR SIR—All my recollections of Judge Abbott are of an exceedingly pleasant character. I do not think I should speak of him as my contemporary at the bar, unless that word were used with a pretty comprehensive meaning. When I was a law student, from 1846 to 1849, I used to attend court in Concord a good deal, and was present at the trial of a good many cases where Judge Abbott was counsel. He was then one of the leaders of the very able bar of Middlesex County, having been out of college sixteen or seventeen years, and having come forward into leadership very rapidly. After I myself got well established in Worcester, I was opposed to Judge Abbott in several important cases. He impressed me with his great fairness and justice as well as with his great ability. I remember that he interposed his authority to compel a just settlement in several cases. In one of them, his client, a strong corporation, seemed disposed to do great injustice to a poor man, which I think would have been accomplished but for Judge Abbott's insisting on a reasonable settlement.

He was in the house of representatives for a single session only, if I remember right. The high reputation which he brought with

him to the house was shown by the fact that he was made one of the democratic members of the electoral commission. In that commission he stated the view of his party with great vigor and ability and with entire courtesy. It is unnecessary to say that that was a transaction which excited very deeply the feelings of the whole people of the country and especially of those who were called upon to take a conspicuous and responsible part in it. I do not think the kindly feeling toward Judge Abbott of his republican associates in Washington was interrupted by anything which occurred at that time.

I am, faithfully yours,

GEORGE F. HOAR.

LETTER FROM GENERAL BUTLER.

AT HOME, November 22nd, 1891.

My Dear Mr. Cowley:

I had the pleasure to receive your kind invitation to be present at the Old Residents' meeting of our city, which would have permitted me to pay my tribute of respect to the memory of the late Judge Josiah G. Abbott; but the condition of my health was such that its literal acceptance was impossible, but I take advantage of the occasion to say very imperfectly, a few words on that subject.

Judge Abbott and myself were, from 1839 to the end of his life, warm personal friends. He was my senior, but soon we came in contact with each other in the trial of causes as well before juries as in arguments before the Supreme Court, and I witnessed with care many of his efforts in other litigations. From actual personal knowledge I can bear testimony to his high talents as a lawyer, to his fidelity to his clients, his untiring and ardent advocacy of their cause, his uniform courtesy as a gentleman to his opponents in the court, to his honorable faithfulness to all engagements and understandings between counsel, and to his great success in his profession.

In 1855 he was appointed Justice of the Superior Court of the County of Suffolk, Boston, and acquitted himself in that position so as to bring to himself merit and distinction. He resigned that position because its salary was utterly inadequate to the labor and bore no comparison to the emolument of his profession which he resumed in that city.

He was an ardent democrat and received the honor of a seat in the house of representatives from that party so early that it was

almost doubtful whether he was not too young to serve. Soon after he was elected to the senate and served there with enviable distinction. He was appointed senior aide-de-camp to Governor Morton. He was candidate for congress, but being in a district with a large majority against his party his election was impossible.

When our unhappy war broke out in 1861, he remained truly and staunchly loyal to the country. I remember an incident on the seventeenth of April as I was going from Lowell to Boston to take command of the Massachusetts troops which were being sent to Washington. Judge Abbott met me in the same train of cars in the morning, and said: "Well, general, I hear that you are going to take command of our soldiers who go to Washington." I said: "Yes, judge; for want of a better." "Well," said he, "you will have with you poor soldiers in distress and suffering at some turn of affairs; let me contribute my mite to relieve that suffering." Putting his hand in his pocket he took out some bills and handed me one hundred dollars. I said: "Judge, you are very generous, but let me give you a memorandum of this." "No, no, Butler," he said: "we have lived too long together to need a memorandum in a matter of this sort between each other." I said: "Thanks, judge; I will see to it that your money shall reach its full destination."

Soon after he gave two of his sons to the war. I use this phrase for they were literally given to the country, as he lost them both on the battle-field serving with high honor. Thus he did his duty to his country at the same time retaining his political beliefs.

In 1874 he was elected to congress from one of the Boston districts. A new member of congress usually has to serve a term or two as an apprentice before he can attain any considerable prominence in the house, but Judge Abbott's high standing and abilities gave him instantly high position with his party, and when in 1876 the best talent and the highest legal ability of the house on the democratic side was to be selected to serve on that most important body, the electoral commission, having to deal with new and unprecedented questions, Abbott was selected with singular unanimity. He took the leading part in that commission. He was strongly impressed, to say the least, with the irregularities under which the local elections were held and especially in the states of Louisiana and Florida, which resulted in the claimed election of Hayes. The minority decided that a formal protest should be made to the country, against the decision of the majority, and Abbott was selected to prepare that protest, the work and performance of which required much legal

learning and the greatest talent in presentation of the arguments which must accompany it. He prepared the paper with his accustomed skill and ability. It was read before his associates and approved, but upon discussion the decision to make any protest was reconsidered, all agreeing, however, that if such protest was to be made the one just read was the very best presentation of the case. Political reasons bearing on the future of the party were the grounds of non-presentation upon which the decision was based. I have had the pleasure of examining Judge Abbott's paper with great interest. To analyze it so as to do it justice would be far beyond the limits of such a letter as I am now writing. It must suffice to say that it was worthy of Judge Abbott and equal to any efforts of his life, that is to say, it was done as well as it could be done and with singular and quite judicial impartiality.

I take leave to close by saying that a more honorable gentleman, a better or more loyal citizen or a more impartial judge has never lived than Judge Abbott, and a truer friend to myself I have not the misfortune to mourn. I am, very truly yours,

BENJ. F. BUTLER.

LETTER FROM FREDERICK F. AYER, ESQ.

NEW YORK, November 23, 1891.

My Dear Mr. Cowley:

I regret not being with you at the Old Residents' Association meeting to-morrow evening to join you in doing honor to the memory of Judge Abbott. While I feel that I could say much about him that would interest those who did not know him personally, I could impart but little to those who knew him well. To these he spoke while living, and told the story of what he was, with a compulsive eloquence which we who came after him can only echo back. I see you are going to read a paper on him. You knew him well. You will, with your delicate sense of appreciation and your accustomed eloquence, scatter his grave with flowers. They will be plucked from the garden of your knowledge of all men, varied and variegated; blossoms worthy of his exalted character and superabundant manliness and gifts. I knew him during the last fifteen years of his life very intimately. My relations with him were such as to carry me near to him; and he became confidential with me as men are wont to do but seldom with their fellows. Let me write a

word of his uncommon gift of greatness. His commanding talents were known to all. As the world advances, higher is the value placed upon that which a man *is*. Our admiration for mental traits and gifts, and the calisthenics of the intellect pales away, unless we discover some touch of greatness. Judge Abbott was superlatively great. Quick to make allowances for all men, he was a man without grievances. He seized upon that which was of value in men, discarding and forgetting the rest. He was all that nature intended him to be. How few there are that can *be* it! Many can act the utmost that is in them, without *being* it. To be is to act, while action, says Emerson, is only a trick of the senses. Judge Abbott was himself, wholly and always. He once told me he attended a school kept by Ralph Waldo Emerson. His description of Emerson as a school-master interested me most because I saw that Emerson had left his character on him in marks that would never wear away. He said Emerson never corrected, nor criticised, nor found fault with a boy, no matter what the boy had done; that only behind his wondrous smile, which almost concealed a faint expression of regret, could one read pages of what he would say, but never articulated. He said the worst boy in school was devoted to him. When some of the boys would become engaged in rough quarrels, he had seen Emerson appear at the door of the school-house with his heart in his face, and the boys would forget their quarrel in an instant.

So it was with Judge Abbott himself. He moulded others and made them also great. Above malice; above the trifling motives that mould so many, he grew to immense stature, and died as he lived, with his eyes ever on the horizon and toward the rising sun.

Very truly yours,

FREDK. F. AYER.

LETTER FROM HON. DANIEL SAUNDERS.

My father, Daniel Saunders, as early as 1830, became aware of the water power between Lowell and the present site of Lawrence, although the fall between the two places was so gradual that a boat could be rowed the whole way.

Judge Abbott, who was a nephew of my father, was consulted by him long before any positive steps were taken towards starting the enterprise which resulted in building the city of Lawrence. Most of the early legal work was performed by Mr. Abbott; and in obtaining bonds he was frequently consulted, and his good judgment

and legal attainments were of great value in obtaining good titles to the present site of Lawrence. So good was his advice that no title obtained has ever been successfully contested.

I am at the present moment unable to give you the number of farms purchased, but the whole territory purchased embraces about three square miles. Thirty or forty dollars an acre would have been a large price for most of this land, which is now worth from ten cents to four dollars per square foot.

Judge Abbott has been more or less connected with the corporations of Lawrence as a stockholder, and for many years was a director and president of the Atlantic Cotton Mills, and he has always taken great interest in the manufacturing enterprises of New England, being a large holder of stock in various corporations, as a director and president of one or more of such corporations in Lewiston, Me.

Of his standing as a lawyer, his integrity as a man, and his position as a citizen, I need not speak. They are known to all who ever knew him by acquaintance or reputation.

LETTER FROM HON. BENJAMIN DEAN.

I studied law in the office of Hon. Thomas Hopkinson, afterwards Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and President of the Boston and Worcester Railroad.

Mr. Abbott and B. R. Curtis, afterwards Justice of the United States Supreme Court, tried a case at East Cambridge, and I expressed to Mr. Hopkinson the general sentiment, even of that day, of the great ability of Mr. Curtis. Mr. Hopkinson said that, as he was going down the steps of the court house, somebody else made a similar remark, when a member of the jury that was not trying the case said, "I like the tall one the best;" meaning Mr. Abbott. I have often since then "liked the tall one the best."

Though I have always been a great admirer of Judge Curtis, I have again and again been struck with the great fervor and vigor of Judge Abbott's jury arguments. He seemed to be glad when the evidence was closed, as if when he came to the argument, he was conscious of being master of the situation. I never knew him to make a poor argument. He always warmed up and went on like a rushing torrent.

The bar of Middlesex was of conspicuous ability—Judge Abbott,

General Butler, E. Rockwood Hoar, Thomas Hopkinson, Daniel S. Richardson, Judge Nelson, G. A. Somerby and others, had to be such to compete with each other. They were, besides, followers of others older than themselves, who struggled to retain their lessening ascendancy. I will not yield to the temptation to speak of them, however deserving they may be.

When Mr. Abbott was appointed to the bench, he had his office with me in Boston, and we ever after had our offices together, and we continued close friends to the time of his death.

You will not expect me to speak of his judicial or public career. It is known to everybody, and I have no especial knowledge of it. I will, however, mention one incident of the former: Coming into the office after the adjournment of the court, he said, there was brought before him a little boy for sentence, and he said to the district attorney, "You don't expect me to sentence that boy. I shall never sentence him. You must make some other disposition of his case;" then he added, "I was not going to sentence a little boy like that."

The professional and public career of Judge Abbott is so well known, that features of his personal character and habits will be quite as interesting to his old townsmen. He was very fond of the gentle art of fishing, and we scoured the ponds of Middlesex and Plymouth Counties. Sometimes in Middlesex County, Alden Buttrick and Hapgood Wright were with us; but generally, and always in Plymouth County, we were alone.

He lived on Stackpole Street and I on Alder Street, in Lowell, and after one o'clock in the morning whichever awoke first would rattle his fish-pole against the other's window, and we would walk to Raymond Kimball's stable, ride to the Ridge Tavern in Groton, and put up the horse. "Peter" would then take us in a wagon to Knop's Pond, where we would begin our sport. "Peter" came for us at meal times, and the evening would see us on our way home. We became very expert, and we never failed of a handsome catch of pickerel. Once Wm. G. Russell invited us to join him and others at a pond in Plymouth, where we had a memorable time. A gentleman from New York named Cleveland had, the year before, caught a seven pound pickerel, and became the "King Fisher." On this occasion I was favored of fortune and caught the two largest pickerel, one weighing eight and the other five pounds. These were the finest fish, of the kind, I ever saw—very large ones for this region. The judge pronounced them "sockdolagers." I once, when with

Hapgood Wright, caught one in Springy Pond, in Groton, weighing four pounds and two ounces. Mr. Noah F. Gates told me that he saw a large one lying in the shoal water of the wooden wasteway of a mill in Concord; that he got a pitchfork and speared it through the head against the wood underneath; that he gave it to Steadman Buttrick of Concord, then county treasurer, and he carried it about showing it to his friends in town. On opening it a pound pickerel was found, which Mr. Gates had pushed down the big one's throat, and in that one another smaller one; and so he had to go the rounds of his friends and neighbors once more. We used to fish all day, contending for the greatest catch. Each of us had a style of fishing. In some ponds with some kinds of water and weeds, he could always lead, while I held my own in others.

No one who saw Judge Abbott in the latter part of his life, walking with a rather sad expression of countenance, would think of him as fishing in the ponds of Middlesex County and helping to draw skiffs from one pond to another. We sometimes fished through the ice. He told me that on one occasion almost immediately after casting the lines through the ice of Muddy Pond, General Stark caught a five pound pickerel. He wound up his line saying, "I have done my fishing for this day." There was not much luck on the part of anybody after that.

Judge Abbott was the best of company, energetic and vivacious all the day long. Though nervous and apparently excitable, he was patient in listening to others and entered into their feelings, hopes and fears.

He was an indefatigable and rapid worker. He had none of that tendency which is the bane of lawyers generally, to delay and postpone things. He rather push his business than let his business push him. He was always closing up his cases and reaping the results. This was one cause of his great success.

I have alluded to Judge Abbott's method of arguing cases. Many times I have thought of his coming within this description of Milton by Macaulay:

"It is when Milton escapes from the shackles of his dialogue, when he is discharged from the labor of uniting two incongruous styles, when he is at liberty to indulge his choral raptures without reserve, that he rises above himself. Then, like his own good genius bursting from the earthly form and weeds of Thyrasis, he stands forth in celestial freedom and beauty; he seems to cry exultingly:

'Now my task is smoothly done,
I can fly or I can run.'

to skim the earth, to soar above the clouds, to bathe in the Elysian dew of the rainbow, and to inhale the balmy smells of nard and cassia, which the musky winds of the zephyr scatter through the cedared alleys of the Hesperides."

You will not understand me, as making this in all respects applicable to Judge Abbott. He never wrote poetry; never quoted poetry; never quoted anything, though an omnivorous reader. He never aspired to elegance of diction. He always seemed to feel that when he came to his argument, he was master of the situation. He was eager to have the evidence closed. He always had his theory of the case, and towards the close of the evidence was anxious lest something should interfere with it. As he saw his case clear, he was eager to be freed from the shackles of further evidence, and was on tiptoe for the argument. Then he seemed to burst all barriers and rush forward as if there were no doubt about anything he said.

I said that he never quoted anything. He did once and I have remembered it as the only instance within my knowledge. He and General Butler were trying a case in which some of the witnesses came from a place called Shabbakin, and while the evidence was going in, Judge Abbott alluded to Shabbakin in no complimentary terms. General Butler in his argument said "that notwithstanding Judge Abbott's allusion to Shabbakin, it appeared that he took his pleasure rides through that place." To which Judge Abbott replied, "that in Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Christian had to travel through the 'Valley of the Shadow of Death,' so he rode through Shabbakin to the pleasant plains of Littletown where a portion of his family were sojourning." (There were Littletown men on the jury.)

LETTER FROM JOSEPH H. TYLER, ESQ.

I entered the office of Abbott & Brown in September, 1851, and continued there most of the time till I was admitted to the bar, on Mr. Abbott's motion, at the April term, 1853, of the Supreme Judicial Court. I saw much less of Mr. Abbott than of Mr. Brown, for the reason that Mr. Brown was constantly in the office, while Mr. Abbott, during the sessions of the courts, was almost constantly in court, and made only flying visits to the office. When the courts were not in session he was there more, but then not so regularly nor for so long a time as Mr. Brown. Mr. Abbott tried all the cases and Mr. Brown prepared them, or more particularly the law. Mr. Abbott also tried a great many cases as senior counsel for other lawyers, who of

course, mainly prepared their own cases. "There were giants in those days" at the Middlesex bar. There was George F. Farley, much Judge Abbott's senior, who had won a great reputation in trying cases; Albert H. Nelson, with a voice and grace of manner almost equal to those of Edward Everett, who became chief justice of the Superior Court for Suffolk county, of which Mr. Abbott was an associate; Tappan Wentworth, an indefatigable fighter; Benjamin F. Butler, who then had a reputation for wonderful ability, whose fame has since become national, and who is a genius beyond dispute; Charles R. Train, bright and easy-going, but never probably putting forth all his power; G. A. Somerby, with marvellous powers of endurance and marked ability in trying cases before a jury; Daniel S. Richardson, scholarly, a good lawyer, and with the dangerous power for an opponent of making juries believe that he was honest and told them the truth; Theodore H. Sweetser, not then so eminent as a lawyer as he subsequently became, who, for pure logic and clear statement, was unsurpassed by any of his associates; Judge E. R. Hoar, eminent then and more eminent since as a lawyer, had been of this bar, but went early upon the bench; and, finally, there was John Q. A. Griffin, younger than the others, my own playmate and schoolmate in boyhood, a student of Mr. Farley, who, immediately upon his admission to the bar, went to the front rank, an exceedingly bright and ready man, whose tongue was a Damascus blade cutting to the very quick, with wit, satire and sarcasm, a somewhat dangerous power, and whose pen was often used in writing most trenchant articles for the press.

When I say that Judge Abbott was the peer of these men, and the superior of most of them, I claim for him very high ability as a lawyer and advocate. The Middlesex bar when these men were its conspicuous members, was noted for the ability, thoroughness and sharpness with which they tried their cases. Burke says "He that wrestles with us strengthens our nerves and sharpens our skill. Our antagonist is our helper." What helpers were such men to each other! Here was a school of intellectual athletes. Strength, alertness, labor, vigilance and persistence were necessary, against such, for success. Judge Abbott had a more nervous temperament than most of them, but his head was always clear, even though his nerves were at their utmost tension. He threw himself into his cases and tried them to win. He could not save himself if he would, and he would not if he could. When he began the trial of a case, his whole power, mental and physical, was put into it. His arguments were

impassioned and impetuous. A sick headache was the usual sequel. . . . He once said to me that he should not know how to practise law without Mr. Brown. They supplemented each other. It is said that some of the happiest matrimonial unions are formed by people who are opposites in taste and temperament. Mr. Abbott and Mr. Brown were certainly opposites in every sense. Mr. Abbott was content in the court room, while Mr. Brown would have been wild with uneasiness. Mr. Brown was content in the office, while its duties would have been irksome to Mr. Abbott. Mr. Abbott was bold, confident and aggressive, while Mr. Brown was timid, cautious and hesitating. Mr. Abbott was no doubter, while Mr. Brown was full of doubts. Mr. Brown labored hard and long to reach his conclusions, while Mr. Abbott's conclusions might be termed intuitive. Mr. Brown had more knowledge of law books and Mr. Abbott of men. Mr. Brown in the preparation of cases looked not only on his own side but on that of the other, and probably, many times, thought of points against himself that never dawned on his opponent. In this way he was of great service to Mr. Abbott, who was thus put on his guard. Many, however, of these ghosts of Mr. Brown's fears would down before Mr. Abbott's quick common sense.*

Prentiss Webster, Esq., son of the late William P. Webster, and successor of his father as law partner of General Butler, then read the following paper :

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN — It is my first duty to thank you for your kind invitation to be present with you this evening, and to join in honoring the memory of Judge Abbott.

Many of you gentlemen knew Judge Abbott in his boyhood days ; were with him in his development to man's estate ; saw him when he embarked on his career for life ; watched his mental growth ; followed him into public and private life to learn his value as a citizen, a friend and a counsellor, and to judge of his ability, learning and fidelity to his trusts.

* Lowell Daily Courier, Dec. 29, 1891.

It would be presumptuous on my part to attempt a surmise of the impressions he made upon your minds; of these it is for you to tell and not for me. Yet I feel I but echo your memories when I say that —

“ He above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent
Stood like a tower.”

I can only bear witness to the impressions made by him on one of a succeeding generation, and these came to me when in his latter days he had left your midst and made his home elsewhere — alas! not without pain and sorrow and kindly thoughts for those he had left behind.

For the City of Lowell he always held the kindest of memories. To its citizens, his friends and neighbors of former years, he ever turned with wishes for them of long life and happiness. He was solicitous for the welfare of the city, kept apace with our growth and an interest in our affairs.

During the past ten years it was my good fortune to see much of Judge Abbott, both in and out of court, having been interested with him in causes common to his own office and that of his life-long friend, General Butler. This brought me to him often many times each week, and when with him and work ended, he would turn to his early days in Lowell, replete with remarks on the many changes which had taken place. He loved to talk of his early associates at the bar; of his former friends and acquaintances; often making an inquiry for this man and for that man, whom he had favorably known in early years. From persons he would pass to things and tell of what building was formerly here and what building was there; who lived in one place and who in another; each and every conversation being of particular interest, because of the information he im-

parted and the seeming pleasure he had in talking of our city and its inhabitants.

With delight he looked back upon the continuous labor of days and nights spent in the preparation and trial of causes at Concord and old Cambridge. For those who preceded him he had a great admiration, and as they gradually gave up active work, their places were ably filled by Judge Abbott and others well known to you older citizens of Lowell. To call the roll of the practitioners of that time would be to call Judge Abbott among the first, a position which he took and creditably maintained among his later associates in Suffolk County. Reminiscences of those days as told by him, were most interesting, replete with happenings which would to-day astonish judges, attorneys and the public. He compared the practice at old Concord with a happy family, where the relations between judge, attorney and juror were most intimate, living together with one object in view, to wind up the business of the court with a care that a proper meed of justice was bestowed upon the litigants, for which each and every attorney struggled hard to get a goodly share for his particular client.

Judge Abbott's varied experience taught him to appreciate the struggles of his younger associates. To them he had nothing but words of encouragement; for them he was ever ready with acts of kindness, and from them he never denied his sound advice, that success at the bar could only be had by hard, hard work, devotion to the books, exercise of perceptive faculties, a steady outlook and scrutiny of every day occurrences in life, coupled with an understanding of the lessons taught from public practice in the courts. Such had been his own life, and his example in itself was wisdom, to say nothing of impress made by contact with him.

He encouraged young men not to falter in their work before the criticisms of the public on the lawyer; for to him in every walk in life they were sure to come when thrown into troubles with their neighbors, whether on personal wrongs or wrongs done to their property.

He was not inclined to harshness toward his younger opponents; his rebukes would be conciliatory and well advised rather than critical; he abstained from doing any injury to their feeling unless he felt sure that there was an attempt to trick him, and then his manner would change; though not often in open court, yet certainly in private he would take pains to bestow his kindly admonitions well laden with sound advice.

Judge Abbott invariably treated his younger associates, who were with him in the same case, with marked consideration. He would carefully listen to their preparations before going into court, and when there would never place them in an embarrassing position, but was ever on the alert to come to their aid when by force of circumstances his junior, through his own error, or the subtleties of their opponents, went beyond his depth. By way of encouragement he would put upon his junior associates all the burden of the fight that could be properly entrusted to him without injury to his client's cause. His purpose was evidently to teach him to stand alone and gain confidence in himself.

His noble form and dignified demeanor will be greatly missed from among them, and by you also, gentlemen of the Old Residents' Association, who are gathered together here this evening out of affection and regard for his memory; and you should not forget that

“Your kindly act is a kernal sown
That will grow to a goodly tree,
Shedding its fruit when time has flown
Down the gulf of eternity.”

*II. The Early Settlers of that Part of Chelmsford
Now Lowell, read Feb. 16, 1892, by Henry
S. Perham.*

WHEN the tract which now includes Chelmsford, Westford and Lowell, was first examined by the English, in 1652, with a view to settlement, it was already partially occupied by the Indians. The explorers found "a planting ground about a hill called Robins Hill," and wigwams of the Pawtuckets, or Wamesits, were standing upon the banks of the Merrimack at Pawtucket Falls and at their village, Wamesit, on the east side of the Concord River. Large numbers of Indians assembled here in the fishing season. The fertile lands "yielded them plenty of corn," and from the river, with their nets made of wild hemp, they drew forth the salmon and bass. Or with a flaming torch of birch-bark waving from their canoe at night, they allured the sturgeon which came "tumbling and playing and throwing up their white bellies" to the unerring spear of the Indian.

Rev. John Eliot, called the Apostle to the Indians, visited the Pawtuckets every year. And here by the sound of the falling waters, this noble teacher assembled these children of the forest about him and attempted, with some success, to instil into their minds the principles of the Christian religion.

The English petitioned the General Court, May 19, 1653, for a "quantity of six miles square of upland and meadow, which parcel of land we do entreate may begin

at Merimacke River at a necke of land next to Concord River — and so run up by Concord River south and west into the country to make up that circumference or quantity of land.” *

But the faithful Eliot could not see the Pawtuckets wholly dispoiled of their ancient possessions, and he forthwith filed a petition on behalf the Indians. The General Court granted both petitions and appointed committees to lay them out. Gookin says that Wamesit (the Indian grant) contained about twenty-five hundred acres. Allen, the historian of Chelmsford, estimated that about one thousand acres were upon the east side of Concord River, and fifteen hundred on the west side.

The line between Pawtucket and Chelmsford was the occasion of some dispute and several changes were made. But from the description of the bounds as finally established in 1665,† the line may be determined approximately, especially the northern portion of it. Beginning at Merrimack River the line followed very nearly what is now the bed of the Old Middlesex Canal for some distance through Great Swamp, and then taking a more easterly direction over the ridge upon what is now the city farm, and across the River Meadows to Pawtucket stake at the Concord River.

A number of the early settlers of Chelmsford erected their dwellings near the northern end of this line and within the limits of the present City of Lowell. They were doubtless attracted to this quarter of the town, which was called the “north end” or the “neck,” by its proximity to the river, and it is also not unlikely that more land may have been cleared of forest here by Indian fires. The latter view of the case is strengthened

* Allen, p. 162. † Allen, p. 166.

by the fact that we find some of them upon the very poorest land, upon what is now Stedman Street. Others located in the neighborhood of Baldwin, Westford, Pine and perhaps Parker Streets, and one, at least, at Middlesex Street.

Several roads and foot paths were laid out for the accommodation of this neighborhood, and from the description of these and the land grants to individuals, we learn the location of the dwellings.

The meeting-house at the centre of the town was the point from which all the main roads radiated. There is no record of the first one laid out to this section, but in a description of a land grant by the town of Chelmsford in 1659, the "Highway to the Merrimack River" is mentioned. It was undoubtedly the old road passing by the Golden Cove and Carolina Plain. The Lowell end is now Stedman Street. Originally, however, it turned to the right from Stedman Street, passing to the south of Mount Pleasant, or Mount Misery,* as it was formerly called, and terminated at Poorman's Bridge, at Black Brook. In 1673 this road was extended to the river, corresponding to what is now Baldwin Street, to its termination at Westford Street, and from there below Mount Pleasant to Poorman's Bridge.

The following is the description given in the records (Book A, 1656, p. 117):

20 : 3 : 1673 A highway.		Will underwood, Will Flecher and Abraham parker being apointed to lay out a high way for the inhabitants on other side of meremake do determin that it shall beegine att the Country way att pore mans bridge and so alonge bettwne the swamps and over Will Underwoods medow all alonge bowndid by marke treese on both sids and so runeth below
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* The marks of this ancient road from Stedman Street down to the swamp are plainly visible.

mr hinchmans dame and so to the endian line to answer the Contry Rode att Meremake and on this side this is a trew retorne of the Comity as above datted and heare enterd by order of the Selectt men.

SAM^{LL} ADAMS,
Clerk.

Previous to this, in 1668, another road was laid out which is described as follows :

“There is a Highway Laid out of twelve rod wide beginning at the country Road on the East of Poor mans Bridge and so it extendeth itself over Black-brook into the woods.” *

They are in the habit of defining the bounds of the highways, in that quarter of the city, more accurately to-day. But that no misapprehension should arise as to the width intended for this road, the following language was inserted in a subsequent record :

“always provided that the Highway over Black Brook on the farther side be twelve polls wide.” †

I have seen no explanation of the object which they had in laying out a highway nearly two hundred feet wide. I think it may be accounted for by the fact that it passed into the Indians' grant where the possessors were indifferent as to the amount thus taken.

The point from which these several roads extended, as will be noticed, was Poorman's Bridge. And it is a singular fact that although this bridge must have been known by that name for a hundred and fifty years, the name is now so completely lost that I have been unable to find any person who ever heard of it. Several records appear upon the town books, from time to time, showing that Poorman's Bridge was a recognized public way.

In 1757 an article was inserted in the warrant for the town meeting as follows :

* Transcript, p. 40. † Transcript, p. 89.

“At the desire of Saml. Chamberlain and others to see if the town will proceed and vote to make a bridge and casaway beyond and near Poorman’s Bridge so called whare the water Flows the Country Rode at Every Freshet.”*

The town voted in accordance with this request.

CHELMSFORD, July 30th, 1798.

Received of the Town of Chelmsford an order on the Treasurer of the said Town for the sum of thirty dollars Payable in sixty days which is in full of all Damage Sustained by me and my Brother by Reason of Poormans Bridge So called Braking down and leting several Barrels of Potash & other artacals into the Brook & in full of all demands of me and my brother against the Said Town

JAMES AIKENS †

From the evidence stated I conclude that Poorman’s Bridge crossed Block Brook some distance south of Westford Street. and the road, twelve rods wide, crossed the land now belonging to the estate of the M. C. Pratt heirs. Mr. Sewall Bowers states that a road crossed there within his knowledge, and turned to the left into Pine Street. The foundations to a former bridge are still plainly to be seen.

There were several residences upon the road leading from the centre of Chelmsford to Merrimack River. Henry Boutel, or Bowtal as it is sometimes given in the records, lived upon what is now Stedman Street, near the present line between Chelmsford and Lowell. Anthony Harker and Thomas Sewell were both granted house lots in 1659, bounded by the highway to Merrimack River. I think that neither remained to become permanent residents, as I do not meet with their names upon the records except at a very early day.

It was a custom of early times, before the people had their lands enclosed with fences, for the town to establish ranges over which the cattle roamed in the care

* Book F, p. 118. † Book Q, p. 215.

of a field driver, who protected them from wolves, and prevented them from straying and doing damage to growing crops. The range which accommodated this neighborhood is thus described :

“7:1:71 [1671]. Its ordered concerning herding of cattell that from Cros Bridge to Henry boutells Shall bee one herd.”

Cross Bridge is near the centre of the town on the North Chelmsford road. Three other herds were laid out at the same time for other sections of the town. Boutell came from Cambridge. Savage (Gen. Dict.) gives the name Bowtell or Boutwell. He married Elizabeth Bowers April 25, 1657. He returned again to Cambridge, where his will came to probate, June 21, 1681. The last clause reads :

“Moreover my will is that my beloved wife may have the use of my now dwelling house with the sixe acres adjoining to it during her naturall life but in case She see good to goe and live with her son bowers then to have halfe the rent the said hous and land produceth,” etc.

A highway, which is marked in the margin “Country Way,” meaning a road leading from town to town, was laid out in 1674. In the transcript made in 1742 it is marked “Dunstable Highway.” The following description is given in the original record (Book A, 1656, p. 125):

Country Way.		The 1 Day of January 1674. leften Thomas hinchman and leften Samuell Foster beeing Apointed by the towne to Joyne with leftenant Wheeler and Abraham parker the comitty to lay out the Contry way from Donstable to Chelmsford thay Doe Joyntly Agree on both parties that the way shall in Chelmsford bowns beegine att mr Tings Farme and so to bee sixe polls wide and so to Continuue as by marked treese Downe to Jerathmell bowers land and so to black brook into the Contry way that comes from merimack this is a trew Rettorne of the Comity as above Datted witt[n]is.
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SAMUEL ADAMS
Clerk



THE BOWERS HOMESTEAD.

This corresponded to the road which passes from Dunstable through North Chelmsford towards the centre of the town till it comes to the north side of Drum Hill, swinging there to the left over an old road still open, for the greater part of the way, and coming out on Westford Street near the house of Sewall Bowers. The travel to Boston from Dunstable, and the towns above, passed over this road for many years, passing what is now the Chelmsford town farm and crossing the Concord River at Billerica.

The Sewall Bowers farm has been in the family possession as far back as the history of it is known. The dwelling is, I think, the oldest now standing in Lowell. It is said to be two hundred years old, which I think not improbable. Here lived Jerathmell Bowers (born May 2, 1650), one of the prominent men of the time. He probably came to Chelmsford with the family of Henry Boutell, who was his step-father. He was a son of George Bowers who was in Plymouth in 1639, and afterwards removed to Cambridge. (Savage.) He was the ancestor of those of that name in this vicinity. Jerathmell was a man of some wealth. He was chosen representative to the General Court, and, as captain in the military, performed good service against the Indians. Chief Justice Samuel Sewall made a tour of inspection through Middlesex County. In his diary he wrote :

“Monday, Oct. 26, 1702.

. . . “Went to Chelmsford, by that time got there twas almost dark; Saw Capt. Bowers and his company; Gave a volley and Huzzas; Sup’d at Mr. Clark’s. I and Col. Pierce in his study.”*

This diary has been printed in the “Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.” In the printed

* Sewall Papers, Vol. II, p. 67.

volume the name is Bowles but in the original manuscript it is Bowers. The Mr. Clark at whose house they supped, was the minister, Rev. Thomas Clark, an ancestor of Gov. John Hancock. Bowers removed to Groton a short time before his death, which occurred in 1724. His gravestone in Groton bears the following inscription, as given in "Groton Epitaphs," by Hon. Samuel A. Green:

Here Lyes ye Body
of Cap^t JERATHMELL
BOWERS Who
Dec^d. April y^e 23^d
1724 in y^e 78th
Year of His Age.

His wife is buried in Chelmsford. Her epitaph reads as follows:

Here Lyes y^e Body of
Mrs. Elizabeth Bowers
Wife to Cap^t Jerathmell
Bowers Who Dec^d
March 4th 1721 in y^e 76
Year of Her Age.

Near it is:

Nathaniel Bowers
Son of Mr. Jerathmel & M^s Sarah Bowers
Decd. Februry y^e 27th 1726
Aged 4 years & 11 M^o.

The will of Jerathmell Bowers was lodged for probate June 10, 1724. He mentions three sons, Jonathan, Samuel and Jerathmeel; three daughters, Elizabeth Shed, Hannah Wilson and Mary Page; grandson, Jerathmeel Pearce, son of daughter Hannah; grandson Benjamin, son of son Jonathan, and children of son John, deceased. An administratrix was appointed Jan. 27, 1752, on estate of Jerathmael Bowers, and John Shed was appointed guardian of his son Jerathmal, in his third

year. Jerathmael Bowers made his will Feb. 23, 1764, which was probated Sept. 18, 1764, and the widow, Elizabeth, appointed executrix. He mentions: Sons — Oliver of Chelmsford, and Charles of Charlestown; daughters — Lucy Colburn and Betty Peirce, both of Dunstable; grand-daughter, Sarah, wife of Simeon Butterfield of Merrimack, N. H. Jonathan Bowers made his will April 6, 1756, which was probated Nov. 29, 1756. He mentions five sons, Isaac, William, Benjamin, Francis and Luke; daughters, Mary and Hannah; son Jonathan of Litchfield, deceased, and that ones sons, Benjamin and Francis. No other estate of Bowers of Chelmsford was settled through the probate office, down to modern times.*

Jan. 2, 1683, Jerathmeel Bowers, of Chelmsford, conveys to John Cooper, Jr., of Cambridge, six acres of land in Cambridge, with buildings, "sometime the dwelling of Henry Boutell, decd." †

Sept. 16, 1703, Capt. Jerathmeel Bowers, and Elizabeth, his wife, convey interest in Wamesit lands, north of Merrimack, to the Varnums. ‡

Same parties to Sam. Sadey, cordwainer, Sept. 21, 1711. Capt. Bowers to son Jonathan, land in Chelmsford, 1710:

N. by land of Thos. Sewell.	W. by John Spalding, Sr.
S. by Capt. Bowers.	E. by common.§

Capt. Bowers and Elizabeth to son Jerathmeel, Jan. 6, 1713:

N. upon county road.	S. upon Jona. Bowers.
W. upon Eben Parkhurst.	E. upon Capt. Bowers and a ditch.

Joseph Spalding, Sr., to Jerah. Bowers, Jr., land on Wamesit Neck, lot 16, 18 acres.

* Mr. George A. Gordon. † Lib. VIII, Fol. 526. ‡ XIII, 736. § XVI, 239. || XVI, 325.

There were two footways laid out in this section, described as follows :

A highway. | “By appointment of the townesmen ther is tew foott waies laid out through the land of John Wright the one begining at the still next to Jerathmell bowers and so to the cartt brige and then below the orchard to the land of Jonathan butterfeild and then close by the fence of John wright vp to the drift way and the other begining against John Sheplies and then straight to the drift way at Jonathan buterfields barne by William underwood’s and Jrathmell bowers and for partt of satisfaction hee hath taken apeece of land about an acer and halfe bonendid North vp on the towne common east vp on the medow of John wright south vp on the lands of Jonathan Butterfeild and west upon land of John wright: Recorded by order of the Selectt men 21 7mo 1677.”*

In the transcript which was made of the two first books of town records, the word still is given *stile*, but in the original it is plainly *still*. This, perhaps, explains why all roads tended to Jerathmell Bowers’. That “still” was the word intended, is made evident by the fact that in 1686, Oct. 5, Jerathmeel Bowers and John Fisk were licensed by the court to sell “strong waters.” Sept. 4, 1688, Jerathmeel Bowers and Cornelius Waldo were licensed, and in 1687 Edward Spalding was appointed “Gager.”

John Fisk was a son of the minister, and Cornelius Waldo was deacon of the church and lived at the centre of the town. No stigma attached to that occupation in those times. The sentiment which then seems to have prevailed upon the temperance question was, that liquor was bad for the Indian but very good for the white man. An instance of the enforcement of the law against selling to Indians is given in the records, book 1656, p. 150 :

“The 24 day of march 1678 Abraham Parker senior with his tew sommes Moses and Isack weare Acused for seling of strong lickers

* Book 1656, p. 129.

to severall endians Contrary to the law established they doe each of them freely Acknolige ther faults ther in and doe heare by hind them selves severaly unto the selectmen of Chelmsford never hear after to sell any more Stronge lickers to any Indians as wittness our hands the day above."

Mr. Sewall Bowers states that he found a circular space paved with stones, near his garden below his house, and opposite to it evidence of an old cellar. He called the paved space an Indian hearth. Is it not more likely that he has discovered the foundation of Jerathmell Bowers' "still"?

The description given of the two footways indicates that three of those whose names are there mentioned, viz: John Wright, John Shepley, and Jonathan Butterfield, were located on the east side of Black Brook, in the neighborhood of Pine and Parker Streets. In the description of the line between Pawtucket and Chelmsford, in 1665, Butterfield's highway is mentioned.

John Shipley, or Shepley, was one of the early settlers of Salem. In 1637 he was living in that part of Salem which became Wenham. He was admitted into the church at Wenham Aug. 15, 1648. He disposed of his lands in Wenham to James Fiske (a brother to the minister), and removed, with his minister, Rev. John Fiske, to Chelmsford in 1655. Shipley had three children, John, born at Salem in 1637; Nathaniel, born in 1639; and Lydia born in 1641. Lydia was baptised into the church at Chelmsford Dec. 1, 1656. John Shepley died Sept. 10, 1678, and his widow Ann July 11, 1685.

The second John Shepley removed, with his family, to Groton, where, with one exception, they were all massacred by the Indians. The inscription on the Shepley monument in Groton, says:

"The Indians massacred all the Sheples in Groton save a John Sheple, 16 years old who the[y] carried captive to Canada and kept

him 4 years, after which he returned to Groton and from him descended all the Sheples or Shepleys in this vicinity."

John Shipley and Susannah, his wife, sold his "homestead lott & land" in Chelmsford, in 1698, to Jerathmel Bowers. The first John Shipley has, however, numerous descendants now living in this vicinity, through the marriage of his daughter, Lydia, to John Perham in 1664. John Perham settled upon the farm where I now live, in Chelmsford. I am of the eighth generation from John Shipley.

During the time of Indian troubles places of rendezvous were designated at which the people were to take refuge in case of alarm. In the "Settlement of the Garrison in the W^t Regiment of Middx.* March, 169½," there are nineteen garrison houses given for Chelmsford. The first on the list is "Jerathmiel Bowers and with him Jn^o. Wright, Ebenezer Wright, Joseph Wright, Jn^o. Shipley, Joseph Parker and their families—8 men." The last two on the list, which were doubtless on the north side of the river, were "Samuel Varnum and Jn^o. Whittaker, Jn^o. Walker, Ezra Colburn—10 men," and "Edward Colburn and with him Jn^o. Colburn—3 men."

John, Joseph and Ebenezer Wright were the sons of John Wright of Woburn. Ebenezer removed, later, to the part of town now in Westford. Hodgman (historian of Westford) says he lived upon what is now the Edwin Heyward farm, near Chamberlin's Corner.

John Wright remained at the neck. His wife was appointed to teach the children of the neighborhood. The order reads:

"Chelmsford Agust the 26th 1699 the selectmen of said Town Apointed Samuell Fletcher Jun^r Schoolmaster to Learne young per-

* New England Historical and Genealogical Register, October, 1889.

sons to write: on the Day Above said Selectmen Apointed for Scooldames: Decon Fosters wife Jn^o. Wrights: Moses Baratts wife and Joshua Fletchers wife." *

Deacon Foster lived near the centre of the town, Moses Barrett upon South Row, and Joshua Fletcher in the Stony Brook neighborhood.

Jonathan Butterfield, whose barn is mentioned in the description of the footway, was born in England. † He came to this country with his father Benjamin. In 1638 they were living in Charlestown; in 1640 at Woburn, where Jonathan's brothers, Nathaniel, Samuel and Joseph, were born. Benjamin Butterfield's name heads the list of petitioners for the Chelmsford grant in 1653. He died at Chelmsford March 2, 1687-8. His sons all lived and died in Chelmsford.

Samuel Butterfield, a son of Nathaniel, was a man of some prowess as an Indian fighter. He was taken prisoner by the Indians at Groton, in August, 1704, and remained a captive upwards of a year. ‡ His petition to the General Court after his release, sets forth that he was an inhabitant of Chelmsford sent by Capt. Jerathmel Bowers to Groton to help Col. Taylor, when the enemy came upon them. From some early accounts of the affair, it appears that Butterfield made a vigorous resistance, and before being captured, slew an Indian Sagamore "of great dexterity in war," in consequence of which the Indians proposed to inflict upon him a death by torture, but the squaw of the slain Indian interceded in his behalf and his life was spared.

John Shepley, then living in Groton, was paid four pounds for killing an Indian in the same engagement.

A Lieutenant Butterfield, while returning from

* Book 1656, p. 189. † The Butterfields of Middlesex, by George A. Gordon, A. M.
‡ Groton During Indian Wars.

Dunstable, two years later, was set upon by Indians. His horse was shot and his wife taken captive, "and Jo English, a friend Indian, in company y^m, was at the same time slain."

Another resident of this section was Joseph "Parkis." He was a son of George Parkhurst, who came from England and settled at Watertown, an ancestor of a family which has always been prominent in Chelmsford. One of the footways passed through Joseph Parkhurst's land and he was granted an acre elsewhere in compensation. He was granted a "house lott fifteen acers . . . west by town highway to the mill north by land of Thomas Sewell east by town common south by land of John Wright." The term "town common" meant land which had not been granted to individuals, and was held by the proprietors in common. Also, "Joseph Parkis is granted Tenn Rods of Land Lying by the swamp side against his house to make a garden and Well: and approved of by Henry Boutall and John Wright." Parkhurst later removed to the Stony Brook neighborhood, now in Westford, where he died.

William Underwood and John Spalding both had grants of land here, but it is uncertain where their dwellings were.

James Parker had a large grant of land near the Indian line. He was one of five brothers who came from Woburn to Chelmsford. He was admitted an inhabitant Feb. 1, 1656. He early removed to Groton, where he became the most influential inhabitant of that town.* After the destruction of Groton by the Indians, in the spring of 1676, Parker again found an asylum among his old neighbors of Chelmsford, as we learn from a letter addressed

* Groton Indian Wars.

by him to the governor and council at Boston, "From Mr. Hinchmans ffarme ner meremack : 23 : 1^{mo}. 1677⁶."

James Richardson and Thomas Hinchman were near neighbors. They lived near the Indian line, as appears by the following description of land laid out to James Richardson: "48 acres . . . east by tree joining upon the Indian line there is a highwaie laid through the midst of the said Thomas [Hinchman] for the use of the said Thomas Hinchman's house." Richardson was a soldier against the Indians in King Philip's war. His good services were recognized by Captain Wheeler at the engagement at Brookfield, which will be mentioned later on.

In 1668 a highway was laid out in this section, described as follows (page 53, Transcript):

Mr. Webbs Highway.		"Mr. John Webb desiring a highway from his Farm over Merimack River to wards Chelmsford: The Selectmen considering thereof: have appointed William Fletcher and James Parker to Lay out the Same, and the fore sd. William Fletcher and James Parker make there Return to the Selectmen that they have determined the fore sd. Way to begin at Merimack River where Mr. John Webb made his Wair: and so to be of a sufficient breadth for Carting: and to run through to the common."
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This introduces us to John Webb, alias Evered, the first settler upon the north side of the river, and the man in whose honor the town of Dracut was named. Webb, or Evered, obtained his land by a grant from the General Court to the military officers, the record of which is as follows: *

"June 7 1659 laid out to Left. Peter Oliver Capt. James Oliver Capt. James Johnson and ensigne John Evered: 1000 acc: of land: in ye wilderness on ye northerne side of Merimack river: lying about nahamkeage being bounded with merimack river on ye south and on ye west, the wilderness else wher surrounding according to marked

* State Archives, Plans and Maps, Book 1, p. 7.

trees: as by a platt taken of the same is demonstrated by Jonathan Danforth survey^r."

Webb doubtless purchased the right of the other grantees to this tract, as their names do not appear in any later transfers. A. C. Varnum, Esq., in his article upon Dracut, in J. W. Lewis & Co.'s History of Middlesex County, states in relation to the residence of Webb, "It was on the river bank below the old 'Captain Blood Place,' latter owned and occupied by William H. Durkee, and now owned by Dr. George W. Clement, formerly of Dracut, now of Boston."

Webb's highway must, then, have passed through the J. C. Ayer farm, purchased by him from the Howards. An old path is still to be seen leading, under the railroad, down to the river. A ferry was maintained at this point within the memory of persons now living.

Webb, before coming to Chelmsford, was a merchant in Boston, and the honors bestowed upon him soon after his settlement here argue that he was regarded as a person of consequence. Webb came to this country in the ship James, which sailed from England in April, 1635, and arrived June 3rd. In the list of passengers his name is given John Webb alias Evered, laborer or husbandman, Marlboro in Wiltshire. The humble occupation given and the alias may both have been for the purpose of deluding the English authorities who sometimes prevented persons of prominence from embarking for America. There is some evidence that he was in this country at an earlier date and after returned to England, as John Webb, then a single man, was admitted to the church of Boston Feb, 9, 1634. He was admitted a freeman Dec. 7, 1636, and a member of the Artillery Company in 1643. This was the famous organization now known as the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company."

His residence in Boston was upon that historic spot now known as the "Old Corner Book Store." A former occupant of the property was the gifted but unfortunate Anne Hutchinson, who was banished from the colony because of the disturbance in the church caused by the promulgation of her peculiar religious views. Some time after the banishment of the Hutchinsons Mr. John Evered, alias Webb, bought the property, consisting of a house and half an acre of land, of a relative of the family, Richard Hutchinson of London. At that time what is now Washington Street was known as the road to Roxbury, and School Street was "School-house Lane." The brick building now standing upon that corner was built about 1712, and is one of the oldest brick buildings now standing in Boston. Webb sold a portion of this estate in 1661, probably about the time of his removal to Chelmsford. He made several other transfers of real estate in Boston. One of these, Oct. 30, 1665, was to William Alford, and is described as "Land & ware houses upon the townway down upon the flats"; another in May of the same year, to Thomas Deane, of a dwelling house and land on "the broad street."

The Town of Chelmsford granted several parcels of land to "Mr. John Webb," under date of November 9, 1661. All of these were near to Merrimack River. He was chosen, by the Town of Chelmsford, deputy to the General Court in 1663, 1664 and 1665. In the list of members of the General Court in 1663 his name is given Ensigne John Webb, and for the session of 1664 it appears as Ensigne Jno. Euered. In 1664 he and Samuel Adams were "empowred to joyne persons in marriage that shall be duely published according to lawe wth in the toune of Chelmsford."

But alas for human frailty. While Webb was

attending a session of the General Court at Boston, in May, 1665, he was convicted of unchaste conduct, at the tavern of Jno. Vialls, where he was staying, and the court acted in the case with true Puritan rigor. His sentence was :

“To pay twenty pounds as a fine to y^e country & be discharged the Court and his commissions for civil and military trust, and to stand disfranchised, & all during the pleasure of this Courte, & give bond wth sufficient suretjes to the value of one hundred pounds for his good abearing during the pleasure of this Court, & stand comitted till the sentence be performed.”

The next year :

“The Court being informed that M^r John Euered alias Webb hath paid his fine, & carried it humbly & submissively, & under a due sence of his sinne, the Court Judgeth it meete to sett him at liberty from the rest of the sentence of this Court.” and the Town of Chelmsford were given liberty to “make chojce of military officers as they shall see meete.”

Webb obtained, by purchase from the Indians, Wickisuck Island (now called Tyng's Island) in the Merrimack River. This was, in 1665, released to Wanalancet and other Indians, by order of the court, and Webb was granted five hundred acres elsewhere in compensation.

In 1664 Webb disposed of a portion of his land. The following is the description of the conveyance (Mdx. Deeds, Vol. III, p. 347) :

“John Evered alias Webb, of Drawcutt upon Merrimack (Co. of Norfolk) to Richard Shatswell and Saml Varnum of Ipswich, for £400 One halfe of the farme of Drawcutt aforesaid, except the field with the houses barnes, structures, edifices & Buildings & the garden, the field mentioned to be called the upper field, and three acres of the lower field below the the log fence next the barne to containe 1100 acres. 10 Jan. 1664.”

This is the earliest mention of the name Dracut. Webb, as we have seen, came from Wiltshire, England, where Dracut, or Draycote, was a local name.

Webb came to his death in a singular manner. The date given in the Chelmsford records is Oct. 1, 1668. Rev. Simon Bradstreet's journal contains the following account (Gen. Reg., Vol. IX, p. 44):

"1668 Mr. Jno. Webbe, who sometime lived at Boston was Octob. drowned catching a whale below the Castle. In coiling vp ye line vnadvisedly he did it about his middle thinking the whale had been dead, but suddenly shee gaue a Spring and drew him out of the boat. he being in ye midst of the line, but could not bee reconered while he had any life. (Mr. Webb's death, as after I was better informed was not altogether so as related.)"

After Webb's death his widow sold the estate to Jno. Faireweather, Sept. 4, 1669. And in 1671 Thomas Hinchman sold the Shatswell portion of the eleven hundred acres bought of Webb, to Edward Coburn. All the transfers of property in Dracut previous to 1700, are given in an article by E. W. Thompson, in the Lowell Journal of April 1, 1887.

Edward Coburn and Samuel Varnum were the first actual settlers to follow Webb. They both came from Ipswich, and were the ancestors of families which have always been prominent in Dracut and vicinity.

In speaking of people upon the north side of the river I have called them citizens of Chelmsford, and, previous to the incorporation of Dracut, in 1701, they were so regarded, although the Chelmsford grant never extended beyond the Merrimack River. The people living there voted, paid taxes and attended meeting in Chelmsford. In the Chelmsford minister's rate, March 30th, 1671, are the names of at least six persons who lived on the north side of the river. They were Samuel Varnum, John Coborn, Robert Coborn, Edward Coborn, Thomas Coborn, and Edward Coborn, Sen. When some of the people attempted to escape from their responsi-

bilities to Chelmsford the court established their relations by the following order (Records of Mass., Vol. IV, Part 2, p. 351):

Farmes abt
Merremack to
belong to
Chelmsford &
Midlesex
Courts

“Vpon information of sundry ffarmes erected aboue the toune of Chelmsford, about Merrimack River, whose inhabitants pretend their sajd farmes to be out of the County of Midlesex, & possibly be not conteyned in any county, it is therefore ordered by this Court & the authority thereof, that all & euery the inhabitants of such farmes as there are or shall be improoned shall, in all points, haue their dependances vpon, & performe services, & beare chardges wth the sajd toune of Chelmsford, & that the sajd ffarmers repaire to the Courts of Midlesex for justice, & all, till this Court take further order, any lawe or custome to the contrary notwthstanding. 1667 Oct 9.

The following action by the town of Chelmsford, in 1706, terminated the relationship: “Voted that Draw Cutt shall not voat in Chelmsford.”

Edward Coburn, Jr., was killed by the Indians, at Brookfield, July 14, 1675. He was a soldier in Captain Wheeler's company of horsemen, who were waylaid by the Indians near that place, and thirteen of their number killed or mortally wounded. The remnant of the company then took refuge in a garrison house in the town, where they repelled the assaults of the foe for two days and nights, when they were relieved by a force under Major Willard. There were three other Chelmsford soldiers in that engagement, viz., James Richardson, John Fiske and John Waldo, the latter of whom was wounded. Captain Wheeler, when he became incapacitated by reason of his wounds from continuing the command, “appointed Simon Davis of Concord, James Richardson and John Fiske of Chelmsford, to manage affairs for our safety,” etc.

Of those who settled within the present limits of the

City of Lowell, prior to the year 1700, Maj. Thos. Hinchman was, without doubt, the most influential person. He was often selected by his townsmen, and also by the General Court, for the most delicate and responsible services. And whether he was called upon to negotiate with the Indians or to act as a committee to seat the meeting-house, his conclusions were accepted with confidence; and as seating the meeting-house meant the assignment of the different families to the seats to which by their relative consequence they were entitled, it is uncertain which of those two kinds of service would call for the most skillful diplomacy. A study of the history of the town at that period cannot fail to inspire a genuine respect for the character of this man. He was withal a very modest man. He shrunk from accepting the office of deacon of the church because of want of confidence in his fitness. (Fiske Records.)

As trustee for the Indians he seems to have held the entire confidence of the Pawtuckets, both before and after the breaking out of hostilities. This is the strongest evidence that his actions were governed by principles of justice. The fact that Chelmsford suffered less from Indian depredations than most of the frontier towns was doubtless due, in a great measure, to his wise management. Thomas Hinchman was admitted an inhabitant in 1654. The name is spelled in various ways in the records. Farmer says that he spelled it Hinchman, and that it was pronounced as if spelled Hinksman. He was a magistrate, a major of the Middlesex regiment, and a representative to the General Court in 1666, 1667, 1671 and 1676.

Upon the breaking out of King Philip's war, in 1675, several garrison houses were built in different parts of the town. Hinchman erected one for this neighborhood

of which the following account appears in the Records of Massachusetts, Vol. V, p. 54 :

“Whereas Left. Thomas Hinchman hath been at great charge in providing for the diet of certeine souldjers appointed to garrison his house upon Merremacke Riuer, where sundry Englishmen, and neighbours, are concerned, which is a very apt place to secure that frontier, and besides, the said Hinchman hauing, vpon all occasions, bin very serviceable, and hath expended much time and charge to put in execution sundry orders and directions sent to him from the council, this Court doe order, that the souldiers of that garrison be maintayned both for diet at the toune of Chelmsfords charge for the tyme to come, and vntill the Court or council take further order; and further more, that tenn pounds be allowed him for his extraordinary expense and labor out of the country tresury.”

The tradition in reference to this garrison house is that it stood upon the bank of the river about opposite to what is now Wood Street. Judge Samuel P. Hadley states that, when the water in the river was low, he has seen what was evidently an old well laid up with brick. The bricks were wide at the outer end so that they would fit together when laid in a circle. He also found near it the skeleton of an Indian woman.

The atrocities of Philip's war excited the greatest animosity in the minds of the people towards the Indians, and when some of Eliot's Christian Indians were found among the parties that were burning and pillaging the exposed settlements, popular feeling toward all Indians became very bitter. The court enacted very severe measures, which it is not pleasant to dwell upon. Eliot and Gookin, and some others, who were more intimately acquainted with the Indian character, exercised their influence in favor of more moderate measures, but without avail. Several of the peacefully disposed Pawtuckets were wantonly shot because they were suspected of having burned a barn and haystack. The state of the

public mind at the time may be inferred by the language of the order of the court for the investigation of the affair (Mass. Records, Vol. V, p. 57):

“13 Oct. 1675. Whereas the Wamesit Indians are vehemently suspected to be actors and consentors to the burning of a haystack at Chelmsford, this Court judgeth it meet that such Englishmen as can inform or give evidence in the case be forthwith sent for, and those Indians now at Charls Toune, and the case to be heard by this Court, then and there to consider and conclude what wth the said Indians.”

The following spring, 1676, the Pawtuckets withdrew into the wilderness; not however until they had retaliated upon the English (Drake's Hubbard, Vol. I, p. 222):

“At Chelmsford the said Wamesit Indians about March 18th before fell upon some Houses on the North side of the River, burnt down three or four that belonged to the Family of Edward Colburn: the said Colburn with Samuel Varnham his Neighbor being pursued as they passed over the River to look after their Cattel on that side of the River; and making several Shots against them who returned the like again upon the said Indians (judged to be about forty) what success they had upon the enemy was best known to themselves; but two of Varnham's sons were slain by the Enemies Shot before they could recover the other side of the river. April 15 also were fourteen or fifteen houses burnt there.”

The author of this account was Rev. William Hubbard of Ipswich. He was a former neighbor of Coburn and Varnum at Ipswich, and he doubtless obtained his information from them. I think buildings was what was meant when he gives the number as fourteen or fifteen. There could not have been that number of separate dwellings on that side of the river at the time.

This conduct of the Pawtuckets occasioned great alarm. Wanalancet must be won back if possible, and who could better accomplish this desirable object than the just and moderate Hinchman. The court directed

Lieut. Thomas Hinchman and Cornet Thomas Brattle as follows :

“ You are to endeavor either one or both of you (if it may bee) to gain the Indian Sachem Wannalanset to com in againe and live at wamesit quietly [and] peccably : you may promise him in the coun- cills name y^t if hee will returne & his people and liue quietly at Wamesit hee shall susteyne no p^ruidise by the English ; only you are to ppose to him y^t he deliuer for a hostage to the English his sonne who shalbe wel vsed by vs. C in case hee come in and can bee gained then you are to impour him to informe the Pennakooke and Natacook indians and all other indians on the east side of Merrimack River, that they may liue quietly and peacably in y^r places and shall not be disturbed any more by the english provided they do not assist or ioyne with any of or enimiyy nor do any dammage or periudice to y^e english.”

Later, in 1685, Hinchman reminded the court that Wanalanacet and other Indians had received no aeknowledgement for their services in the treaty with the Indians at Pennacook ; and in answer the court ordered ten pounds in money and clothing to be distributed among them by Captain Hinchman and Mr. Jonathan Tyng.

One other notable instance, showing Hinchman's influence with the Indians, deserves to be mentioned. In June, 1689, two Indians from Pennacook came to Major Hinchman and reported a plot against the life of Major Waldron of Cochecho, now Dover. Hinchman immediately sent a messenger to notify the authorities at Boston, and a courier was dispatched by them, to Major Waldron. But the warning came too late. Upon the fatal night of June 27th, while the courier was detained at Newbury Ferry, the squaws who had been allowed to lodge in the garrison houses, opened the doors at midnight and the savages rushed in. The story of the gallant defence of Major Waldron, is familiar ; how, being overpowered by numbers and weak from loss of blood,

he at length fell upon his own sword which was held under him.

Major Hinchman died in 1703. The inscription upon his gravestone, in the old cemetery at Chelmsford, reads as follows :

HERE LYETH
Y^E BODY OF MAJOR
THOMAS HINCHMAN
AGED 74 YEARS
DEC^D. JULY Y^E 17
1703.

His will does not disclose the amount of his property. It was doubtless large, as he was a very extensive land owner. He left the bulk of his estate to his wife, Elizabeth. There were two other bequests, one of five pounds and an interest in his lands at Nashoba, to his minister, Rev. Thomas Clark ; and another to Joseph Warren, " my kinsman (by marriage), and Ruth, his wife, my dear kinswoman, ye house and all those Lands, at my tenement at Blanchards (as commonly called)." &c. This farm bequeathed to Joseph Warren, is the one now owned by Joseph E. Warren at Chelmsford Centre. It has been continuously in the Warren family. It is pleasant to know that the memory of Thomas Hinchman is still kept green in the Warren family. Mr. E. H. Warren, the present town treasurer of Chelmsford, was named in his honor, E. Hinchman Warren.

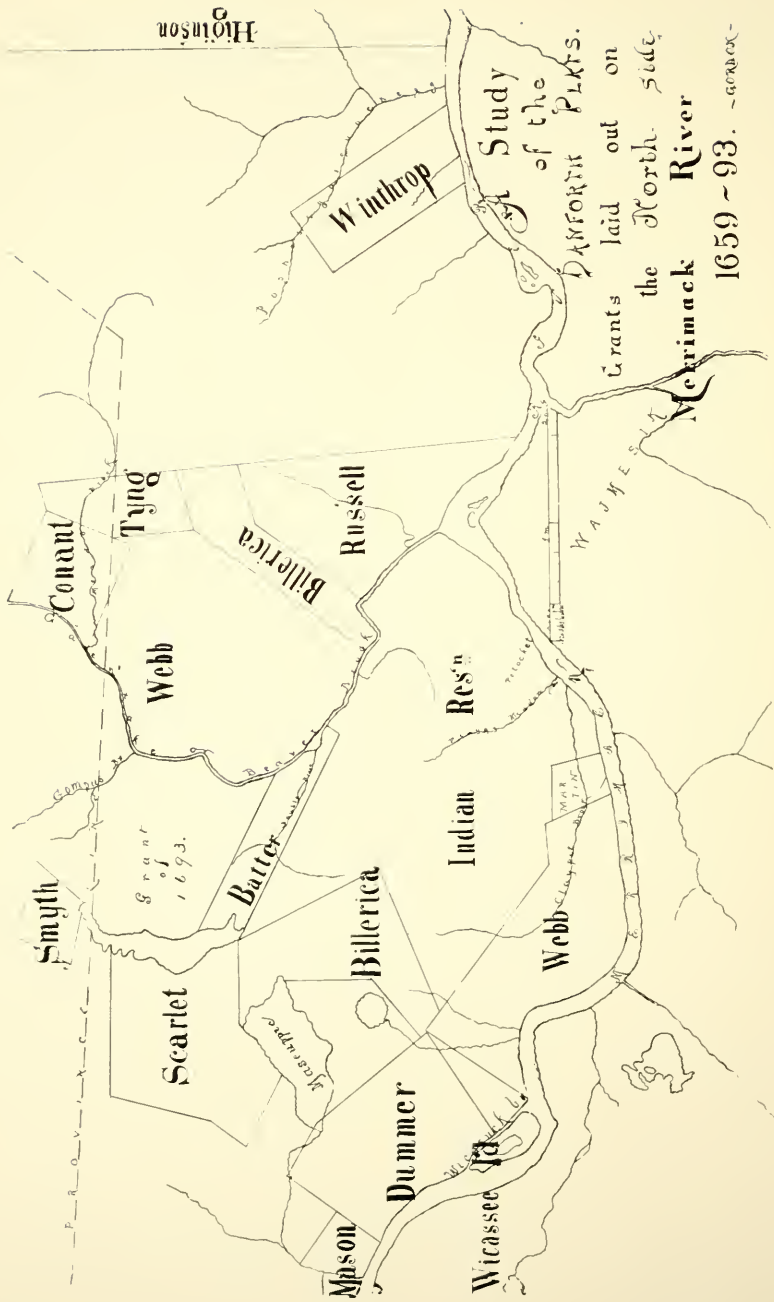
It would be interesting to trace the development of this section from the year 1700 to the introduction of cotton manufacturing in 1823, which resulted in the development of this prosperous city. Some writers have hardly done justice to the enterprise of the people who occupied this section when P. T. Jackson and his associates came and diverted the waters of the Merrimack to serve the purpose of human industry. "The History of

the People of the United States," by John Bach McMaster, in speaking of the condition of the people in 1820, says (Vol. I, p. 61):

"When, in 1820, the fourth census was taken the country around Lowell was a wilderness where sportsmen shot game. The splendid falls which now furnish power to innumerable looms, were all unused, and the two hundred needy beings who comprised the whole population of the town, found their sole support in the sturgeon and alewives taken from the waters of the Concord and Merrimack."

It is unnecessary to prove to the members of the Old Residents' Association, the falsity of this picture of poverty. The canals, bridges, school-houses, and manufacturing establishments of various kinds then in operation, gave ample evidence of the presence of an intelligent, thrifty and enterprising people.

The social condition of the other parts of the town may be inferred from the fact that Dr. John C. Dalton was engaged in the practice of his profession at the centre of the town; Willard Parker, one of Chelmsford's sons, who later acquired more than a national reputation in the medical profession, was teaching the district school; Joel Adams, A. M., was practicing law; Rev. Wilkes Allen, at his handsome residence, had just completed his "History of Chelmsford"; and only five years later, in this territory which the historian would have us believe was something of a wilderness, Ralph Waldo Emerson was teaching the Chelmsford Classical School, and among the youth of the town who were his pupils, were Benjamin P. Hunt and Josiah G. Abbott.



Grants laid out on
the North side
of Merrimack
River

1659-93.

Smyth

Corant

Webb

Tying

Billerica

Russell

Indian

Res'n

Billerica

Dummer

Mason

Scarlet

Wicasset

Batter

Webb

Winthrop

Study of the
DAWFORTH PLTS.

FRONTIER

RAILROAD

Grant
of
1693.

Higginson

III. *“The Early Grants of Land in the Wilderness North of the Merrimack,”* Covering substantially the River Lots from the Brook next above Tyng’s Island to the Methuen Line, read Aug. 2, 1892, by George A. Gordon.

It is a subject of regret that my theme has not a larger interest to the hearer. To gentlemen, like yourselves, whose youth was passed elsewhere, the early proprietorship of the shore of this now beautiful river, when the Indians on land and the fish in the water had about an equally adequate idea of its capabilities, is not an engrossing subject. I will try to remember Charles Lamb’s advice that there are times when it is commendable in a man to refrain even from good words, and to hold his peace.

Doubtless, it is a cause of wonder that any one can find in such unimportant and forgotten items occasion for an exhibition of antiquarianism. Yet, like all obscurities, near or remote, its pursuit arouses the zest of a pleasure which palls only on attainment. To your Martin Luther and your Country Clubs the primeval name or occupancy of the gem of an island, where they enjoy their exhilarating sports, is a matter of small concern. That the dam at Pawtucket Falls ruined a brawling cascade above the island, as did, later, the dam at Lawrence the better known “*Hunt’s Falls*,” may be an accepted fact, sometimes remembered; but the swelling flood of the lordly Merrimack of to-day, beating its ample volume on

either shore, fails to suggest the modest stream which, for a large part of the year, was confined to a narrow channel in colonial times. Only at spring freshets, and after copious rains at other seasons, was the river then worthy of its present character.

We do not always remember, in our exuberant patriotic pride in our native land, that the earliest organization of its settlers was simply that of a business, trading corporation, whose patent acknowledged sovereignty in and fealty to the crown of Great Britain; that the terms "planter" and "plantations," refer to conditions issuing from that patent. The "governor" was the head, as is to-day the president of a corporation. The "assistants" were the "directors"; and the "stockholders'" meeting formed the "general court." By almost imperceptible, hesitating steps, designed to secure stability of police regulations, the planters and their associates, the settlers and their servants, developed, a system of popular government the freest possible, the least aggressive and of the extremest parsimony of expense. They came as Englishmen, relying upon their distant home for defence and protection if exterior conflicts should arise; but shaping their local prudential affairs after the familiar practice, for generations, in the parishes of England. Unlearned and ignorant, like the then rural population of the various shires of England, from whence they had come, of events transpiring in the world about them, they had a sublime confidence in their estimate of their relations towards their Maker. Actuated by the most generous and most benevolent of feeling towards the savage, whom they found in occupancy of the land whereon they had settled, they were disposed to advance him, at once if only he would, from his wild condition to that of a saint in glory. If he would not he must give way. He might share

with them, in perfect equality, in church fellowship and in every inheritance; but, if he declined, he was not to be tolerated.

In many respects the frontier settler was favorably situated. There was much game in the woods, the fish were abundant in the streams, the virgin soil produced generous crops of breadstuffs and culinary vegetables, and the diligent fingers of their wives and daughters clothed all. John Varnum early had a mill at the foot of the Pawtucket Falls, where their grains were readily turned into meal, malt and flour. John Eliot, the apostle, had a corn mill on the Concord, below the Massac Falls, where are now Stott's Mills. Jerathmeel Bowers had a still for strong waters, in Chelmsford, on Black Brook. Every household made their own beer.

The need of the early settlers, planters and servants alike, in public and in private affairs, was ready money. Of that commodity very little was in circulation in New England. A brass farthing, or even a bullet, had a purchasing power beyond the dollar of to-day. Rates, as taxes were then termed, for the support of the ministry, and provision rates for ordinary public expenses, were laid as occasion demanded. These were paid in kind; that is, in the products of their husbandry (for all were farmers), and termed "country pay." As the treasury of the company got low and empty, in the interval of these rates, sums were "advanced," as borrowing and loaning was termed, by those possessing means, and these advances were liquidated by liberal grants of acres in "the wilderness," that is, the illimitable forest outside the plantations. The territory of the plantations, of a defined extent and location, was held to be at the disposal of the inhabitants. A notable example of this is furnished in the case of Billerica, set off from Cambridge,

when every freeholder in the parent town signed the deed of conveyance. The soil, under English law, of these new territories was the domain of the sovereign. The charter, establishing the Bay Colony as successor to the company of adventurers, granted jurisdiction, with some restrictions, over a strip of territory in that part of New England, lying between three miles to the north of the Merrimack and three miles to the south of the Charles, and reaching east and west from ocean to ocean. This charter bore the signature of King Charles I. Under this authority liberal grants of land were made for distinguished public service, to civil officials and military officers; after King Philip's war, to soldiers and needy towns. Often the cautious phrase is used, "so far as this Court hath authority."

A considerable portion of Lowell, skirting the northern shore of the Merrimack, was thus granted. The boulevard, reaching from two little brooks above Pawtucket, or near the inlet to the Water Works' gallery, to opposite Tyng's Island, was granted, three and a quarter miles on the river front, and roughly estimated at a thousand acres, to Captain Oliver, Lieutenant Johnson and Ensigne Webb, of the Boston A. & H. A. Six hundred acres next above was granted to Richard Dummer. Beyond the military grant and stretching to the pond, was a grant to the town of Billerica. From the Falls to Beaver Brook was reserved to the Indians that they might have full opportunity to fish. On the east side of Beaver Brook, and extending to the western slope of Dracut Heights, sixteen hundred acres were granted to Richard Russell, treasurer of the Colony, to be accounted as a part of an earlier grant to Sir Richard Saltonstall. Next to this, and up the brook, six hundred acres were granted the town of Billerica. Two hundred and fifty

acres, still farther north, and embracing the present Winter Hill or New Boston, was granted the father of Colonel Tyng, as a farm. Between which and Beaver Brook to the northwest, two hundred acres were granted to Roger Conant. Below this last, and covering present Collinsville, lay a grant of five hundred acres to Capt. John Webb. On the west side of the brook and above the Billerica grant, next Double Brook, lay a gratuity of two hundred and fifty acres to Edmond Batter, a deputy from Salem. Dracut Heights, then undesirable in land riches, was ungranted; but down the river and west of the brook, where to-day local fishermen catch trout, was located a grant of five hundred acres to Samuel Simonds, deputy governor, which, becoming the property of Deane Winthrop, has always been known as the Winthrop farm. The Higginson grant of seven hundred acres was at the extreme limit of Dracut bounds, and ultimately withdrawn across the line.

It must not be forgotten that Dracut reached far into New Hampshire. In that direction Governor Endicot was granted a principality, which passed through the hands of Walter Barefoote, Governor of New Hampshire, to Henry Kimball, who settled it. It has come down in history as the Kimball farm. Mr. Negus, clerk of the writs in Boston, and Mr. Caldicot of Dorehester, were generously remembered. The Negus grant passed to Peter Golding, who settled it and gave his name to Golding's Brook, which would-be purists often corrupt to Golden Brook. Resting upon the north end of Long Pond, and stretching up Gompus Brook, was a tract to George Smith of Ipswich, long known as the Chandler farm.

These several grants covered all the farms of the early settlements of Dracut. No conveyance of title

from the Indian was recognized. Occasionally such were taken, as politic in the interest of harmony. The savage failed to comprehend the intent and import of paper deeds. He seemed to regard them only as memoranda of payments previously made; and he could see no reason why the payment should not be repeated when the coats and blankets and brass kettles, given in consideration of the land, wore out, inasmuch as the land remained.

When, in 1701, the General Court recognized the settlement of Dracut as a town, in the few words which have been regarded, liberally, as an incorporation, a committee of the General Court apportioned a division of its soil to actual inhabitants. This included the farms in the neighborhood of what, a few years ago, was known as the "Yellow Meeting House"; also a tract below the the Winthrop farm, and lots upon Gompus, Meadow and Beaver Brooks. The title to the residue of the territory within her limits ultimately was invested in a board of proprietors, whose doings and acts were engrossed on a vellum bound manuscript, which, I am very glad to say, is still preserved in the office of the town clerk and selectmen. This volume deserves to be printed. At present its contents are accessible only to the patient student, who painfully collates and compares what would be readily apparent in print. The record of the very earliest days in Dracut is lost. That this priceless volume may not meet a similar fate, more than present care must be exercised for its preservation. The only surety lies in printing, which can be accomplished without large cost.

It is the grateful practice to speak of our ancestry, everywhere, who earliest reclaimed the land we inhabit from its primitive wilderness, as earnest, God-fearing men, who took their lives in their hands when, trusting in Providence, they erected their rude habitations and

dispossessed the savage. In some cases, this tribute, the generous accord of posterity, is deserved; but, nothing of the sort can be learned from the existing record of the first settlers, who pitched their cabins north of the beautiful Merrimack,

"Whose silver tide
Reflects each green bush on its side,
Each tasselled wreath and tangling vine
Whose tendrils o'er its margin twine."

Doubtless, sometimes they went to meeting at Chelmsford Centre, where record is made of minister's rates, some marriages and births among them. But it was several miles distant, as was, later, the first building on Meeting House Hill in Dunstable. It was fifty years before they had a settled minister, for whom they built a house for worship on "Flagge Medow Hill," near the present Fay house, or hospital. We find a few military titles; but no deacons till that event. How much the criminal law reached them is uncertain. The husband of one of the Colburn girls, Richardson by name, was killed by a blow of his opponent's fist in a brawl; and I find no indictment based on this lamentable scuffle. The widow remarried, this time a Wright, and dwelt in the neighborhood. The Colburns, as well as Major Hinchman, erected block houses, termed garrisons. Such houses are described by Parson Allen, in his history of Chelmsford, "as environed by a strong wall of stones or of hewn timber, built up to the eaves of the house, through which was a gate, fastened by bars and bolts of iron. They were lined either with brick or thick plank. Some of them had portholes for the discharge of musketry." However valued as a refuge for their wives and children, and thus giving a sense of security, such a rude fortress might prove, the wily

savage had more respect for the sinewy prowess and stout arms of the seven young Colburns and three young Varnums, whom, with Daniel Rolfe and Thomas Richeson, the town of Chelmsford supplied with powder, shot and flints, as an outpost. Notable officers in the revolutionary struggle came from these two stocks, and descendants of both have creditably filled high public station in several States. Both have had representatives in the Federal Congress. The most of the early grants fell, ultimately, into the possession of one or the other of these families; and, I apprehend, properties can be pointed out to-day which have never been out of the name of either; often descending from father to son. The genealogical histories of these two families have been, for some time, in collection; and the prospect is good for their appearance in print.

THE INDIAN RESERVATION.

The five hundred acres on the northern side of Merrimack, reserved for the Indians, extended on the river from the mouth of Beaver Brook, called in their language Gaentake, which is a condensation of *Won-gun-uk-tugh*—great bend place—to Petoeket Falls; P'au-tuck means a water-fall, from *pau*, a loud noise and *tugh*, place. The same meaning attaches to Po-ha-tan, the name of the celebrated Virginian, derived from the falls on the James river, where he dwelt.

Merrimack (Merimauke) undoubtedly is the name applied to some point on the stream, below Haverhill. *Mer* indicates where rapid running fresh water meets the salt tide. It is only found, elsewhere, in Amerascauk'n,—the river in Maine which the whites mis-named in memory of their despotic governor, Sir Edmund Andros,—and in Mirimachi.

After Philip's war, the reservation was sold to Messrs. Tyng and Hinchman, who eventually transferred the title to the inhabitants of Chelmsford, fifty in all. The sons of Samuel Varnum, Thomas, John, and Joseph, either together or singly, bought up these individual shares. One grantor describes his interest as located at "Pautuccott Falls"; another speaks of his as purchased of "ye natives of the countrey"; while another locates "at ye hither end of medow called ye old medow of Mr. Web's farme, which lyeth upon or neare to Beaver Brook, and ye north end of said medow joyneth to and is bounded by a bridge of loggs y^t lieth in that place." This would carry the reservation back from the river to the present Parker Bridge, near the paper mill.

A description of the construction of this bridge and causeway (causey) is found in the testimony of Jonathan Saunders, then a man of forty-nine years, before the Superior Court in 1696, viz: "When he was about seventeen (1664), he lived with Justinian Holden. Whilst he was his servant, he did help to cut down the Brush & Trees that grew thereon (the swamp) & to lay ye wood for the causey, and, when that was done, we did grauvell it and make ye bridge over the Brooke."

JOHN WEBB.

Ensigne and, finally, Captain John Evered alias Webb, was from Marlborough, in Wiltshire. He arrived in Boston, in the James of London, during the summer of 1635. Marlborough is the ancient city which gave its name as a title to the hero of Blenheim, Ramillies, and Malplaquet. Webb dwelt in Boston, as a merchant, for some years, but aside from his military career and the fact of his owning the corner of School Street, famous in our day as the Old Corner Book Store,

little is known of his history there. Later than 1650 he came to Chelmsford, where he trafficked with the Indians and located land grants for the whites. On the grant to himself and his associate officers in the military, of which he became sole possessor, he located a house and garden. After similar properties in his native Wiltshire, he gave these improvements the name of "Draycot-upon-Merrimack." Hence originates the modern name, Dracut. By this time, he had married Mary, the widow of Thomas Fayerweather of Boston; had served as the Deputy of Chelmsford, in the General Courts of 1664 and 1665; and was one of the two in Chelmsford, "impowered to joyne persons in marriage." Across the river, to just above the mouth of Black Brook, he constructed a fish weir. In 1664 he sold one half of his farme, "Draycut-upon-Merrimack," to Richard Shatswell and Samuel Varnun, both of Ipswich. In 1665 he sold an hundred acres to Robert Eames. In company with Shatswell and Varnun, he came into possession of the grant to Billerica, lying north of and adjacent to the military grant. Having redeemed a prominent Indian from possible imprisonment, by payment of the fine imposed, he purchased, by consent of the General Court, the island in the Merrimack lying west of his other properties. The official consent being afterwards withdrawn and the island restored to the Indians, he was reimbursed by a grant of five hundred acres on the east of Beaver Brook. In September, 1668, he sold all the property in Dracut, remaining in his name, to Edward Colburne. The next month Webb was drowned in Boston harbor, while on a fishing frolic. Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury, thus relates the story :

Mr. John Webb, who sometime lived at Boston, was drowned catching a whale below the Castle. In coiling up y^e line

unadvisedly he did it about his middle, thinking the whale had been dead: but, suddenly shee gave a Spring and drew him out of the boat. he being in the midst of the line, but could not bee recouered while he had any life.

Capt. Webb left a large estate, but no heirs direct. By his will he bequeathed to a large number of legatees, among whom we notice the ancestry of ex-Mayor J. H. B. Ayer and of the late Dr. J. C. Ayer, of your city.

The original plan of the location of the military grant is preserved at the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, with the following:

June 7, 1659.

Laid out to Left. peter Oliver: Capt. James Oliver; Capt. James Johnson and ensigne John Evered: one thousand acc. of land: in ye wilderness on ye Northerne side of merrimuk River: Lying about Nahamkeage being bounded with merrimack Riv^r on ye South and on ye west; the wilderness else wher Surrounding according to marked trees: as bye a plott taken of the same is demonstrated.

By JONATHAN DANFORTH: Survey^r

The deputies approve of this retorne with reference to the Consent of o^r Honurd magis^{ts} hereto

21 (8) 1659

WILLIAM TORREY, Cleric.

Consented to by ye magist

EDW. RAWSON, Secre^{ty}

The later grant to Webb is rehearsed in the following record of the Bay Colony, viz.:

11 Oct 1665 In ans^r to the petition of Nobstow, Wanalancet, Nonatomemut, Indians, the Court judgeth it meete to grant Mr. John Evered alias Webb five hundred acres of land adjourning to his land, now in possession vpon condition that he release his right of interest in an island in Merrimake Riuer, called Wicosuck weh was purchased by him of the Indian petitioners with the Court's approbation: & also vpon condition that one of the petitioners, called Wamalancet, doe release to this Court a former grant to him of an hundred acres of land: and the Court doe grant & confirme the say'd island called Wicosucke unto the peticoners, with any other Indians that have or had any true right of propriety in the same before it was purchased: provided, the say'd Indians shall not sell or alienate the say'd island,

or any part thereof, without this Court consent: & John Parker & Jona Danforth are appointed to lay out this grant of five hundred acres to John Evered at the charges of the say'd Evered.

According to the order of the honord Generale Court there is layd out to Mr John Evered alias Webb, of Drawcutt on Merremacke River, five hundred acres of land in the wildnernes on the north of Merremack River, on the easterne side of Beaver Brooke, joyning to land formerly granted to Mr. Edward Ting, of Boston, now in the possession of the say'd Evered: forty acres of it lyeth joyning to the most western angle of the forenamed farme and fower hundred and twenty acres of it lyeth joyning on the east side of the aforesay'd farme of forty acres at the north end of the ffarme: all which joyne together except onely small parcele of about twenty & two acres, which lyeth in comon betweene Beavar Brooke & Mr. Ting's ffarme aforesaid—otherwise Beavar Brooke doe bound this land on the northwest from the most northerly corner of it, web is at the brook to the northwest corner web is upon the brooke: the other part is sufficiently bounded: but it lying so much skirting upon Mr Ting's ffarme, according to the nature of the grant & Mr Webb's desire, the bounds thereof and the manner and forme thereof is best described by a plott taken of the same & lay'd out according to the order of the Court 11 m^o 66, by John Parker & Jonathan Danforth, web plot is on file

The Court allowes and approves of the farme above lay'd out

ROBERT EAMES.

Capt. Webb sold a place on the river to Robert Eames who, from the tools mentioned in his inventory, would seemed to have been a mechanic, certainly the earliest north of Merrimack. Besides, as the first man recorded to have died in Dracut, he becomes interesting. He was from Wrecklesham, in Surry, a little hamlet, a mile and a half out of Farnham, a large market town in that shire. The little village was on the border of the Holt forest, which extends into Hampshire. The country is wild—of picturesque scenery. The soil is barren and, to obtain water, wells are sunk 140 to 150 feet in depth. Near by was, in former days, the cave of Mother Ludlam,

who was not, like our Yankee witches of Danvers and Salem, either wicked or malevolent. On the contrary, she was possessed of a generous heart and kindly benevolence, and was of assistance to the poor people, after the following method of invocation: The applicant entered the cave at midnight, turned completely around three times and three times repeated these words: "Pray, good Mother Ludlam, lend me a baking pan (or any ordinary domestic article) and I will surely return it within two days." The applicant then retired quietly, and, in the open day following, on returning would find the desired article at the mouth of the cave. The good woman insisted upon punctuality in returning the loan, and had her customers been equally scrupulous, no one can tell how long the business might have continued. A careless rustic, having bothered this singular benefaction beyond endurance, Mother Ludlam utterly refused to receive back an iron kettle she had furnished and never again responded to an application.

After Eames' decease the Varnums bought his real estate, which suggests the possibility of their having been neighbors in the old country, inasmuch as Varnum may be a varied spelling of Farnham -- anciently Fearnham, the home of the ferns.

As a curious example of the spelling prevalent at that early date, on the Merrimack, we subjoin a copy of Robert Eames' will and inventory, the originals of which are at the Middlesex registry.

1671

The laste will and
testiment of mr
Robbart Eames.

In the nam of god amen the too and twenty of aprill in the
yeare of ovr lord god and one thovsaud six hvdred sevnty one I
Robbart eames of merimak at draevte in the covnty of norfolk beinge

weake in boody byt of sovnd and pefike memmori praised bee god fort the same and knowinge the vnseranty of this life her one earth I doe make this my laste will and teastement and firste I comend my soulle into the hands of god that gave it and my body to the earth from which it was taken to be byried in svch christan and desent maner as to my overseers shall apeare met and convenient and as tovebing my outward estate which lord in mercy hath lent me first I wille and earnest ly desire that all my dets that doe legally apere with all nesasari charge and expence whatsoever befirste payed ovte of my move able estate. Item I give and beqveath to my brother Iohn eames five shilings: Item I give and beqveath vnto my covsin Richard the sone of my sister Dorathy newman dwelling in farnum in svry in ratell sham my hovse land medow gardin with all the premise there vnto belonging Item I give and be qveath to my above named covsine Richard newman all my movfe able estate and If my covsine richard newman be deseased then my wille is that the next aire of my sister Dorathy newman beinge lawe fvly begoten of her boody doe have hovld occpye and in Ioye all that my saide dwelling hovse with lande medow with all movfoblle estate accordig to the above named premisess: and I doe herby ernist ly desire my worthy frinds Iohn neverson senor of water towne and m thomas hincksman of chellmsford to be over sevr of this my las te will and teaste timente and the same to se performed as is befor menshoned and whatsoever the said Iohn neverson and thomas hincksman shall nesasarly expend and laye oute or case to be expended and layed oute in and conserninge the same to be aloned oute of the wholle estate and this I doe declare to be my laste wille and teastiment: and in testimoni where of I the Robbart Eames have her:unto set my hand and sealle the daye and yeare firste above wrighten

(signed)

Robert Eames

Sined sealled and delivered

in presens of vs

Tho Hinchman

Josiah Richardson

Sworne 20:4:1671 Before the
Coun Court As attest

Thomas Danforth R.

In Inventory of the estate of Mr Robertt Eames of Draw Cutt Near Chelmsford who diseased the 25 Aprile 1671

	L.	S.	D.
his lands and housing 40 ^{lb}	040	00	00
his monies 47 ^s and 6 ^d one gould Ringe 5 ^s			
Silver Butins and 2 Sealles and tagges 4 ^s	002	16	06
to 1 bibell and other books	000	08	00
to 4 young Cattell out	009	00	00
to endean Corne wheatt and barly	002	04	00
to 1 vise and Skrew plate 12 ^s 4 hamers 5 chisels 9 ^s	001	01	00
to 2 plaines yrons a stockshave and a drawing knife	000	05	06
to 2 brest wimbles 2 Iron Rings 2 hachetts	000	09	00
to one hand saw 1 faling Axe 2 scikells	000	05	00
to so mush in Shoo lethere 5 ^s and 1 Iron pot 8 ^s	000	13	00
to 1 bras kettell 1 stockshave and Grease	000	04	09
to Seuerall small things in a small boxe	000	10	00
to 1 ffish Nett 5 ^s and 2 troghes for meall	000	09	00
to Seueral timber goods for house vse	000	07	00
to one friing panne 2 ^s and one fowling pese 18 ^s	001	00	00
to 3 pistolls, holsters, Brestplat and croper	001	10	00
to 2 spads 5 ^s and 1 Cutlash 10 ^s and 1 loking glas 1 ^s	001	16	00
to 1 prospect Glas 1 ^s and Bedding 25 ^s	001	06	00
to his wearing Aparell 20 ^s and to Iron toles	001	02	00
to 1 Razor and hone 3 ^s and so mush in Backon 21 ^s 4	001	04	04
to 1 old trunk 18 ^d and in sheett lead 18 ^s 3 ^d	000	19	11
to 1 canow 20 ^s and so mush in porke 5 ^s	001	05	00
to 1 pr bras compases 2 ^s and halfe an old whipe save 4 ^s	000	06	00
to one bagge and 2 endean Basketts	000	02	00
to 4 swine Rounge in the woods att	002	00	00
	<hr/>		
Taken By us whose names are under written this 28 April 1671	070.	14.	6
Josiah Richardson			
Edward Coborn			
X			
his marke			
more dew from Joseph perkis	000	02	0
more to seueral small skins	000	05	
more to the Rent of his land	001	16	6
	<hr/>		
To toAil	072	18	6

At the County Court held at Cambr. Octob 4. 1671

Whereas mr Robert Eames late of Merrimack neere Chelmsford & now deced, there is none that do appeare to take Admstraecon on his eatate mr Thomas Hincksman is ordered and impowred by this Court to dispose thereof, so as to secure the same from damage, as much as he can untill further order be taken about it

Entred by

Thomas Danforth

Recorder

RICHARD DUMMER

was from Hampshire, and arrived at Boston in The Whale, 1632. He first settled at Roxbury and there erected a corn mill; but his wife sympathizing with Anne Hutchinson, the most forceful woman in Massachusetts at that day, they removed to Newbury, where he became a magistrate and a person of distinction in both church and state matters. In 1635 and '36, he was one of the Assistants. He returned to England in 1637, but came out again in 1638. He was a deputy to the General Courts of 1640, '45 and '47. His grandson, William Dummer, was for many years Lieut. Governor and really acting Governor, owing to the continued absence of Gov. Shute in England. In his will he left funds for the establishment of Dummer Academy at Byfield, a parish of Newbury and Rowley, which is still a flourishing institution.

The church record at Roxbury has the following curious entry regarding the wife of Richard Dummer:

M^{rs} Mary Dumer, the wife of mr Richard Dumer: she was a Godly woman but by the seduction of some of her acquaintans, she was led away into the new opinions of m^{rs} Hutchinson's time & her husband removing to Nubery. she there openly declared herselfe & Psuaded him to return to Boston: where she being young with child & ill; mr Clark (one of the same opinions) vnskilfully gave her a vomit, weh did in such maner torture & torment her wth the rising of the moth^r & other vyolences of nature yt she

July 1659. Laid out to Mr. Richard Dumer :
 eight hundred ace. of land in the wilderness on the Northerne side
 of merimack R'ur beginning about weak a soak brook, being
 bounded therewith & merimack river on the west, adjoining to
 farmes lately laid out to Peter and James Oliver & some others on ye
 south the wilderness elsewhere surrounding, according to marked
 trees as by a plott paper of ye same is more fully demonstrated.

By JONATHAN DANFORTH SURV'

SIR RICHARD SALTONSTALL.

The first of these several grants, located on the
 Merrimack, was to Sir Richard Saltonstall, and is in these
 very few and concise words :

“12 march 1637|8 There is 1000 acres of land granted to S^r
 Richard Saltonstall, where it may not p'judice any plantation
 granted, nor to bee granted.”

On May 23, 1650, Robert Saltonstall petitioned the
 General Court for land due to his father, and the record
 reads :

in ans^r to the peticon of Robert Saltonstall for certajne lands
 due to his father Sr Richard Saltonstall for fower hundred pounds
 lajd out by him in the comon stock, the Court doth graunt the
 peticoner three sousand ac^{rs} of land in any part of this jurisdiecon so
 as he psent the place where he would have it, before the 20th of
 October next, to this Court: and his former graunt of this land
 menconed in his peticon is hereby made voyde.

Sir Richard Saltonstall was one of the fathers of
 Massachusetts and the leader in the planting of Water-
 town. He was of a prominent Yorkshire family. His
 uncle was Lord Mayor of London in 1597. He himself
 had been a soldier. Prudent and sagacious in business,
 tolerant beyond his associates in religion, large and
 disinterested in mind, actuated by extensive and com-
 prehensive views, he was, next to Gov. Winthrop, the

most conspicuous figure in the new colony and the first associate named by King Charles, in the Charter. He repaired to England, after a brief residence in the colony and, though he never returned, he proved himself always its efficient friend. He died in 1658, remembering in his will Harvard College, where one of his sons was graduated with the first class.

RICHARD RUSSELL

was from Herefordshire. He arrived at Charlestown in 1640, and at once entered upon business as a merchant, to which he had been bred at home. He was long in public life; was a Selectman in 1642, and for twenty-five other years, during seventeen of which he was Chairman of the board; was the deputy from Charlestown to the General Court from 1646 to 1658, and was its Speaker in 1648, '50, '54, '55 and '58; was an Assistant from 1659 to 1676, and was Treasurer of the Colony from 1645 to 1676. One of the most influential and prominent gentlemen in the Colony, he was the largest merchant in Charlestown, where he built warehouses and wharves to accommodate his extensive commerce.

As merchant, legislator, magistrate and financier, he was of the largest importance. He died in 1676, bequeathing a poor-fund, which still exists.

On his tombstone was engraved:

“ A saint, a husband, a faithful brother,
 A friend scarce parallel'd by any other:
 A saint, that walk'd high in either way
 Of godliness and honesty, all say:
 A husband rare to both his darling wives
 To her deceased, to her who him survives:
 A father politic, faithful and kind
 Unto our State as Treasurer we find:
 Of fathers good and best to own to those
 On him a fathership law did impose

Moses brother kind good Aaron lov'd :
 On him love shoves how full of truth improv'd :
 A friend to needy poor whom he refresh'd,
 The poor may well lament the friend suppress'd.
 In time of war he was removed in peace,
 From sin and woes to glory, by his decease."

Sixteen hundred acres, on the north side of the Merrimack and on the eastern side of Beaver Brook, was laid out to Richard Russell in July, 1659, and return made as follows :

12 November 1659. Laj'd out to Mr Richard Russell Treasurer, one thousand and sixe hundred acres of land, on the northerne side of Merremacke Riuer, in the wilderness, beginning right over against Wajmesieke, being bounded wth Beauer Brooke on the west, Merremacke Riuer on the south, the wilderness elsewhere surrounding, according to marked trees, as is more fully demonstrated by a plott taken of the same wch is on file, By Jonathan Danforth. Survejour.

The Court allowes & approve of this returne of land lajd out as being part of a pareell of land graunted in the yeare sixteene hundred & fifty to Robert Saltonstall, in right of Sir Richard Saltonstall, for fower hundred pounds lajd out by him in ye comon stocke, provided that Mr Russell shall and is hereby engaged to secure the countrje from any challenge wch shall or maybe made to the land herein mentioned by the heirs or executors of ye sd Robt Saltonstall, or an other, as by any right from him.

This tract was equally divided in 1687; one half being sold to John Alcock, from whom it passed by inheritance to his son and daughters, the latter married the one to Benjamin Walker of Boston, and the other to Ephraim Hunt of Weymouth. The Walkers and Hunts sold the land to Maj. Ephraim Hildreth, of Chelmsford, in 1709, which introduced that efficient, important and useful family to residence in Dracut.

In 1701, the remaining half of the Russell grant was sold to Andrew Belcher, a merchant of Boston. It was long known in Dracut annals as Belcher land. Its bounds were thus described :

The dividing line beginneth at a stake by Merrimack River, a little to ye Southward of the place where John Whittacur dwelt by the Brook side and from thence across Wilkinson's Brooke, east thirty-one degrees N., ninety-six poles to another stake and from thence to run Two miles norward four and a half degrees westward parallel with the outside Line, which is the end of the said ffarme at a stake and from thence one hundred thirty eight pole betwixt the parallel lines to a Pillar of Stones which is the corner of said ffarme and from thence to run parallel with the former line being one hundred thirty six pole wide and three mile wanting forty poles long on the outside to a Walnutt Tree nee Merrumack River and so to butt on ye sd River southerly till it come to ye stake below the place where Whittacur dwelt.

From Capt. Andrew Belcher, the property descended to Jeremiah Belcher of Ipswich as eight hundred acres. Wilkinson's Brook must have been the little brook which enters Merrimack river, just above the present Central bridge; but whence its name and who was John Whittacur, we have not learned. Gov. Belcher was a grandson of Andrew, and one of the Governor's sons became Chief Justice and Lieut. Governor of Nova Scotia.

THE BILLERICA GRANT.

In May, 1661, the general court granted four thousand acres to our neighbor of Billerica in the following terms:

In ans^r to the petition of the inhabitants of Billerikey, the Court having considered of this peticon, together with the peticon of Mr Deane Winthrop's for laying out the land graunted his mother & being certainly informed that the towne of Billierickey is a hopeful plantation and that they have & doe encourage & mainteine the ministry amongst them & have waded thro many difficultjes in purchasing much of their land & neuer had 'so much as one third part of lands graunted them by this Court as other villages inferior to them have had, doe therefore graunt the sajd towne fower thousand acres of land in such or places, where they can finde it within this

jurisdiction for the redemption of the sajd lands provided it shall not p'judice a plantation or any former graunt & that Capt Edward Johnson, Thomas Addams wth Jonathan Danforth, Surveyor, be appointed to lay it out & make returne to the next Court of Election.

The town of Billerica engaged one of her own citizens, Sgt. John Parker, "to look out some land to the vallew of four thousand acres granted to the town by the General Court" and further agreed with Parker and his father-in-law Jona. Danforth "they should have one thousand acres of the grant (for there owne propriety) provided they would locate the, other 3,000 at their owne cost." The record of so much of this grant as was located in Dracut is, as follows :

Gen^l Court 6 June 1663.

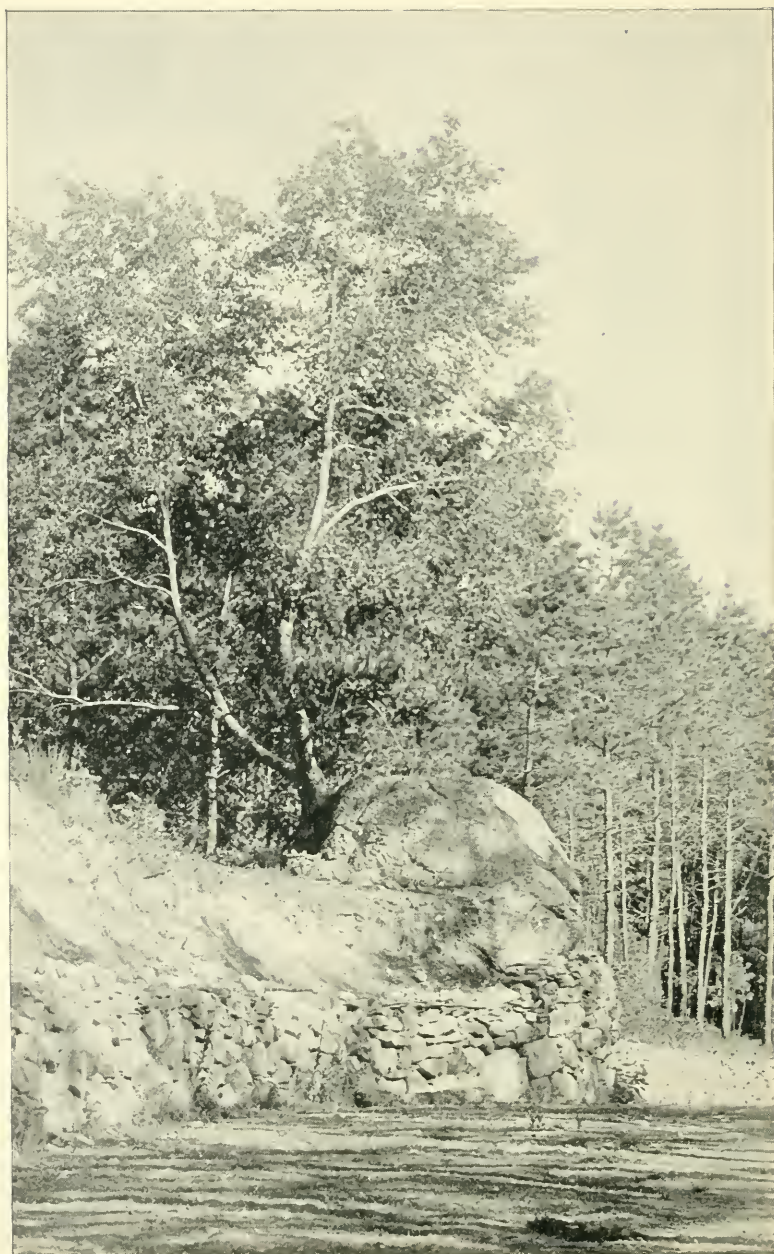
Layd out to the towne of Billirikey one parcell of land con-
teyning eight hundred acres, more or lesse, lying in the wildernesse
on the northside of Merremacke Riuer, beginning at the south east
angle of Mr Dummer's farme & being bounded upon him twenty two
pole; also bounded by Mr Webb's farme (which joynes to him
there) thirty five pole (upon his north east corner) westward, &
sixty fower pole southward; from thence it runns in a long spruise
swampe, about half a point northward of the east, four hundred and
eight pole; then runing in a straight ljne from thence to Long Pond:
being bounded partly by that pond and partly by Mr Batters farme
at this end of the pond which line, in all, is five hundred and fower
pole: & from thence it runnes almost due west to another pond
called by the Indians Mascuppet, unto a great rocke, called by the
English, Tray Table Rocke; on the north west it is bounded by
Mascuppet Pond and another little pond, vntill yow come to Mr.
Dumers line, where we beganne: all weh is more fully demonstrated
by a plott taken of the same. This eight hundred acres is part of
the fower thousand weh was lately graunted to the towne of
Billirrikey & there remajnes five hundred only yet to lay out of the
whole graunt

By JONATHAN DANFORTH Surveyor^r

EDWARD JOHNSON

THO: ADDAMS

The Court allowes of this returne.



TRAY TABLE ROCK.

The localities mentioned in the above, Long Pond, Mascuppet (to-day known as Tyng's Pond), Tray Table Rock, Spruce Swamp, mark plainly the location of their property, as between Willow Dale, Whortleberry Hill and the river. *Mascuppic*, in Indian tongue, would indicate a large pond in a narrow, pinched space, from *Mas* — large — the same as the first syllable in Massachusetts and Mississippi; *cuppi*, narrow, close. The final *k* represents *konuck*, place. Tray Table Rock is a large boulder, beyond Lakeview, a short distance from the shore of the pond. It is hollowed on its top, like a chopping tray.

This land, through Richard Shatswell and John Webb, passed to the proprietorship of the Varnums and the Coburns, to whose earlier farms it lay adjacent. The remainder of the Billerica grant was laid out on the eastern side of Beaver Brook, covering the fine farm above the paper mill. In 1694, this farm was exchanged for the Weld farm on Concord river, with Mr. Palsgrave Alcock who had become proprietor of the western half of the Russell grant. The Alcock property thus became very desirable, covering much of the best farming land in Dracut, including all the river and brook front of the present Navy Yard village, east of the brook, and, there-with riparian rights in the fishery in the "great bunt" which were of valuable consideration in colonial days; indeed in federal days down to the construction of the Lawrence dam. The original plan of this location is in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and is in a good state of preservation. The compass bearings of the lines and their lengths are more fully set forth than was common to Danforth. The record reads:

Billerica, their farme of five hundred acres. laid out on ye north of merimack — joyning to north & north westerly part of

ye farme of Richard Russell esqui^r: This is ye Last parsell of that four thousand acres formerly granted by this Honoured Court to ye Towne of Billerica Laid out 3^m 67

By JONATHAN DANFORTH Survey

Lajd out to Billiricca five hundred acres of land in the wilderness, on ye North side of Merimack Riuer and on the east side of Beauer Brooke, a little below Patuckett. It is bounded on the South and on ye southeast, wholly by land, formerly granted to Richard Russell Esqui^r: and on ye west by ye aforesaid beauer brooke, elsewhere by ye wilderness, ye line on the east side of it is 196 pole in length, ruing half a point westward of ye north, which is (exactly) ye continuance of ye long line on ye east side Mr Russell's farme, also both the lines on the north side of it are exactly parallel to ye lines on the south side of it, the most northerly of which is one hundred & sixty pole longe & runs $\frac{1}{2}$ a point westward of ye west south west, the other line runs two degrees westward of ye South west & by South four hundred and eighty seauen pole, which closeth to the brooke all which are sufficiently bounded by mark't trees and pillars of stone, ye forme thereof is more fully declared by a plott taken of ye same by

JONATHAN DANFORTH Survey^r

The deputies approue of this returne of the five hundred acc^s abone mentioned with refference to the consent of ye honor^d magest^s hereto

WILLIAM TORREY, Cleric

The mag^{ts} consent hereto

15 8^c 1667

THO DANFORTH.

JONATHAN TYNG

was born in 1642, at Boston, and was a son of Edward Tyng, a merchant and brewer, who amassed a respectable fortune for those days, and retired to Dunstable, which had been named in compliment to his wife, a native of the English town Dunstaple, of the same name, spelled with a difference. The old gentleman was in his 79th year, and died the second year of his residence in the up country. In Boston, he had been representative in 1661 and 1662, assistant from 1668 to 1681, and colonel of the

military in Suffolk county. The more distinguished son was one of the original petitioners for the plantation desired "beyond Merrimac River, by Chelmsford line, by Groton line, by Brenton's farm, by Souhegan farms and by Henry Kimball's farm," which was granted in 1673. Jonathan Tyng straightway built him a house on the river bank, opposite Wicasuck Island, which he fortified and where he maintained the extreme outpost during Philip's War. This heroism made him the most conspicuous citizen of Dunstable, and, as his business faculties were equally marked, he easily led in civil and military affairs. One division of the east precinct was named Tyngsboro', in his honor. In his old age he married a third wife, the widow of Rev. Jabez Fox of Woburn, where he dwelt the remainder of his days. Death came to him, suddenly, in 1724. While the minister was at prayer in the Woburn meeting-house, Colonel Tyng fell dead in his pew. The Boston News Letter thus chronicles the appalling event:

WOOBURN, Lord's Day, January 19th.

We were here entertained with a very loud *Memento Mori*. The Honorable Col. Jonathan Tyng Esq. walking to the place of Public Worship in the Afternoon, expired as soon as he got into his seat, during the time of the first Prayer, and was carried out dead. *Ætatis* 81. His Faith and Holiness were so apparent that we are perswaded he was convey'd to the Assembly of the First-born in Heaven, to bear a part with them in glorifying their Creator and Redeemer.

The following verses were composed on the incident, by a wit of the day:

Ye Col'nels of New England!
 Attend the dirge I sing:
 Though Hearts of Flint, you must lament
 The Death of Col'nel Tyng.
 Then, fare thee well, old Col'nel Tyng!
 What fault was in thee found?
 For 'tis well known thou'rt dead and gone
 Though neither hanged nor drowned.

For thus we find it penned down
 By Paul,* of Roxbury;
 By Musgrove,† too, of Boston town,—
 Sure Musgrove will not lie.
 Then, fare thee well, &c.

To worship would this Col'nel go,
 Which is with Col'nels rare;
 Nor limbs benumbed, nor eke the snow,
 Nor friends would him deter.
 Then, fare thee well, &c.

Full meekly trudged he through the Gore‡
 To church, as he was wont:
 His righteous Bowels yearned full sore
 To climb the Holy Mount.
 Then, fare thee well, &c.

Thrice he essayed the fatal Hill
 His spirits nothing reek;
 Thrice didst thou halt, oh Col'nel;
 Alas, the flesh was weak.
 Then, fare thee well, &c.

Then Godly Bretheren lend a shove
 To Christian Born so heavy:
 He into Meeting-house did move
 While Priest was at *Peccavi*.
 Then, fare thee well, &c.

Lo, in his seat upright he stood
 So dear he lov'd the boards on't
 There, oh, dropt down this Col'nel good:
 He died and made no words on't.
 Then, fare thee well, &c.

He prayed hard for an easy death
 Which Paul* doth thus fulfill;
 And shows 'tis easier to descend
 Than to climb up a Hill.
 Then, fare thee well, old Col'nel Tyng!
 What fault was in thee found?
 For 'tis well known thou'rt dead and gone
 Though neither hanged nor drowned.

The Tyng farm in Dracut lay at Winter Hill. It was laid out to the elder Tyng, authorized as follows:

* Paul Dudley of Roxbury.

† Philip Musgrove, Postmaster at Boston and publisher of the Gazette.

‡ Mud.

Laid out to Mr Edward Ting, of Boston, two hundred & fifty acres of land in ye wilderness on ye Northerne side of merimuck Riuer being butted and bounded by a farme laid out to Mr Russell on ye south end ; ye wilderness else where surrounding, according to marked trees, as is more fully demonstrated by a plott taken of ye same by
 JONA DANFORTH Surveyor

The deputy approves of this returne referring to ye con Sent of ye hon'd magistrates thereto
 WM TORREY Cleric

7. (4) 60 The magistrates judge meet to respitt ye confirmation to ye next session of this court
 TH. DANFORTH

4 October 1660. Consented to by ye magistrates
 EDWARD RAWSON.

The plot is at the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, endorsed :

Mr Edward Ting's farme containing 250 acres, lying on ye North of merimuck river on ye eastern side of beaver brooke
 JONATH : DANFORTH SURVY

ROGER CONANT

was probably earliest in New England of any whose names are connected with our subject. This excellent gentleman, whose prudence and integrity secured him the highest respect among his contemporaries, was the Governor (or President) of the fishing company at Nantasket and Cape Anne, out of which grew the Massachusetts Company and the Bay Colony. By the patent of 1627|8, Matthew Cradock succeeded Conant, who remained in honorable retirement at Naumkeg, piously christened Salem. In the early General Courts of Massachusetts he was a deputy, and, afterward, served on important committees and references. In his advanced years, a grant of two hundred acres was made to Conant, adjacent to Webb's five hundred acres and

resting on Beaver Brook. It lies between Winter Hill and the brook and across the province line. It begins

At a great pine Tree on the N. E. Corner of Edw^d Tyng's farm thence runs $83\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ westward from the North, 130 rods to Beaver brook and from the same pine tree it runs 11° westward and from the South 250 rods from thence it runs $84\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ westward from the South 132 rods. The last line, being parallel to the second, closeth to the brook.

This passed to the possession of John Moulton, of Wenham, by whom, in 1710, it was conveyed to three of the Coburns. It long remained in the family, where it was known as the Connet farm—on both sides of Meadow Brook—a singular and inexplicable corruption of Conant. The great pine stood till within the memory of men yet living, and its site can be pointed out to-day. It was known as Setchell's Pine, from Shatswell, who with Varnum and Webb bought the Tyng farm. It is noteworthy that his name should have been so long preserved—longer indeed than even a tradition of Shatswell among the farmers who have been born and dwelt upon the adjacent land. The dimensions of this monarch among the primeval pines have not been preserved.

The only grant to a citizen of Chelmsford we find, was to John Martin, of whom we know no more. It reads:

Layd out to John Martyn, of Chelmsforth, one hundred acres of land, more or lesse, on the north of Merremacke River, at Patucket, bounded by the sajd river on the south ninety seven pole and by the Indian plantation on the east One hundred and forty three pole and from thence it runs to Mr Webb's farme, w^{ch} ljne is two hundred & tenn pole, bounded there by the wilderness, on the west side it is bounded by Mr Web's farme. Lay'd out

By JONATHAN DANFORTH Survey^r

The Court doeth allow & approve of this returne.

ARTHIUR MASON.

It is not often that a zealous exhibition of official responsibility is so markedly rewarded as it was in the case of this gentlemen who himself spelled his name, always, Masson. In 1666 his Majesty's Commissioners were in Boston "to hear and determine complaints and appeals in all causes and matters, as well military as criminal and civil." The members of the Commission, as private gentlemen, were in the habit of spending, often, an evening at the Ship Tavern, with congenial acquaintances. Now, the Colonial law did provide :

That if any person or persons, either on the Satter-day night or on the Lord's day-night, after the Sun is set, shall be found sporting in the streets or fields of any Town in this Jurisdiction, Drinking or being in any House of public Entertainment (unless Strangers or Sojourners in their Lodgings) and cannot give a satisfactory answer &c shall pay five shillings, or suffer Corporal punishment, as Authority shall determine.

It was thought the high headed Commissioners might be dealt with for breach of this statute. Accordingly a constable was sent to enforce the law, but they beat him and defied him. Mr. Mason was a constable and he determined to enforce the law ; but, fortunately, they had avoided a conflict by repairing to a neighboring private house. Nothing daunted, Constable Mason followed them, bearing his staff of office, telling them how glad he was to see them where they were, for, if he had met them at the tavern, he would surely have carried them away. The Constable added that he wondered they should be so uncivil as to strike a constable. One of the Commissioners retorted, he did it and would again ; to which Mason rejoined, it was well it were not himself. Whereupon the irate Commissioner asked : "Would you have dared meddle with a King's Commis-

sioner?" "Yes," said Constable Mason, "and if the King himself had been there, I would have carried him away." Another Commissioner immediately cried "Treason! Treason. Thou shalt be hanged within a twelvemonth." The next day, a note relating to the affair was sent to the Governor charging the Constable with high treason for the spoken words. Mason was bound over and duly presented by the Grand Jury for malicious and treasonable utterance. The Court of Assistants, however, withheld their judgment and referred the matter to the General Court, who found the words rash, insolent and highly offensive; but free from overt act or intended evil. Mason was sentenced to be admonished by Governor Bellingham, in a solemn manner. We are not prepared to say that land was granted the Constable for his sufferings, in what was considered the popular prerogative; but a lot of land was laid out to him, adjoining the Dummer grant, now within the limits of Tyngsboro'. It lay on the river, next above the Lawrence Brook. The location filed was in these words:

Layd out to Arthur Mason, of Boston, one hundred acres of land in the wildernes on the east of Merremacke Riuer being bounded by Mr Dumer on the south, one hundred & eight pole; by Merremack River on the west; by land lately layd out for Billirickey on the north one hundred and seventy eight pole; the wildernes elsewhere surrounding, according to marked trees bounded with E as by a plot taken of the same is more ffully shewed by

JONATHAN DANFORTH Survey'or

The Court allowes this returne, so that it excede not One hundred acres.

John Dunton, a London bookseller, made a journey to Boston, in those times. He speaks of Mr. Mason as a grave, sober merchant, a good man, and well respected; among honest men downright honest; but very blunt—

“one that would speak his Mind, howe’r Men took it,” to which, the very capable editor of these travels, published by the Prince Society of Boston, Wm. H. Whitmore, Esq., now City Registrar of Boston, says: “Mason was a baker, lived on School Street and died in 1708, aged 77. He was father to Dunton’s famous ‘widow Brick, the very flower of Boston.’

‘Saint-like she looks; a Syren if she Sing:
Her Eyes are stars: Her Mind is everything.’”

EDMOND BATTER

was a maltster from Salisbury, in Wiltshire, and came in the James, in 1635. He settled at Salem and was deputy from Salem from 1637 to 1654. In 1669 he was a commissioner at Salem to see that no coin was exported, with authority to examine outgoing sailors and passengers and, if found, to bring the coin to the court for confiscation. He died in 1685, aged 76. A grant was made to him, viz :

28 May 1661. In ans^r to the peticon of Mr Edmond Batter the Court judgeth it meete to graunt the peticoner two hundred & fifty acres of land, provided it be taken in such place as is free from former graunts & not p’judiciall to a plantation & that it be lajd out before the next Court of Election & that Mayor Hawthorne & Left Lathrop be appointed to see it lajd out & make their returne at the next Court of Election.

The committee did not quite come to time, but next spring they did file a location, as follows :

Layd out to Edmond Batter, of Salem, two hundred & fifty acres of land, more or lesse, in the wilderness on the north side of Merremacke Riuer and on the west of Beauer Brooke, beginning at a place called Double Brooke Meadow: it joynes to Beaver Brooke about sixty two poles: it lyeth forty two pole wide at the South^r end an so ljeth on both sides of Alewife Brooke and reacheth up to a great pond commonly called Long Pond, w^{ch} lyeth in the way

between Patucket & Jeremies Hill: all is sufficiently bounded by marked trees, and is more fully demonstrated by a plot taken of the same by JONATHAN DANFORTH, Surveyr. 3 m^o 1662.^o

The Court allowes of this returne, so it exceede not two hundred & sixty acres.

Double Brook and Long Pond still hold these names; but Alewife Brook is lost, unless the name belonged to the little run above the singular double stream, to which now the one term of Double Brook applies.

SAMUEL SYMONDS

was born of an eminently respectable, arms-bearing family in the shire of Essex, England, in 1595. His father and other near kinsmen were, and had been for generations, officers of the Chancery Court. Beside this one, they all appear to have been royalists and churchmen; and so have continued. His education and profession fitted him for high position in the Colony and for the multifarious and multiplied duties, which he discharged with eminent ability and fidelity. Throughout his four score years, he was for more than half, the incumbent of the highest judicial, legislative and executive station, save only the Chief Magistracy. He settled at Ipswich in 1637; was Freeman in 1638; Town Clerk, 1639-45; Magistrate, 1638; Recorder, 1639-45; Selectman, 1644; Representative, 1638-45; Assistant, 1645-73; Deputy Governor, 1673-78. He had a large voice in framing the law. He was three times married, and was the father of sixteen children; yet he left no surviving grandson of his line; hence he has no lineal descendants to-day; but many in female lines, from his daughters and grand daughters. He must have known familiarly, as fellow townsmen at Ipswich, the Shatswell,

Varnum, Coburn and Bishops of the early settlers about Petocket.

Of his numerous grants of the public domain, one only, known as the Winthrop Farm, concerns us, viz:

10 September 1653. This Court doth graunt to Mr Symon Bradstreet and Mr Samuel Symonds five hundred acres of land apeece, to be lajd out to them when they shall present the place, according to lawe, free from other graunts; and is in reference to their service donne for the countrje at Yorke Kittery &c

7 May 1662 Lajd out to the wor'pff^l Mr. Symons five hundred acres of land, more or lesse, in the wildernes on the north of Merri-macke Riuer, lying by the riuer's side, (right ouer against Mrs Margaret Winthrop farme of three thousand acres, which ljeth in the bounds of Billirikey,) at the mouth of the Concord Ryuer, vpon a brooke called by the Indians Pophessgosquockegg, begiuing about one hundred and forty sixe pole below the sajd brook, & so runing from Merremacke vp into the country northwest & by north about fower hundred ninety fower pole, then runig Southwest & by west about one hundred and ninety fower pole, then runig downe to Merremacke againe weh west side of it is three hundred seventy three pole, and by Merremack Riuer upon a crooked line two hundred & twelve but upon a square line one hundred fifty fower pole which parcell of land is about fower hundred & seventy acres; also, lajd out to him a parcell of meadow of about thirty acres lying in Small Spangs, at the head of this ffarme, the which lyith wthin three quarters of a mile of the land The whole is five hundred acres. Lajd out & bounded by

JONATHAN DANFORTH Surveyor

The Court approoves of this returne.

Exactly how this farm came into the possession of the Winthrops does not appear, yet everybody so recognized it; and it is not open to question. One of Samuel Symonds' wives was a sister to Gov. John Jr.'s wife, and Mr. Symonds and Gov. John of Massachusetts, the father of Deane Winthrop, called themselves brothers. However its location was not satisfactory, and complaint was made in 1711 to the executors of Deane

Winthrop that the estate was not fully laid out. They therefore authorized a relocation or running of the bounds, by Samuel Danforth, son of Jonathan Danforth, who originally located the grant. The return is as follows:

We began at a pine tree by Merimaek Riverside, which was old marked with the Lett^r W, and renewed the old Bound marks of the East line which run North west and by north Four hundred and ninety four poles allowing five pole in the hundred: then we ran South west and by West one hundred and ninety four pole, allowing as before: then we measured upon the river two hundred and twelve poles as the river Runs, then We run the west line and marked it well. The South East Corner of the four hundred & Seventy acres is a pine tree marked W, the nor' west and north East Corners are stakes and stones. the South West Corner is a stake and stones by the side of merimack River. then We measured the Thirty acres of meadow which lyes in small spangs at the head of the four hundred and seventy acres adjoining to it according to the Proposal of the Gen^l Courts Comm^e for Dracutt.

The above s^d work was done by us

JOSEPH PARHAM

SAM^{LL} DANFORTH, Surveyor

The Reneuing ye Bounds of Mr Simons ffarm as above s^d, We the Subscribers do approve of also that all the upland included within the bounds of the thirty acres shall belong to sd ffarm

JONA TYNG } Committee
JOHN STEARNS }

This Indian name of the brook, below Christian Hill, where so many of you have caught trout, we are delighted to learn—Po phess go squock egg—it is so musical. How melodious and harmonious these five syllables break upon the ear—Po phess go squock egg—but let us see what they mean, for

“ In music, the triumph is never complete
Till the pleasures of sense and intellect meet.”

The first three syllables are one word, the last two another. *Pophessgo* is an English attempt at spelling

Papasku—a double hill; and *Squockegg* is a horrible travesty of *Squamenguck*—place to cure salmon. A similar travesty in New Hampshire resulted in Squam-anagonic. In such pleasing concord did Mr. Indian respond to the music of the spheres; as he endeavored to keep a steady, orderly step between Apostle Eliot on the one hand, and trader Cromwell on the other—the shoals and quicksands of his pilgrimage on the Merrimack, after the advent of the whites.

GEORGE SMYTH

was of Salem, Ipswich, and perhaps Dover. At a session of the General Court held October 1, 1645 :

George Smyth, for his adventure of 25*l* is granted 200 acres of land w^r they shall require it so y^t it be neith^r wthin y^e limits of any towne nor w^r it may hind^r y^e planting of anoth^r town, hereafter to be granted, wch is agreable to oth^r grants formerly made upon like grounds

Later we find recorded, May 22, 1661 :

In ans^r to the peticon of George Smith the Court, having persved the original assignment of John Smith unto the peticoner & rec^d infermation from some of the Court of the peticoners right & of a probability that some lands were graunted the peticoner for y^e same some yeares since, the records whereof cannot now be found, judge meete to graunt ye peticoner two hundred acres of land in lieu of the twenty five pounds adventure disbursed in the yeere 1628, to be lajd out in some free place by Mr Gettings & Mr Medealf of Ipswich who are appointed to see the same donne accordingly & to make returne thereof at ye next court of election: provided, if it appeare wthin sixe months that the peticoner have receaved sattisfaction in land or otherwise, then this present graunt to be voyd.

The filed location of this tract calls for two hundred and forty acres, “in the wildernesse on ye north side of Merimack river about 3 or 4 miles beyond ye river, in ye way as you go to Jerimie’s hill, on ye west side of beuer

brook." The location was confirmed, in 1723, to John and other heirs of Thomas Chandler, deceased, by Samuel Danforth, surveyor, and Jona. Bowers and Jona. Buterfield, chainmen. It is the well known Chandler farm, which commences at the head of Long Pond "and thence 3 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$ northward of ye N. E. runs 180 rods, thence 12° northward of ye west it runs 226 rods; thence 27° west of ye south, 166 rods; thence EbS 180 rods to point commenced at." It lies on both sides of Gompus Brook, one of the principal affluents of Beaver Brook, having its source in Gompus Pond in Hudson, N. H.

Gompos, or Gumpus, is a contraction of *Sognhompsk*, or *gn-ompsk*, both signifying, in Indian speech, hard rock. Possibly this is an indication that the natives discovered, hereabouts, a trap dike, from which they obtained material for their stone hatchets, tomahawks, axes, hammers, etc. Not far distant on Beaver Brook is a natural dam across the stream, of the same mineralogical character.

JOHN HIGGINSON,

the minister at Salem. as was his father Francis before him, was a native of Leicestershire, where he was born in 1616. He was ordained in 1660 and died in 1708. He was, says R. W. Griswold, "one of the great men of New England, and, incomparably, the best writer, native or foreign, who lived in America. That portion of his attestation of the Magnalia of Cotton Mather, which treats of the exodus of the puritans, has not been surpassed in strength and grandeur in all the orations ever delivered at Plymouth Rock." To which I may be permitted to add, none of us can justly claim to be well read in New England literature who have not enjoyed Mr. Higginson's grand and eloquent words. Celebrated

as his descendants have been, even to-day, no one has equalled this scholarly divine.

“ With him Gospel and Deeds, each, had its column;
His head an index to the Sacred volume;
His very name a titlepage; and, next,
His life a commentary on the text.”

The Higginson grant was so located that the line between Haverhill and Dracut divided it. This was unsatisfactory, and his heirs were allowed to locate, in 1715, entirely within the bounds of Haverhill.

22 May 1661.

In ans^r to the petition of Mr John Higginson, humbly desiring the favor of this Court in the graunt of some lands in relation to service donne in being a scribe to the synod in sixtene hundred & thirty seven &c, the Court judgeth it meete to graunt the sajd Mr Higginson seven hundred acres of land in some free place & not prejudiciall to a plantation & that Maj W^m Hawthorne, Mr Edmond Batter & Mr Jonathan Danforth, or any two of them, be appointed as a comittee to lay it out.

28 June 1715. At ye Request of Iohn Higginson Jun. and Ruth Higginson, both of Salem. J went to the North Side of Merrymack River to Survey Measure and lay out to them a farm formerly Graunted to ye Reuerend Mr John Higginson Deced and began & measured from a Pond formerly called Hauerhill bound pond (but of late Called Policy pond) where Hauerhill line meets into Said Pond &c &c &c

P me INO GARDNER

In the House of Representatives

July 21, 1715

Ordered That the Land Laid out & Protracted in the Plat on the other Side be Confirmed as the Seuen Hundred acres formerly granted to the late reverend M^r John Higginson Provided It Intrench not upon any Former Grant Sent up for concurrence

JOHN BURRILL Speak

In the House of Representatives.

Nov^{br} 25th 1715. Ordered that the vote above written be Reuined Sent up for Concurrence JOHN BURRILL, Speaker.

In Council

Nov^{br} 25th 1715. Read and concurred

SAM. WOODWARD, Sec'ret.

RICHARD SHATSWELL

was born in England, and came over with his father in 1633. The father, John Shatswell, was the first deacon of the Ipswich church, married Rebecca Tuttle, and died at Ipswich, in 1657. Richard was prominent in land enterprises. His name, in the corrupted, popular form, Satchel, appears all the way down to recent times, in deeds and conveyances. After Shatswell exchanged his Dracut properties with Edward Coburn for the latter's Ipswich lands, he does not appear to have been resident on the Merrimack.

THOMAS HINCHMAN,

whose name, variously spelled Hinchman, Hinksman, Hinxman, was pronounced with the *ch* hard, as in derivatives from the Greek *chi*, like school, scheme, was from Wenham, so Parson Allen says, but it is unlikely. He married a Merriam at Concord, and was at Chelmsford before the arrival of the Wenham emigration. He was lieutenant in the Middlesex Horse Company of 1667, and ultimately major. He settled on the southern bank of the Merrimack, above Black Brook, which was next to the Indians. A portion of his property is the Howard farm of Mr. Frederic Ayer, to-day. During the Indian War his dwelling was fortified, garrisoned and considered a fortress. It was within easy reach of Tyng's, both by land and water, which has enjoyed great reputation as the farthest outpost. After Eliot and Gookin, Tyng and Hinchman acted as Indian agents. It is open to argument whether their prudent, just and business policy was not better for the natives than the ideal of their more pious predecessors. Upon the withdrawal or disappearance of the Indians, they were recognized as the natural legatees of

their estates, the reservations. This made them land poor. They had more than they could handle. So they conveyed large estates to the inhabitants of Chelmsford, including the land on the north side of the river, reaching from Beaver Brook to the falls. Major Hinchman represented Chelmsford in the General Courts of 1667, '71 and '76. At this last year, he removed to Charlestown; but returned to Chelmsford, where he died in 1703.

DEANE WINTHROP,

whose name survives among you in the Winthrop farm, extending from the fork in the roads, near the late Willow House to Christian Hill, and from the river bank to the Dracut town farm, was the sixth son of Governor Winthrop, the wise and prudent magistrate. Deane was a boy of ten years and left at school when his father came to Salem with the fleet in 1630. The lad came in 1635, and spent his entire life in Massachusetts, dying in 1704, the last survivor of the governor's children. His own sons had all died, unmarried, before that time. Groton was named for his birthplace in England and Winthrop, his home for forty years on Pulling Point, preserves his memory, muddled in the public mind with the greater one of his father.

JONATHAN DANFORTH.

Of all the personages one meets in research amid the doings on the Merrimack two hundred years ago, none makes a profounder impression or secures more cordial respect than Jonathan Danforth, the Surveyor, by whose accomplishments as a mathematician, lot-layer and con-

veyancer, these several grants, which we have made our present theme, were given form and location upon the ground and description in the public records. As, ordinarily, he run lines whose directions are expressed in "points," the presumption is reasonable that he used a mariner's compass. Though to-day we always measure in rods, he always expressed chain lengths in poles and roods. While his chainmen were made up from the sons or neighbors of the grantees, he himself presided at the cross staff. This primitive instrument consisted of a stout staff, which could be rigidly fixed in the ground. A brass cross or circle divided into quarters, was fixed to the top of the staff by a socket, in which it might be freely revolved. At the quarters rose strips, furnished with slits, through which peeps of distant objects could be obtained. These were termed the "sights" and served the purpose of the telescope on the modern transit. From "tie lines," thus determined, crooked lines, water courses, etc., were measured by offsets. As the wilderness was practically illimitable, Danforth's surveys were generous. Five lengths in the hundred were allotted for the sag of the chain and portions of land jutting out by river, or other water sides, were disregarded. In this way, a thousand acres then might readily measure fourteen or fifteen hundred to-day. In subdivisions, the admeasure was more careful. The outlines of his surveys Danforth drew on good firm paper. He used no lead pencil, but made his lines with a knife edge, the impressions of which are plainly visible to-day, though the paper is much discolored from age. Computation of the areas of his field was commonly made on the margin, or other blank space, of his "plots," as he termed the map. As these are interesting, I quote a couple to show the notation of those days:

448	446
270	270
<hr/>	<hr/>
000	000
3136	32620
896	98200
<hr/>	<hr/>
120960	125820
33	154
5890	5306
120960(756)	125820(786)
1600	16000
66	66

Mr. Danforth was a citizen of Billerica, than whom our neighbor had none more useful or of larger worth. Though his name is not on the list of the original grantees from Cambridge, several who were conveyed their titles to him, and he was certainly among the first settlers. His marriage is the first entered on the town records. For seventeen years he was a selectman; for twenty-one years town clerk. He was a representative to the General Court and Billerica's first militia captain. In connection with his wife's step-father, John Parker, he ran the lines of all the grants, farms and estates in north Middlesex, from Concord and Cambridge to the farthest settlements up the Merrimack. His house, torn down within the last few years, stood at Billerica Centre two hundred and two years. A numerous posterity proceed from him and are to be found in Middlesex County, Mass., and Hillsborough County, N. H. His name appears, constantly, in proprietary or professional use with all the men who settled Chelmsford, Dunstable and Dracut—Webb, Varnum, Coburn, Shatswell, Hinchman, Richardson, Tyng, &c.; for, as his nephew says:

. . . "by well-marked stations
He fixed their bounds for many generations."

Jonathan was the youngest son of Nicholas Danforth, of Suffolkshire, England, who came to New England in 1634, with a family of three sons and two daughters. Thomas, the eldest son, settled in Cambridge, where he filled, during a long life, a series of highly important colonial offices and was treasurer of the college. He was especially prominent in maintaining the rights of the colony, in opposition to the claimed prerogative of the crown. The second son, Samuel, was the colleague of the Apostle Eliot, in the Roxbury church. The eldest daughter, Elizabeth, became wife to Andrew Belcher, landlord of the "Blue Anchor" tavern at Cambridge, and father of Capt. Andrew Belcher, the proprietor of the eastern half of the Russell grant.

Gentlemen of the Old Residents' Association: You deserve compliment for the attentive, if not interested hearing, with which you have honored me. Mistake me not. I am no blind believer in the superiority of the past, — rather, I am confident to-day is the attained perfection of man's history. Yet I am equally confident the morrow will be better. Not to know the past is to be like a child, who questions not. As the little fellow soon begins those deep and solemn questions, often hard for his elders to answer, so should we search and learn what the past has done, and how 'twas done, wringing from her sphinx-like silence the lessons of her successes and her failures. "There is neither speech nor language, but voices are heard among them." The future will be too busy for any patience with institutions received from us which have not a history, evidencing a reasonable usefulness to man and his Creator.

IV. My Schools and Teachers in Lowell Sixty Years Ago, read May 3d, 1892, by Rev. Varnum Lincoln.

As already announced, the topic of our present paper is: *My Schools and Teachers in Lowell Sixty Years Ago*. Without then any other preface than to express the fear that possibly I may come into competition with some gleaner who has gone before me in the same field in some things I may say at this time. In addressing an association, whose archives give evidence of considerable activity in snatching from the jaws of time the early events in the history of their native or adopted city, there is always this danger. Some repetition, therefore, under the circumstances can hardly be avoided. Each writer can only be expected to treat the same topic from his own point of view. In what I have written I have followed my own memory. If any mistakes occur I should be happy to have them corrected.

My father, with his family, moved to Lowell, or what was then a part of Chelmsford, in the autumn of 1825. He occupied a house in the vicinity of Hale's saw and grist mill, and which was then the first house after crossing River Meadow Brook going south. This house is still standing, but has been moved back a few steps and turned partly around. I am particular here, because it may be of interest to some future historian to know that in this house was born the first child in Lowell, a brother of mine, who from that circumstance bore the name of Lowell Lincoln. At that time, and for many

years afterwards, the schools of a town were divided into districts. This district in which I found myself located embraced a large territory. It extended to Concord River on the east, on the south to what is now the Chelmsford line, taking in all Chapel Hill as far as Union Street on the north. The school-house stood on Central Street, near what was called Davis Corner, about twenty rods from the point where Central intersects with Gorham Street. This building was small and painted the universal color of the school-houses of that day, red. It was used not only for school purposes on the week-day, but for religious meetings on Sunday by the Methodist persuasion and by other sects. It will be remembered by many older persons as a noted resort on Sunday evenings for young people, who went to be entertained by the noisy and grotesque exhibitions of religious zeal and fervor often witnessed at that period. This building has been moved a short distance from its original site, but is still standing and occupied as a dwelling. I think the name of the teacher who taught during the two years that I attended this school was Manning, but of this I will not be absolutely positive. She was the sister of Oliver M. Whipple's first wife. I recall to mind the names of Sidney Davis, Newell Wood, Ezekiel Coburn, Gilmore Coburn, Lucy and Caroline Coburn, Charlotte A. and Mary J. Fisher (who attracted considerable attention from the circumstance that they were twins), John, Lewis, Willard, Emeline and Rebecca Knowles, the children of Jonathan Knowles who carried on the batting business in the neighborhood, as some of the scholars. The only particular event in connection with this school that fastened itself to my memory is the case of two large boys who were one day called up by the teacher to receive corporal punishment for some

offence. But one of them, not contemplating the prospect with any great satisfaction, escaped from her hands, jumped over the desk and out of a window that happened to be open at the time. The name of this boy was Ezekiel Coburn. I think he never returned to the school again. The event created quite a sensation in the district at the time.

After living two years in this district, my father changed his place of residence to another part of the town, occupying the Willie house, which belonged to what was then called the Willie farm, situated in the northwest part of the town. This house, although somewhat ancient even at that time, continued to stand upon the same spot until last year, when it was taken down to give place to one more modern in style and ample in dimensions. It stood on the corner of Broadway and Willie Streets. This change of location brought me into what was called the Pawtucket Falls District. The school-house stood exactly on the corner of Merrimack and Pawtucket Streets, very near where is now located the City Hospital. The building was small, not more than eighteen feet square, and modelled after the school-houses of that period. It had originally been painted red, but most of the paint had been beaten off by the storms and suns of years, and some of the clapboards were missing. On the whole it looked ancient and dilapidated. The entrance to it was by a door in the southwest corner, which led into an entry where the winter's wood was kept, and where the boys and girls hung their hats and outside garments. This entry was separated from the school-room by a thin board partition through which a door was cut leading to the same. The open fireplace, which was very large, was located in the northwest corner. Near it was the teacher's desk, ele-

vated above the floor something like an auctioneer's stand. The seats and desks of the scholars were made of rough pine planks, rising in tiers, one above another, occupied by scholars according to their ages, the youngest on the lower tier where their legs swung all day like the pendulum of a clock, but not, perhaps, quite as regular. No painter's brush had ever touched any part of the work inside. There were, however, plenty of stains and marks where the boys had spilled their ink and used their jack-knives. On the whole it answered very much the poet's description :

" Within the master's desk is seen,
 Deep scarred by raps official ;
 The warping floor, the battered seats,
 The jack-knife's carved initial ;
 The charcoal frescos on its wall,
 Its door-worn sill betraying
 The feet that, creeping slow to school
 Went storming out to playing."

Not a picture, map, nor diagram, hung on its walls. Black-boards, globes, and Webster's Unabridged, now considered absolutely essential to the equipment of a school-room, had no place in this temple of science. The office of a school-house janitor was unknown. Boys took their turns in making fires, and the girls in sweeping. If a broom, water-pail, or any special article of furniture was needed a contribution of one cent was levied upon each scholar to pay for the same. The large open fire that blazed upon the broad hearth, while it scorched the faces of the younger scholars in front, often failed in preventing the occupants of the back seats from shivering with the cold. Among the books that were used, I remember the National Reader, American First Class Book, Woodbridge's Geography, Goodrich's History, Adams' Arithmetic, Improved Reader, and Frost's Grammar. Two or three of the older boys used Adams'

Old Arithmetic, in which occurred that famous problem of the frog in the well, over which so many young mathematicians have puzzled their brains, and also that question in rhyme about the man "who going to St. Ives met seven wives," and was thought to be so difficult of solution. In selecting dialogues or pieces for declamation the old American Preceptor and Columbian Orator were resorted to. Those who ciphered, as the phrase was, were required to use manuscripts, in which the work of every sum—we called them sums in those days—was written down. But the books and methods of teaching seemed hard and dry. The organ of memory was about the only faculty that was called into exercise and developed. As I look back upon those days and compare them with the books, methods, and advantages now possessed by those who crowd our schools, I am surprised to find that we accomplished as much as we did in the race for knowledge. The length of the school was eight or ten weeks in the winter, and ten or twelve weeks in the summer. Sometimes if the teacher was popular and so disposed, he or she could extend the term a few weeks by opening a private school, each scholar paying his or her own tuition.

My first teacher in this school, whose name I remember, was Mr. Byam from Chelmsford. And my impression is that he taught a successful school, considering all the adverse circumstances. In fact if a teacher in those days succeeded in carrying a school through to the end of the term with any kind of discipline his reputation was established. It was no uncommon occurrence for a teacher to be smoked out or driven out by a class of unruly and vicious boys, who attended school more for frolic than for study. But the boys of this school, though many of them were large, were well

disposed and obedient to its rules. I remember Artemus and Franklin Holden, Archibald and William McFarlane, Gustavus A. Bailey, Josiah Bowers, Solomon Hunt, Phineas and Henry Whiting, Osgood Dane and two colored boys, who interested my young fancy, perhaps, because of their dark features, whose names were Peter and Hosmer Freeman. Their parents had been slaves and when liberated, by the emancipation act of Massachusetts, took the name of Freeman. Among the girls I can only recall the names of Eleanor Coburn, Nancy Bowers, Maria Whiting. The identity and features of other boys and girls are impressed strongly upon my mind, but their names have escaped my memory.

The name of the teacher who followed Mr. Byam in charge of the winter school was Jefferson Coburn. He was a brother of Maj. Samuel A. Coburn, who kept the stone Mansion House many years, and was afterwards the popular landlord of the Merrimac House. His brother, Jefferson, was in his employ and tended his bar, mixing punch and sundry other liquors during the summer, while he taught school in the winter. Such a combination of vocations would hardly be tolerated at the present time. But sixty years ago rum-selling was not regarded at all disreputable. New England rum and its kindred alcoholic drinks, as I have reason to know, for I was sent after it enough times, was sold by all the grocers. In fact, they were considered as one of the prime necessities of every household. Most families would as soon think of being without flour or meat as without their rum. Let us be thankful that great progress has been made in the right direction. But I must say in justice to Mr. Coburn that, although he run the bar of a hotel in the summer, he made a most excellent teacher in the winter. Kind, but firm in the mainten-

ance of order and discipline, he won the confidence and love of his pupils, and inspired their ambition. He certainly infused into them a different spirit than he did into his summer customers. He encouraged and assisted them in every way in their studies. To sit under his instruction was a delight, and not a slavish task. As it might be expected the school under his care was a marked success. If I remember correctly, Mr. Coburn had charge of this school three or four winters. In the meantime the school was removed to a new and more commodious building, erected on School Street, near Bradt's Bakery which stood there at the time. This school-house was painted white. In the vicinity stood the slaughter-house of Benjamin Walker, and the blacksmith shop of Osgood Dane. All these places were of curious interest and frequent resort at recess and noon intermissions to us scholars.

The only female teacher that I remember in connection with the Pawtucket Falls School was Miss Martha Hunt, though there were probably others. But Miss Hunt, I feel sure, taught here a number of summers. And but one kind of testimony can be borne respecting her high qualifications as a teacher and her many virtues as a woman. Kind in spirit, she exhibited great force of character in the discharge of her duties. In school she was painstaking and industrious in promoting the advancement of her pupils, and out of school she did not forget their welfare or fail to take an interest in their success. The school flourished under her administration and gave great satisfaction to the parents and committee. I have not seen her since my school-boy days. If living I would go some distance to thank her for her kindness and patience towards one, at least, who sat under her care in that little white school-

house on the hill ; if dead, let this tribute from one of her old pupils to her character and work, be a flower of grateful remembrance that he would place upon her grave.

In those days, I would say in this connection, that not only were the boys and girls taught the different branches of science, common to the schools of that period, but they were often instructed in the rules of good behavior and polite bearing towards others, in and out of school. When a class came out on the floor to recite, they were required, as it was then called, to "make their manners" before they proceeded with their lesson ; that is to bow their heads simultaneously towards the teacher. This was repeated at the close of the lesson. When the committee or any person came to visit the school the scholars all rose in their seats and remained standing till the visitor was seated. When the visitor departed the same salutation was observed. We were required to bow to all persons we met, particularly to those older than ourselves. This kind of instruction, either from teachers or parents, seems now to be entirely obsolete, if one may judge from what he now sees and hears in our streets.

In the autumn of 1831 the High School in Lowell was established. The next year I was recommended by my teacher, Miss Hunt, as a proper candidate for admission, subject to an examination which was to take place at a certain time, in the two-story school-house which stood on Merrimack Street, the next building to the First Congregational Church, where the Green school-house now stands. This building was used some few years, on Sundays, as the place of Roman Catholic worship. It afterwards was converted into a dwelling-house. To this place I turned my steps to pass the dreaded examination,

with little expectation, however, of winning the prize; and here I found about twenty other candidates as anxious and frightened as myself. The august committee were also there, ready, as it seemed to me at the time, to torture us with hard problems or entrap us with some obscure proposition. But the kind words of Rev. Theodore Edson breathed new courage into our hearts and made the task before us comparatively easy. Nearly all who presented themselves were found qualified for admission to the High School. I need hardly say that I returned home in triumph with my certificate, astonishing my parents with my success, for they had discouraged, as they supposed, my premature attempt.

The place occupied by the High School, at the time I entered it, was in the rear of the lower story of the building on Middlesex Street owned, I believe, by the Hamilton Company, one part of which was used as a chapel. Mr. Thomas M. Clark, now Bishop of Rhode Island, was the teacher. And, if my memory serves me correctly, he had no assistant at first, but one was soon added in the person of Mr. John M. Clapp. Our school-room was small, dingy, and crowded; and in the matter of material surroundings our pursuit of knowledge seemed to be under difficulties. But we thought ourselves fortunate in having for our principal teacher one eminently fitted by his attainments, force of character, and social qualities, for that office, which relieved in some measure the disagreeable external conditions. Of course I give only a boy's impression, and he may not always be the best qualified to judge of his teacher. But I shall repeat nothing new to those who attended this school while under the administration of Mr. Clark, when I say that we all thought him about the best teacher that nature or art could produce. While digni-

fied in his bearing and sometimes stern and severe in his rebukes to the indolent and disobedient, it could not be said that his school was under exact military discipline, or that he ruled with a rod of terror. Some, indeed, might have thought that he placed himself on too familiar terms with his pupils. He certainly sought their welfare and aimed to make the school-room pleasant and attractive rather than a prison. While grave at times, he had a mirthful element in his nature which sometimes bubbled up in the school-room and communicated itself to the whole school. But woe to the scholar who aroused his indignation by any trifling with his kindness and patience. His reprimands often stung to the quick, while they invited respect and compelled obedience. I recall, as though it were but yesterday, his tall figure wrapped in a loose cloak of that day, his youthful but commanding appearance, prominent nose and scholarly features. His old pupils certainly felt that when the Episcopal Church had gained a rector the Lowell High School had lost a popular teacher.

One exercise I remember, in particular, in connection with this school. Ten minutes were occupied every morning, after the usual prayer and Bible reading, in answering questions that had been placed in a box on the teacher's desk the day previous. These questions embraced every variety of subject upon which any scholar was honestly seeking for light. And while this exercise often afforded amusement it stimulated research and proved a valuable help to the sincere seeker after knowledge. Sometimes it happened that the questions were even beyond the teacher's ability to solve.

The assistant teacher in this school, Mr. Clapp,

impressed me as a thorough student, devoted to his work, but quiet and reserved in his manners to the extent, perhaps, of approaching eccentricity. He was certainly forbearing and patient towards many of his pupils, whom I fear often tried him to the verge of discouragement and despair. Wherever he is, I hope he has forgiven his rough and unruly boys, who are now probably ashamed of the trouble they gave him.

This school, however, increased so rapidly in number that it soon outgrew its old quarters, and was removed to the South Grammar School building on the corner of South and Highland Streets, occupying the upper story. While installed in this building, and in the most flourishing condition, my connection with it for a season ceased. My father died, leaving my mother with seven children on her hands, of whom I was the oldest. The necessities of bread and shelter are always primary and imperative, and I was forced, reluctantly, to lay down my books and take up the task of a bobbin boy in Mill No. 1, of the Lawrence Corporation. Now, although a cotton mill cannot be called, technically, a school, yet this new position was to me, in an important sense, a theatre of mental development. It brought me in contact with new minds and new ideas. At that time Lowell had reason to be proud of its operatives. The world has never looked upon a class of mill girls, or men, more intelligent or moral than those who worked in its factories during the years of its early history. They were the cream of the farming communities of New England. Some of them had been school teachers, and there were others who came to earn money in order to prepare themselves for that profession. All had brought with them from their homes by the hillside and valley their church-going habits, love of reading, and generally

a strong desire for larger intellectual culture. They read and talked on the important questions of the day. And many of the questions then agitated were profoundly exciting and radical. There seemed to be a general awakening in the public mind to new thoughts and measures in the political and moral world. Abolitionism, Transcendentalism, Fourierism, Temperance, Grahamism, and other kindred topics relating to human welfare, filled the air and entered the workshops and mills of Lowell. And many were the sharp debates and comparison of notes that were held over the loom and spinning frame on those themes. This was to me a new kind of education, but it opened to me a larger world, stimulated thought, encouraged reading, and proved in the end intellectually profitable. It is possible that the Lawrence Mill No. 1, might have had more than an average share of intelligent operatives. This I cannot affirm. But I know that the description here given of the help in point of refinement and culture in this mill, is no flattery nor exaggeration.

In addition to these instruments favoring the pursuit of knowledge that the intellectual atmosphere of of this mill afforded, there were often private evening schools opened in town, giving instruction in grammar, geography, penmanship, etc. These I frequently attended. I remember, vividly, a course of lectures given by a clergyman from New York, Rev. William S. Balch, on a new and original method of teaching grammar. One of the features in this new system was that there was no such thing as a neuter verb—that all verbs were either transitive or intransitive. One of these evening schools where geography was taught is fresh in my memory from the fact that the teacher had a novel way of teaching it. A large map was suspended

before a class of fifty or more, and if the subject were the rivers of the globe, the teacher would point to their location and give the name, when the whole class would repeat the same after him twice in concert. In this way he took up every natural and civil division of the globe. This was teaching geography in twelve lessons without any book. The exercise though novel was valuable, and the method I have no doubt could be used to good advantage in our public schools.

Among other means of intellectual improvement, Lowell had its Lyceum, as it was called. This consisted of a course of lectures in the winter in the old town hall, and usually given by the different clergymen, physicians, or lawyers of the town. Sometimes a noted speaker from a distance was invited. I recall the names of Orestes A. Brownson, Theodore Parker, Horace Greeley, Caleb Cushing, as among the distinguished speakers to which I listened. I remember, also, a course of lectures on geology given by Professor Silliman of Yale College. Then, also, the Mechanics' Association had its reading-room, library, and courses of lectures. Of all these privileges I freely availed myself. And, under the circumstances, they were to me schools of education. A course of lectures before this association, which impressed me most deeply, was given by Ralph Waldo Emerson. He was then a young man and had just begun to attract public attention by his peculiar philosophy and radical views. And his fine intellectual face, melodious voice, the air and polish of an ideal scholar, and sincere earnestness, made him an attractive speaker. He uttered himself in the tones of an oracle in quaint and finished sentences. His original way of treating familiar subjects shocked, captivated, and bewildered his audience all at the same time according to their appre-

hension of his thought. His meaning was not always clear, but through the vague rhetorical mist one caught now and then the glimpse of a bright star of thought, which seemed to open to his vision a new world in the realm of truth. These lectures created a great deal of talk at the time, and occasioned a diversity of opinions. Some went even so far as to say that the man was crazy.

But about this time I graduated from the Lawrence Mills to the large machine shop of the Locks and Canals Company. Fortunately, this change also proved a school and favorable to the acquisition of knowledge and mental development. It brought me into the society of a class of intelligent young men, who, while they toiled over the engine or the lathe, had high aims and employed their leisure hours in securing that which would make their lives more useful to themselves and their fellow-beings. As one of the means of self-improvement that these young men had established was a debating society, that met weekly in a lower room on the right as you enter the Mechanics Building. This society was for many years one of the institutions of Lowell. It was largely attended. And its exercises consisting of discussions, mock trials, readings, and declamations, proved a most valuable school to those who availed themselves of its privileges. Sometimes it held public debates on the exciting questions of the day in the large Mechanics Hall. And these debates attracted large audiences. Many of those who were members of this organization have made their mark in the world, and filled prominent and useful places in the community.

I now recall the names of John Winslow, who was for many years superintendent of the Boston & Lowell Railroad; Ezekiel Straw, who became governor of New

Hampshire ; Fisher Hildreth, who for many years was postmaster of Lowell, and editor of the Lowell Advertiser ; Jonathan Kimball, for many years a school teacher in Lowell, afterwards school superintendent in Salem and Chelsea ; Lewis Greene, afterwards an Episcopal clergyman ; Joseph Skinner, a Universalist clergyman ; Brooks Bradley, who became a popular theatrical actor ; and had I the list of the names of the members before me, I might recall others who have filled important stations in society. In addition to these already given, I remember the names of Lewis Kirk, Wilson Eddy, a Currier, a Moody, and a Chamberlain, whose first names I have forgotten, and others who worked in the machine shop, and whose companionship was a healthy stimulus to self-improvement. And I feel that I do not misapply language when I say that that Young Men's Debating Society, of which I was a member several years, was to me a school. Certainly the training I received there quickened, inspired, and enlarged the mental faculties and stimulated the desire for a more liberal education. This desire, which had for some time been smothering in the breast, became at last the controlling impulse of the mind, and I determined, therefore, to go back to the High School again.

I had then been absent from its walls about three years, and had grown somewhat rusty in regard to certain studies that were pursued in the school. I turned at once to my books, and prepared myself alone and unassisted to enter its portals the second time. But now everything was changed. The school had been removed from the South Grammar School Building back nearly to its old location in the chapel building of the Hamilton Corporation, occupying the whole of the upper story. This was the fourth change which had

been made in its location in the same number of years. There had also been a change of teachers. The familiar faces of principal Clark and assistant Clapp were no longer to be seen. Their places had been filled by the appointment of Mr. Moody Currier, as principal and teacher of the languages, and two assistants, Mr. James S. Russell as teacher in mathematics, and Mr. Seth Pooler as teacher in the English department. The school was large and crowded. Mr. Currier, who afterwards removed to Manchester, N. H., and was a few years ago elected governor of that state, was, as I remember, quiet and methodical in his ways, easy in his government, but generally receiving the esteem and love of his pupils. He seemed to suggest but little that was new or original to excite the curiosity or stimulate ambition of those under his charge, but was content with hearing the lessons and closing the school at the proper time. Mr. Russell was more lively and active. His whole mind seemed to be absorbed in mathematics. He absolutely revelled in figures and geometrical diagrams. Nothing gave him so much pleasure as to show how easily a hard problem could be demonstrated. But I thought he was often too hard on boys like myself, whose minds were somewhat obtuse, or who had not studied our lessons, perhaps, as we ought. The thing looked simple and clear to him, who had travelled that way a thousand times, and he wondered why it was not equally familiar to others. I can see him to-day, just as he looked then, standing before the black-board and showing his class the delightful complications of algebra or trigonometry, — a tall, slender, young man, filled with enthusiasm over his favorite study, with a piece of chalk between his thumb and fingers, and sometimes some of it rubbed on his face as he occasionally raised his spec-

tales in the excitement of the moment. The feeling was quite general among the rogues in the school that they had rather fall into the hands of Mr. Currier than Mr. Russell. Mr. Pooler impressed me as being blessed with a large stock of patience and kindness. His field of labor was limited to a narrow recitation room in hearing the classes appointed to his care. His talents and virtues, therefore, as a teacher, whatever they might have been, had little opportunity to shine. But he afterwards served the city a number of years in the position of a principal in one of its grammar schools, which is sufficient evidence that he possessed qualities essential to success and usefulness in his chosen profession. I remember, with grateful feelings, his forbearance to one, at least, who sometimes had a poor lesson, and, perhaps, too often gave him trouble by a love of play and inattention.

Under these three teachers that I have named the school maintained its high character. Order and discipline of average excellence reigned with little display or noise about it. During my connection with the school I remember no instance of corporal punishment. For the disorderly and incorrigible suspension or dismissal were the only remedies or penalties. Although both periods of my connection were not long, the memories that I cherish of the teachers and pupils who studied and suffered together in the cramped accommodations of the Lowell High School in its early history are pleasant and interesting. I cannot forget the large square yard, surrounded by a high board fence, in which many a spirited foot-ball game was played where, in the struggle for championship, if the ball itself was not kicked it is certain that sundry shins were. Other recreations followed in their season. But when anything particularly comic

was sought for, laughing gas was administered to the more roguish boys. The canals and rivers of Lowell furnished excellent places for bathing. And we endeavored to keep clean by performing our ablutions in them as often as three or four times a day. To swim across Merrimack River, either above or below the Pawtucket Falls, was not an uncommon feat. The skating season was also improved by frequent expeditions up Hale's Brook and along the old Middlesex Canal as far as Billerica Mills. I have, myself, a stinging recollection of one of these expeditions from the peculiar kind of impression made upon me after reaching home one evening very late.

During Master Clark's administration the members of the school made a visit to Phillips Academy in Andover. The principal point of attraction there at that time seemed to be a museum of sundry curiosities, collected by the missionaries that had gone out to foreign lands. There still lingers in my memory the features of certain hideous idols, utensils, weapons, etc., that once belonged to the benighted natives of India and the Sandwich Islands. The next summer, in return for this act of kindness on the part of the teachers of Phillips Academy, they were invited by our High School, with their pupils, to visit Lowell. But we had no museum of curiosities to show them; nothing but factories and shops. And these would hardly interest boys. There was, however, a sandy tract of land in the western part of the town, as it was then, that had the reputation of being an old Indian burying-ground. Human bones and Indian relics had been frequently found there. This Indian burying-ground was on the farm belonging, if my memory serves me correctly, to Mr. Simon Parker, and situated in the vicinity of what is now

called the Highlands. The idea was, therefore, suggested that Phillips Academy boys could not be better entertained than by hunting for bones, arrows, and other Indian relics in this ancient cemetery of the Pawtucket tribe of red men. Accordingly, one bright forenoon about one hundred boys, with their teachers of both schools, could be seen moving in scattered ranks towards this old legendary burying-place. They were armed with all sorts of utensils — hoes, shovels, picks, and every other implement that could be used for digging. On the whole, it was a grotesque and comical group, attracting the attention of the citizens on the way, and exciting the laughter of those immediately concerned. In due time we reached the place of attack and commenced serious operations. But alas! our tour of discovery and visions of Indian skulls, were soon brought to a sudden termination. We had not been at work long before the owner of the land made his appearance in our midst, and forbade all trespassing upon his premises. He was a venerable looking man, supporting himself with a cane, but resolute in his demands. Not even the liberal offer of money could persuade him to allow us to continue our search. He not only spurned our bribe, but gave us quite a serious lecture on the sinfulness of desecrating the burial-places of the dead. Nothing, therefore, remained to be done but to march down the hill as we had marched up. And so our expedition abruptly closed, and the ashes of the red men slept undisturbed. The place, I presume, is now covered with streets and houses. It would, however, be some satisfaction to know whether in the erection of these buildings and roads any evidence was ever discovered confirming the opinion that this was the location of an ancient Indian burying-ground.

Of the boys who attended the High School during my connection with it, I remember the names of only about twenty: Abner H. Brown, Marshall Brown, George Brown, George Fox, Gustavus V. Fox, who distinguished himself as the Assistant Secretary of the Navy at the breaking out of the War of Rebellion; George Brownell, Hiram Brownell, John Waugh, Wm. Bridge, who became a Unitarian clergyman; Henry N. French, a young man of fine attainments and noble promise, but who died soon after he had entered college; Ezekiel A. Straw, afterwards governor of New Hampshire; Edward F. Sherman, a lawyer for many years in this city; John C. Dalton, a physician of considerable note, who removed to New York City; James C. Ayer, whose name will ever be identified with the history of Lowell; Benjamin Walker, whom you all know as the honored president of your Association; Lewis Greene, who entered the Episcopal ministry; James Barnaby, Edward Turner, — Battles, — Ordway, and Theodore H. Sweetser.

But a sketch of this kind would hardly be complete did I not mention the names of the School Committee during the time of my connection with these schools that have passed in review. Among those who looked in upon us in this capacity, from time to time, I recall the names and faces of Rev. Theodore Edson, Dr. John O. Green, Dr. Elisha Bartlett, Rev. James Barnaby, Rev. U. C. Burnap, Dr. John W. Graves, and Joshua Merrill. These men were among the most useful and honored citizens of Lowell in its early history, and actively interested in the success of its schools. But it must always be said that preëminent among them all stands the name of Rev. Dr. Edson. He served the town and city in this office for many years, and from the time that he was first chosen, he was vigilant, faithful, and untiring in the dis-

charge of his duties. Some times in the pursuit of measures and plans that he deemed essential to the welfare and efficiency of these schools, he alienated his best friends and the members of his own church. But he kept straight on in the path that he had deliberately and conscientiously chosen, and generally time would vindicate the wisdom of his aims and methods. And to-day there is no name connected with the early history of Lowell more honored and loved than the name of Dr. Edson. And, although he sleeps in yonder cemetery called by his name, the influence of his labors and achievements in behalf of the schools and other interests of your city, will continue a living and active force through coming generations.

Sometimes my pen switches off the track of sober prose and takes on the wings, or perhaps, more properly the feet and form of rhyme. I conclude this present paper, therefore, by reading some lines suggested by a visit to one of these schools some years ago:

I tread once more the same old scene,
The unchanged hills I still desery,
The winding brook, the vale between,
O'er all these bends the same blue sky.

The quiet fields again I greet,
The dim old woods where snares we laid,
The mill-pond where we sailed our fleet
Of clips, and happy voyages made.

The little school-house painted red,
With rough stone steps beside the sill,
Where we at noon our tables spread,
I see through mist my eyelids fill.

But where are now those old school-mates,
With whom I conned my lessons o'er,
To learn our task of rules and dates,
Or stand as enlprits on the floor,—

With whom I shared youth's simple joys,
And careless dreamed of naught but play,

The gentle girls, the laughing boys,
Who filled those seats, where now are they?

Where one who early moved to love
My boyish heart, and whom to win
I gave bright flowers from the grove,
The reddest apples of the bin?

I see the children rushing out,
I hear, as in long years ago,
The music of their joyous shout,
I look; alas! not one I know.

Silent and swift Time's current flows,
Friends are borne on its drifting tide,
Their sail's bright gleam a moment shows,
The breath of fate scatters them wide.

Some dwell on the far western plain,
Some by Nevada's mountain steep,
Some sought the city's crowd and gain,
While many in the church-yard sleep.

Far remote have fallen their lines,
That ne'er on earth shall cross again,
Yet memory their form enshrines,
Their virtues in the heart remains.

But where on earth they turn their feet,
Or whither on the ocean rove,
We trust one morning all shall meet,
To Master's call in school above.

V. Annual Report, by Benjamin Walker, Vice President, Read May 3, 1892.

WITH this meeting, the Old Residents' Historical Association enters upon its twenty-fourth year. It was organized by a few prominent, yet modest, citizens of Lowell, who realized the necessity, as well as the value, of such an organization, in gathering, collecting, and placing upon record, for ready reference, every available fact, event, and incident, by which to form a connecting link, from its first settlement as a town, when set off from Chelmsford, to the magnificent proportions it has now attained, and will continue to acquire, as a city.

There is, and always has been, something peculiarly pleasant and fascinating about Lowell. People who have ever resided within its borders for any length of time, so far as my experience goes, always have become attached to, and have a good word for, Lowell. It is exceedingly home-like in its characteristics. There is a geniality and cordiality, and a personal influence pervading it which makes the stranger happy, and the old resident proud. This Association is, in many respects, the nucleus through which these characteristics and these influences should be cultivated, henceforth, and kept more thoroughly alive than they otherwise would be; and whatever we, as individuals, do to increase its numbers and to labor for its growth, is just so much accomplished for the promotion of all that we hold so dear in

and for Lowell. The honored dead have left us a noble heritage in this respect, and the living should earnestly strive to emulate their example, if they would maintain that high and honorable public reputation so richly bequeathed to us. In no better way can this be done, in my belief, than through the channel of this Association, and for its future growth and prosperity, those who are left are and must be wholly and alone responsible.

What this Association has thus far done has been vastly to its credit. Its volumes are eagerly sought, and are regarded as authority on all subjects treated therein, as its contributors have been ladies and gentlemen of high literary ability. The contributions of latter years have also been among the best that have been read before the Association, and should inspire all its members to make an effort in this direction, without waiting to be urged by those who have the matter more directly in charge.

One year ago attention was called to the fact that the number of members of this Association had been considerably reduced, from natural causes, and it was also decided to receive lady memberships; but for want of any special action, which, perhaps, more properly belongs to the Executive Committee, there have been no acquisitions of this kind, and very few gentlemen have joined. The membership fee of \$1.00 per annum is not large, and the expenses of the Association are not great, but it is through this means alone that its pecuniary wants are supplied. It is, therefore, essential for those who would enjoy its benefits and promote its interests — I desire, particularly, to emphasize this fact — that they should personally assist in increasing its numbers, and not passively allow the organization to lapse into that

condition, where it will be compelled to struggle for an existence. The objects and aims of this Association cannot fail to commend themselves to every loyal citizen, but it is not in human nature to seek admission, even to so important an organization as this without, at least, an invitation.

During the year twenty members have been taken from our ranks by death.

REV. HORATIO WOOD, who was born in Newburyport, Mass., Dec. 1, 1807; came to Lowell Oct. 1, 1844, and died May 12, 1891, aged eighty-four years. A very complete report of his life and public services is already on record, having been read before this Association, by his son, at the meeting held in August, 1891.

JAMES T. PUFFER, born in Lowell, Jan. 18, 1828, died May 25, 1891, at the age of sixty-three years. He was an active business man in Lowell for forty-five years, and accumulated considerable property. He was a deacon and one of the first members of the Fifth Street Baptist Church, where he was an active worker, also a director in the Old Lowell Bank, a member of William North Lodge of Masons, and of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. Mr. Puffer was a much respected citizen and held in high esteem by all who knew him.

HENRY M. RICE was born in Sudbury, Mass., Sept. 1, 1814, came to Lowell Jan. 13, 1847, and died June 1, 1891, at the age of seventy-seven years. He carried on the provision business for many years, was a member of the First Baptist Church, and one of the oldest of its Sunday-School teachers. Mr. Rice was a quiet, unobtrusive man, who never sought nor held public office and belonged to no secret society. He was thoroughly conscientious and upright in his dealings, and respected by all who knew him.

CHARLES MUNROE was born at Newton, Mass., March 16, 1800. His early years were passed principally in Worcester and Boston, although, having an inclination for travel, he visited in his youth a large part of the United States, and made several sea voyages. At the age of twenty-five he learned the trade of carpenter and builder, serving, according to the custom of those days, a three years' apprenticeship, and located in Worcester, Mass. In 1845, Mr. Munroe came to Lowell and for twenty years was employed by the Massachusetts Mills in machinery building and repairs. During his residence in Lowell, he superintended the building of a number of houses, among the larger being that of James H. Rand, on Andover Street. He remained in Lowell until the death of his wife, which occurred in July, 1888, and then returned to Worcester to reside with his son, A. C. Munroe, where he died June 5, 1891, at the advanced age of ninety-one years, two months, and sixteen days.

BRADLEY MARSHALL was born July 30, 1817, in Chelmsford, Mass., came to Lowell in November, 1836, and died July 29, 1891, at the age of seventy-four years. Desiring to learn the mechanics' trade, he early entered the repair shop of the Appleton Company, where he was constantly employed for nearly fifty years. This remarkable record furnishes the best testimony that can be given, to his integrity of character, faithfulness and business ability. Mr. Marshall was, for many years, an exemplary and active member of the Shattuck Street Universalist Church, to which he left, by will, a substantial token of his devoted interest in the future prosperity of this church and society.

OTIS BULLARD was born June, 1809, in Northumber-

land, N. H., came to Lowell in March, 1831, and died Sept. 20, 1891, in St. Johnsbury, Vt., at the age of eighty-one years. Mr. Bullard was, for many years, employed on the Lawrence corporation, after which he held the position of gauger in the Boston Custom House. Still later he was a member of the Lowell police force. During his residence in Lowell he was an active member of the Shattuck Street Universalist Society. He was an upright, conscientious man, and was highly esteemed by all who knew him.

WYLLIS G. EATON was born Dec. 4, 1808, in Killingly, Conn., came to Lowell in 1858, and died Sept. 29, 1891, at the age of eighty-three years. Mr. Eaton was a machinist by trade, and, while a young man, removed from Killingly to Newton Lower Falls, Mass., where he built a shop and manufactured machinery. Later he went to Lawrence, residing in that place six years. While there he served as alderman in the city government. From that city, Mr. Eaton removed to Lowell and went into the employment of the Lowell Machine Shop, as superintendent of paper machinery manufactured by that corporation, which position he held at the time of his death. Mr. Eaton was a genial, pleasant man, well known to paper makers in the New England and Middle States, and held in high repute by all who had business dealings or who were socially connected with him.

EDWIN T. WILSON was born Jan. 5, 1812, in Dalton, Mass., came to Lowell in July, 1826, and died Oct. 16, 1891, at the age of seventy-eight years and nine months. Mr. Wilson was for many years employed on the Hamilton Corporation, and was a member of the Pentucket Lodge of Masons.

GEORGE BARON was born in Manchester, England,

July 14, 1825, came to this city Nov. 24, 1826, and died Nov. 20, 1891, aged sixty-six years. He was a pattern maker by trade, and one of our best known citizens.

SAMUEL T. MANAHAN was born March 13, 1805, in Deering, N. H., came to Lowell in March, 1846, and died Jan. 2, 1892, at the age of eighty-seven years. He was formerly a well-known marketman, but retired from active business many years ago.

BENJAMIN N. WEBBER was born Aug. 24, 1812, at Littleton, Mass., came to Lowell in 1824, and died Jan. 9, 1892, at the age of eighty years. He was in active business during his whole career in Lowell, and in 1857 became a member of the well-known grocery firm of Buttrick & Co., of which he was the last surviving member of the firm as then constituted. Although modest and retiring in manner, he was affable, agreeable, and highly respected by all who knew him.

WILLIAM K. THOMPSON was born Feb. 11, 1816, at Leeds, England, came to Lowell Jan. 10, 1840, and died Jan. 9, 1892, at the age of seventy-six years. Mr. Thompson was for a long time proprietor of a saloon and restaurant on Market Street, well-known for the excellence of its culinary department and the English style of serving its patrons with the dainties which were there to be found. He was a quiet, correct, and unobtrusive citizen.

DARIUS C. BROWN was born at Freetown, Mass., May 2, 1814, came to Lowell in 1836, and died Jan. 18, 1892, at the age of seventy-eight years. He established the business of manufacturing wire heddles many years ago, and invented ingenious machinery for their construction. Mr. Brown was a member of the Common Council in 1851-52, of the Board of Aldermen in 1859, and was otherwise prominent as a citizen of Lowell.

THOMAS F. FRENCH was born Dec. 21, 1814, in Billerica, Mass. He came to Lowell in 1827, and died at East Chelmsford, where he removed many years since, on the twenty-third of January, 1892, at the age of seventy-eight years. Mr. French had always been widely and favorably known in this city.

HIRAM N. HALL was born March 1, 1829, in Croydon, N. H., came to Lowell in March, 1846, and died Jan. 25, 1892, at the age of sixty-three years. Mr. Hall was for many years salesman in the establishment of French & Puffer, where he was held in high estimation. He was also a member of the Fire Department Board of Engineers, a prominent Mason and an Odd Fellow. Although modest and retiring in his disposition, he was well-known as an excellent business man and a most exemplary citizen.

DR. CHARLES A. SAVORY was born Dec. 25, 1813, at Beverly, Mass., came to Lowell in December, 1849, and died Feb. 2, 1892, at the age of seventy-nine years. Dr. Savory commenced the study of medicine in Hanover, N. H., receiving the degree of M. D. in 1835. He began to practice in Hopkinton, N. H., where he remained until 1844, serving the town also as postmaster in 1840, and as superintendent of the School Board from 1841 to 1843. In 1842 the college at Hanover conferred upon Dr. Savory the honorary degree of A. M. In 1844 he removed to Warren, N. H., and from thence to Philadelphia, Pa., where he was appointed professor of midwifery in a medical college of that city. In 1849, as above stated, he came to Lowell, where the remainder of his life, not including his later years, was passed in active service as a local practitioner. He made a special study of the eye and gave much attention to general surgery,

in both of which departments of medical science he acquired much eminence. In 1860 Dr. Savory was chosen a trustee of the Lowell Institution for Savings, and upon the death of Rev. Dr. Theodore Edson, in 1886, was elected to the presidency of that institution, which office he held at the time of his death. Dr. Savory always manifested a keen interest in the Middlesex North District Medical Society, and held nearly every position of honor it could bestow upon him, being president in 1860-'61-'62. He was a member of the original medical staff of St. John's Hospital, and for many years chairman of the Board. Dr. Savory's long life of usefulness, his kindly disposition, and his sympathetic qualities of character will ever linger pleasantly in the memory of those who were so fortunate as to have had a personal acquaintance with him.

DR. ROBERT WOOD was born April 23, 1820, in Saxmundham, England, came to Lowell in October, 1842, and died Feb. 2, 1892, at the age of seventy-two years. On his arrival in America, Dr. Wood located in Boston, where he commenced his profession as veterinary surgeon, acquiring an enviable reputation. A few years later he removed to Lowell, and soon became distinguished throughout the New England States and New York, for his intelligent treatment of animals suffering from accident and disease, and for the many skillful operations he performed. Dr. Wood served the city as alderman in 1880 and 1881, and evinced peculiarly valuable qualifications for that office. He was a member of Ancient York Lodge of Masons, also of the Board of Trade, and was prominently identified with the Humane Society from the date of its organization. In private life, Dr. Wood was singularly affable and agreeable. He was

well versed in the current topics of the day, always entertaining and witty in conversation, and had a most happy way of gathering friends about him, which he was sure to retain. It was my good fortune to be among the first to welcome him to Lowell, and an uninterrupted acquaintance of fifty years leads me to pen this slight tribute to his memory, and to show my estimation of him as a gentleman and a friend.

REUBEN M. HUTCHINSON was born June 6, 1807, in Pelham, N. H., came to Lowell March 25, 1825, and died Feb. 11, 1892, at the advanced age of eighty-five years. Soon after his arrival in this city, he entered into the employment of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, where, by his steady and persevering efforts, he gradually rose to the position of overseer of the print room. Here he remained until he retired from the more active duties of life, not many years ago, taking with him all the honors which fidelity, zeal, and a conscientious regard for the performance of his business duties could bestow. Mr. Hutchinson was quiet and unobtrusive in his manner and never sought notoriety. He was, however, prominently identified with the First Congregational Church, and was for years the leader of its musical services, for which he had rare talent and great executive ability. In fact he was a part and parcel of this element of the church service, and imbued it with a spirit of devotion, which always rendered it inspiring and grand. He has left such a heritage as will ever recall the most pleasant memories, and evoke the tenderest emotions, whenever the name of Reuben M. Hutchinson is heard from the lips of those who have been so fortunate as to have known him and enjoyed his personal acquaintance.

JOSEPH WILSON was born March 2, 1809, in Peters-

ham, Mass, came to Lowell in September, 1827, and died April 26, 1892, at the age of eighty-three years. Mr. Wilson was one of our oldest and most respected citizens, having been a constant resident of Lowell for sixty-five years. He was formerly engaged in the wholesale butchering business, having supplied local dealers with meats for many years before these products were shipped from the west, in which branch of trade he had little or no competition.

CALVIN T. CHAMBERLAIN was born May 30, 1822, in North Chelmsford, Mass., came to Lowell in November, 1838, and died May 1, 1892, at the age of seventy years. In early life, Mr. Chamberlain was a stage driver. Subsequently he served for a short time as a member of the Lowell police force, but for the last forty years he has carried on the business of undertaker, in which he was well and very favorably known. He was a member of Mechanics Lodge, Wannalancit Encampment, and Canton Pawtucket, I. O. O. F., S. H. Hines Lodge Knights of Pythias, Passaconaway Tribe of Red Men, Washington Commandery of the Golden Cross, Lowell Lodge of Elks, and the Veteran Firemen, in all of which he was actively and prominently identified.

During the year the Old Residents' Historical Association has received the following contributions:

Catalogue of Yale University, 1891-'2.

Dedham Historical Register, January, 1892.

Salem Historical and Genealogical Record, January, 1892.

The Hyde Park Historical Record, January, 1892.

State Library Bulletin Legislation, No. 2, January, 1892.

The Battle of Walloomsac, known as the Battle of Bennington.

Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Smithsonian Report, 1886, Part First.

Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, January 13, 1892.

Notes on the Tornado of August 19, 1890, in Luzerne and Columbia Counties, Pa.

Edward Ball and Some of His Descendants.

Thirty-Eighth Annual Report of the Directors of the American Congregational Association.

The Hyde Park Historical Record, July, 1891.

Dedham Historical Register, July, 1891.

Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N. Y., 1887-'89.

First Annual Report of the Trustees of Public Reservations, 1891.

Register of the University of California, 1891-'92.

Seventy-Third Annual Report of the Regents of New York State Library.

Extension Bulletin of the University of the State of New York. Monograph, on the Washington Will.

Letters and Relics of Gen. George Washington.

In Memoriam of Elizabeth Haven Appleton, October 16, 1815, November 15, 1890.

The Hyde Park Historical Record, October, 1891.

State Library Bulletin, August, 1891-'92.

State Library Bulletin, Additions No. 1, July, 1891.

The Leland Stanford Junior University.

Title and History of the Henry Vassall Estate, Cambridge, Mass.

Report of the Board of Trustees of San Francisco Free Public Library, for the Year Ending June 30, 1891.

Memoir of Horatio Wood.

Dedham Historical Society, October, 1891.

Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society.

The University Magazine.

Sons of the Revolution.

Washington and Tilghman Correspondence.

Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Regents of the University of California, for the Year Ending June 30, 1891.

Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, January 12, 1892.

Dedham Historical Register, Vol. III, No. 2, April, 1892.

From the foregoing, it will be observed that constant acquisitions are being made to our library, already of good proportions, which will become more and more valuable as time rolls on.

With this review and brief statement of the changes which have taken place in our numbers since the last report was made, we approach a new year with the hope that the future of this Association may enlarge its scope for usefulness, and inspire us to labor for its promotion and growth, that it may ever occupy the high and honorable position which it has thus far maintained, and continue to do the good work for which it was originally designed.

*VI. St. Luke's Church, Lowell, read Aug. 2, 1892, by
James S. Russell.*

THE history of the civil government of any country, state, or city, is not complete without the parallel history of the churches.

Civil government can support and perpetuate itself by forced taxation. But it is otherwise with the churches; their support comes from voluntary taxation of labor, of money, and of the prayers of their members; with such assistance as general benevolence may supply.

A few persons, whose religious faith and zeal prompt them to the effort, devise ways and means to establish a church, for their own edification, and that of the community about them; they struggle in weakness and in humble quarters till, by the blessing of God, they may gain numbers and strength sufficient to attempt the building of a church, for their comfortable and decent worship.

At this stage comes the crisis, the struggle for the necessary funds. Success is not always attainable. Many such efforts have failed, involving losses and, perhaps, ruin to many whose zeal outran their judgment. The rescue from oblivion, of one such unsuccessful struggle, is the object of this paper.

Very few of the present generation ever heard of the St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church in Lowell.

More than half a century ago, a sort of mission was begun in St. Anne's Sunday School house, to care for the children belonging to the school, who had no seats in the church, and were an annoyance outside while waiting for the school to open. For these children, service was held in the school-room, by Mr. Calvin Cook and other laymen. Gradually the parents and friends of these children joined in the services, making quite a respectable congregation.

It was a cherished wish of the venerable Rector of St. Anne's, that the Episcopal Church in Lowell should expand into a second parish; and, through the efforts of St. Anne's people, a hall was procured and suitably fitted up for the decent performance of the Episcopal services. The hall was in the upper part of the Wyman Building, at the corner of Merrimack and Central Streets. It was named Chapel Hall.

The first service in Chapel Hall, was held on July 13, 1840. Rev. Mr. Pollard conducted services in the morning, and Rev. Amos D. McCoy in the evening. Mr. McCoy, proving the more acceptable to the congregation, was engaged for one year, and he entered upon his duties Aug. 23, 1840.

Mr. McCoy was a pleasant man; he read the service admirably; was eloquent in the pulpit, though not intellectually superior. The music was volunteered, and would not suffer in comparison with that in any of the churches. Mr. George Hedrich was the conductor and organist.

The congregation became equal to the capacity of the hall, and their prospects seemed quite encouraging. Mr. McCoy was impatient to begin the building of a church; and, in the face of the indifference of some,

and of the opposition of others, of the strongest men, both in his own congregation and in that of St. Anne's, on the twenty-third of May, 1841, he gave notice from the pulpit in Chapel Hall that he was determined to start a subscription for a house of worship. This step was premature, and it lost him the confidence of some of his best members. But, nothing daunted, he pushed the subscription at home and abroad, circulating through the diocese on begging expeditions, with considerable success.

A stock company was formed, as the Proprietors of St. Luke's Church. It is much to be regretted that the list of Proprietors, and other records of the treasurer, have not been found.

A lot of land, at the corner of High and East Merrimack Streets, was purchased of the Messrs. Nesmith, and others, at nineteen cents per foot; and upon the lot the present High Street Church was built to nearly its present state, except the finishing of the audience room, at an expenditure of nearly \$14,000.

August 19, 1841, the congregation worshipping in Chapel Hall, were legally and properly organized into a parish church, by the name of St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church in Lowell. The church was incorporated Feb. 25, 1842. James Cook, Justin J. Blaisdell, Amos D. McCoy, and others, were the incorporators.

August 23, 1841, the Vestry of St. Luke's chose Mr. McCoy for their Rector, and voted him a salary of eight hundred dollars.

On the twenty-fourth of August there was a meeting of those communicants of St. Anne's, who wished to be transferred to St. Luke's. At their expressed desire, twenty-five were transferred, on the conditions agreed upon by the two Rectors.

At the first confirmation held by the Bishop at St. Luke's Church, twenty-three persons were confirmed; and at the last, six persons were confirmed. The total number of communicants at St. Luke's, while it existed, was one hundred and forty.

It was the desire of those interested in the project of Chapel Hall, that all should combine and make common cause, to build up a new society, to such strength that, when the lease of St. Anne's should run out, they, in turn, should combine with St. Anne's people, to buy their church, and thus insure the establishment of two strong Episcopal churches in Lowell. But others feared that this course would weaken St. Anne's to such an extent, that they would not be able to buy the church at the expiration of the lease. They thought the better way would be, to wait and buy St. Anne's Church first. The influence of these persons, and they were persons of influence, was a serious obstacle to the success of St. Luke's.

The manufacturing corporations of Lowell, wisely considering that the religious improvement of their operatives was for their own advantage also, sometimes had liberally assisted religious societies at their starting. The people of St. Luke's thought they had abundant encouragement that such aid would be accorded to them; but, through adverse influences, this dependence failed them. Mr. Samuel Lawrence was depended upon to further their interests with the corporation magnates. He assured Mr. McCoy that such aid would be granted them, and the Bishop endorsed Mr. Lawrence's promise. But verbal promises are not recognized by the statutes. Mr. B. F. French was opposed to St. Luke's, and doubtless had much influence with the other agents. But the final

and fatal blow came through Mr. William Appleton, the mouthpiece of the corporation treasurers.

Says Dr. Edson, April 19, 1845: "I received a letter from William Appleton, Esq., inquiring about St. Luke's Church affairs. Whether I were of like opinion to that expressed in 1841. I answered forthwith, and sent it by express, stating my views in favor of putting the church afloat. Monday, 21, I set off in the early train for Boston, was at Stimpson's at nine, where Mr. William Appleton called to see me about St. Luke's, and we talked half an hour. I tried to encourage the work of redeeming it." This interview did not alter the previous determination. "God knows best where to lay the responsibility" of defeating a most worthy object, and scattering a flock gathered with such promise.

Discouragements and debts increased to such extent, that Mr. McCoy resigned, to assume the rectorship of the Church of the Assension in Fall River. From thence he went to New Orleans; where he occupied an important position, became a delegate to the General Convention of the Episcopal Church. He finally died in Vermont.

During the summer of 1845, the people of St. Anne's occupied the vestry of St. Luke's, while their own church was undergoing extensive alterations.

July 22, 1845, a committee of persons, consisting of Messrs. E. D. Leavitt, A. L. Brooks, Ethan Burnap, Benjamin Skelton, John Tuttle, and Horace Barbour, proposing to form a fifth Congregational Church, offered \$7,500, to the treasurer of St. Luke's, for their property; provided a fifth Congregational Church should be organized, "the offer to be binding till the first Monday in August next."

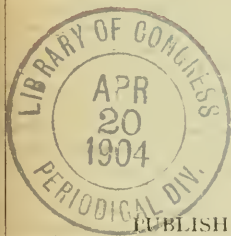
December 11, 1845, the Proprietors of St. Luke's, for \$4,000, sold the same premises, together with the church and personal property connected therewith, on a mortgage to Thomas and John Nesmith, William and Joseph Kittredge, and J. G. Abbott, to secure them as sureties on a mortgage of \$3,000 to the Lowell Savings Bank, and a note of \$1,000 to the Lowell Bank.

December 11, 1845, a committee of St. Luke's, consisting of William Kittredge, John Nesmith, and Horace Howard, agree, for the consideration of \$7,500, to sell St. Luke's Church, land, and personal property, to a committee of High Street Church, consisting of Messrs. E. D. Leavitt, A. L. Brooks, and John Tuttle. The agreement was signed by both committees.

A dividend of about forty per cent. was paid to the stockholders. But those who paid their money without taking stock, received only the satisfaction of having "cast their bread upon the water."

CONTRIBUTIONS
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Historical Association,
LOWELL, MASS.

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.



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and the Daguerreotype into Lowell.* By Z. E.
Stone. Read November 18, 1892.

THE camera obscura, or dark chamber, improved for the photographers of to-day, it has often been asserted was invented by Baptista Porta, an Italian, born in 1540. But the statement is evidently a questionable one, for Roger Bacon, an English philosopher and monk, who died about 1292, has the credit of having written a description of an apparatus like that said to be the invention of the Italian more than two hundred years before the alleged inventor's birth. But we shall not presume to decide when or by whom the camera was first made known. It did not fill a very large space in the world's affairs until the principle involved in the lens, when fixed in "the dark chamber" under certain conditions, was employed for the purpose of picture-making—about 1839, when Louis Jaques Mande Daguerre made known his secret. He was born in Cameilles, France, in 1789. Another Frenchman—Nicéphore Niepce, born 1765—with Daguerre, began making pictures conjointly in 1826. After the death of his partner (in 1833) Daguerre succeeded in fixing images indelibly on metallic plates, and these pictures were called daguerreotypes.

In 1840 William H. F. Talbot, of Chippenham, England, discovered and made practical use of the principle of the photographers' art—by means of the camera

obtaining a negative on paper that had been prepared with certain chemicals. These were called Talbotypes; and then from some source, which we have made no attempt to discover, came the ambrotype. In 1847 Niepce de St. Victor, a Frenchman, substituted glass coated with albumen, etc., for paper. Half-a-dozen other individuals, whom it is not necessary to name, first and last had something to do with perfecting the art of photography as practised at the present day. The first portrait from life, it is worthy of record here, ever made was by Dr. J. W. Draper, of New York, in 1839. He was a native of Liverpool, England, born in 1811. He was professor of chemistry in the University of New York at the time of his successful experiment in this wonderful art.

As far back as 1840—indeed, before that date—there were located at No. 11 Cornhill, Boston, the Davis brothers—Ari, Daniel, and Asahel—natives of the town of Princeton, this state. They were natural mechanics; but at the time referred to they were especially interested in magnetism and electricity, and their relations to science. They made a number of kinds of electrical and philosophical instruments for schools and scientific institutions, and machines for their own use in experimenting and for the general public interested in those subjects. Daniel, the second of the three brothers, in 1842 compiled and published a book entitled “Davis’s Manual of Magnetism, including Electric Magnetism, Magnetic Electricity, Thermo-Electricity,” etc., the author in the imprint to the book terming himself a “Magnetical Instrument Maker.” The volume may be found in the Middlesex Mechanics’ Library. Two of the brothers were at different times residents of this city—Ari and Asahel; the last-named, at seventy-five (born Nov. 13, 1817), well-known and

respected, still lives here, and is an interested member of the Old Residents' Historical Association.

About this time (1840) there was in existence in Boston a club of accomplished young men who styled themselves "Athenians." They had rooms, where they met regularly for study and discussion, not far from the workshop of the Davises, in Cornhill. The Athenians of old, it will be remembered, were a learned and inquisitive people; they "wanted to know, you know," not only the news, but the whys and the wherefores concerning religion, science, education and art. When Paul went to Athens to preach, it was said that "all the Athenians, and strangers which were there, spent their time in nothing else but to either tell or to hear some new thing." This was largely true of the young Athenians of Boston. Their club included among its members a number of gentlemen who in later years became distinguished. We mention Charles T. Jackson, the chemist and geologist; John Pierpont, the Unitarian divine and poet; Samuel F. B. Morse, the painter and inventor of the recording telegraph; John W. Webster, professor of chemistry and mineralogy, whose horrible end at fifty-seven years of age is well remembered. Others achieved distinction in various walks of life. We presume Daniel Davis was an Athenian, but be this so or otherwise, very many of the gentlemen belonging to the club were frequenters at his workshop, anxious to get the latest intelligence and "hear some new thing."

The experiments of the Davis brothers with electricity were numerous, and in this branch of their investigations certain ones of the Athenian Club were actively interested. It may with truth be said, we are quite certain, that hints of the forthcoming and the utility of the electric telegraph were revealed and demonstrated in

this workshop of Daniel Davis. No claim of originating it, or to the invention of the recording telegraph, is set up on their behalf; but it is at least true that one of them was very early investigating in this direction, if he was not the first in Boston to make important discoveries. Asahel Davis well remembers, while in the employ of his brother in Cornhill, concealing a wire in a crack in the floor and connecting it with batteries at opposite sides of the shop, by which signals or communications were exchanged by those at the ends of the wire, unknown to others who were present. The only thing which the inmates of the shop lacked to make an electric telegraph available for themselves and the public was a systematic form of signals, signs or letters with which to express words. This came through Professor Morse when he brought out his recording telegraph—the dot and line alphabet. It is said that in 1842, while returning from Europe in a packet, he conceived the idea and made drawings for it. Dr. Jackson, who as well as Professor Morse was an Athenian, was his fellow-passenger; and when the latter made public the declaration that he was the inventor of a recording telegraph, the doctor took exceptions to his claim, and asserted that the idea of the dot and line alphabet was first suggested by himself to Professor Morse. And this was probably true; but the latter investigated and experimented, while the other claimant did not; and finally, in 1844, Professor Morse demonstrated its entire practicability by sending a despatch, May 27th, from Washington to Baltimore—a distance of about forty miles. This was the first despatch ever communicated by the electric current: “What hath God wrought!” The first news despatched by telegraph was sent to Washington two days later (May 29th), announcing that the National Democratic Convention in

session at Baltimore had nominated James K. Polk as candidate for President. And thus was demonstrated the practicability of the electric telegraph; as was afterwards said of the inventor, "He made the lightnings of heaven the vehicle of thought." Some of Professor Morse's experiments were made in Daniel Davis's shop, where his machines were constructed; and it is not at all unreasonable to suppose that from Mr. Davis, whose taste and vocation led to thought in that direction, the professor received valuable assistance. But the credit of having invented the telegraph, substantially as in general use to-day, was first given to Professor Morse; his claim to originating it was promptly acknowledged by scientific men and associations at home and abroad, and he cannot, perhaps ought not, now to be deprived of the honor which has been readily accorded to him for so many years.*

In 1828 Harrison G. Dyar, of New York, invented a kind of recording telegraph, the principle of which consisted in sending discharges of "frictional electricity through a wire, which he recorded by being caused to pass through a sheet of litmus paper moving at a uniform rate." (We are unable to explain, if an explanation is needed, the meaning of the words which we quote, but take it for granted that they have a bearing on our subject.) Experiments of a practical nature with this novelty were tried on Long Island, or between Long Island and New York city proper, the same year, but

*In the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, in the main rotunda of the National Museum, is the Daguerre Memorial. It is of granite and bronze, some twelve feet high. A granite monument supports a bronze sphere, or globe, in front and against which is a bust of Daguerre, and a woman kneeling is in the act of crowning it with a wreath of laurel. The inscriptions are: 1. "To commemorate the first half century in photography — 1839 to 1889. Erected by the Photographers' Association of America, August, 1890." 2. "Photography, the Electric Telegraph, and the Steam Engine are the three great discoveries of the age. No five centuries in human progress can show such strides as these." The memorial was by J. Scott Hartley, and it cost the Association \$10,000.

they do not seem to have been successful. Dyar went to France, where, it is said, he disposed of his invention.

We do not think that Lowell can be directly and unquestionably connected with the "frictional electricity" idea, but it is an interesting fact that this Mr. Dyar, of whom we speak, was a brother of Warren H. and Albert F. Dyar, early residents and merchants of Lowell. The Dyars came to Lowell previous to 1832; later, another brother, George W. Dyar, came; and one or more of them were in the city as late as 1867. For many years they were located on Central Street, dealing in musical instruments, music, mirrors, picture-frames, etc. Warren survived the others as residents of Lowell; he, later in life, transferred his business to Middle Street. While the three brothers were residing here—between 1838 and 1845—Harrison G. Dyar, we have been told by a gentleman knowing to the fact, was an occasional visitor, spending weeks together with his relatives. And this fact may serve to establish Lowell's claim to the citizenship of another inventor.

In 1837 Professor Wheatstone and W. F. Cooke, of England, are credited with having secured patents in that country for a magnetic telegraph, but of its character we have been unable to learn any particulars. It appears, then, that the electric telegraph was not a new thing in the world in 1840, although it was comparatively so in this country; but nowhere had any practical method been devised for making it of use to the public.

Perhaps it will not be looked upon as inappropriate or uninteresting if we mention here when and in what way the telegraph and telephone were for the first time brought directly before the people of Lowell in a practical manner. We have not been able to fix the precise time when the telegraph line between Boston and Lowell was

completed and opened; but it must have been the very last of December, 1845, or the first of January, 1846. It was the first line constructed in New England. We are of the opinion that Paul R. George (at that time residing more or less in Lowell) and Francis O. J. Smith, of Portland, Me., were the leaders in the enterprise, and that they were likewise interested in the Boston and Portland line, which was constructed soon after. Smith is said to have been of great service to Professor Morse in securing the influence of Congress in behalf of the first telegraph line referred to. There is evidence that December 11th the work of putting up the wires between Boston and Lowell was begun, and probably completed during that month. The office in Boston was at the then Merchants' Exchange; in Lowell at the corner of Merrimack and Kirk Streets, now in part occupied for the Bon Marche; perhaps later removed to the carpet store of T. P. Goodhue, below, same side of Merrimack Street.

May 15, 1846, Winthrop Atwill, of New York, gave a lecture in the City Hall—the present city government building—“explanatory on Morse’s magnetic telegraph,” and to illustrate its principles wires were hung about the hall. But precisely when an office in Lowell was opened for business we have been unable to determine. Probably at the beginning an operator was sent here from Boston; but Miss Sarah G. Bagley, a lady well known in this city at the time, seems to have been early installed in that office. Business must have been exceedingly light at first. People did not understand its operations and consequently did not believe in its practicability. The late Samuel J. Varney, at that time editor of the *Vox Populi*, evidently was one of the skeptics. February 26th, referring to the removal of the office and other removals

which he suggested, he said: "The last two removals will be made in obedience to the well-known magnetic rule, 'the maximum of the magnetic attraction [of humbug] is always at the centre' [of humbug]. The telegraph is now in operation at the above-mentioned place, and persons desirous of availing themselves of the opportunity of testing its usefulness have only to write to Boston, desiring the person with whom they wish to communicate to be at that station at a stated time, then begin your conversation at the cost of \$10 per hour." Later he said: "The magnetic telegraph is at the present time in statu quo, and is likely to remain so for the present. What an everlasting humbug this affair is! What is the price of stock at the present time?" Still later (May 8th): "Our magnetic telegraph has collapsed a flue and split all to lightning! The last time its enterprising proprietor was seen he was blowing up a distinguished free-trade politician for the inconsistency of favoring the claims of an abolition tariff-protectionist to the presidency—just as if a politician was expected to be consistent! When the telegraph *does* start 'for to go,' then all honor to the 'Apostle Paul!'"—a delicate allusion, we suppose, to Paul R. George.

As late as August, 1846, the telegraph was so little understood, and so much of a novelty, that Dr. G. Q. Colton, in a kind of scientific variety show, made it a feature in one of his entertainments in the City Hall. (He is, we think, an uncle of Dr. J. J. Colton, now of this city.) A wire was stretched from the platform across the hall to the gallery. Dr. Colton, on the platform, was at one end of the wire and apparatus, and Miss Bagley opposite in the gallery. In order to convince the audience that there was no humbug or possibility of collusion between these two operators, Dr. Colton called upon

people in the audience to write messages for him to send by the wire to Miss Bagley, and that lady received and read them aloud. This was an interesting test, and excited much enthusiasm. Many were anxious for the privilege and honor of writing messages. But ere long there came a time when telegraphic messages were "as familiar in their mouths as household words."

And now as to the telephone: On Wednesday, April 25, 1877, Prof. Alexander G. Bell, of Boston, after due announcement, came to this city and gave a lecture and exhibition, in which the principles and manner of operating the telephone were explained and exemplified. Huntington Hall was well filled by representative men and women of Lowell. He was introduced by Rev. Dr. J. M. Greene. There were four telephones, each of which much resembled an ordinary cheap wooden box. One was suspended about twelve feet from the floor, in the centre of the hall, and into each of the four, wires had been led from the ordinary telegraph wires between Lowell and Boston. The lecturer was twenty minutes late (according to the fixed hour); and his lecture was delivered in a slow and rather uninteresting manner. In due course of time the office of the professor in Boston was called. Several airs, played on a cabinet organ, were readily heard—"America," "Star-Spangled Banner," "Hold the Fort," etc., and Miss Mathilde Lannon sang "Auld Lang Syne." Following these a conversation was carried on between Professor Bell and some one in his Boston office, but this was not audible to any excepting those near the instrument. But enough was heard and learned concerning the telephone to satisfy listeners that great possibilities were in the invention, and they left the hall much pleased with the entertainment.

There is a question with some people as to which was first in the movement to form a telephone exchange, Lowell or New Haven, Connecticut. It will be well to accord the credit to Lowell; it would be unwise to assign our city to the second place in any instance where it can be pressed with well-grounded claims for the first. So we contend that very soon after Professor Bell had lectured in this city, Charles J. Glidden, our well-known fellow-citizen, then an operator in a Manchester, N. H., telegraph office, came here to equip with telephones a dial telegraph line between the office and the workshops of the Lowell Gas Light Company, which has been in use to the present time. The company has never been connected by telephone with the public, yet to it belongs the credit of being the first to put the invention to practical use in this city. All the cotton manufacturing companies which had been connected by signal wires, were directly equipped with telephones. Not long afterwards, in anticipation of an exchange system in the city, a line was put up between the Prescott Bank and the residence of Alonzo A. Coburn, its cashier. It was about this time that Mr. Glidden began to canvass among the business men for the Lowell Exchange. Whithed & Co., coal dealers, was the first name secured; and it may be said with certainty that this was the first subscription for the first telephone exchange in the world. The system did not go into operation until April of the following year. Boston and Lowell were the first cities connected by telephone. Not until 1879 was the Lowell Telephone Company formed; up to that time all the telephone interests belonged to the Bell Company, Mr. Glidden acting as its agent.

The first attempts to make daguerreotype portraits from life, in Boston, were made in the winter of 1839—

'40. A Frenchman, named Louis Gallard, arrived in that city and represented that he had been a pupil of Daguerre in Paris. He had a gallery constructed for his use on top or in the roof of what was then called the Pavilion, on Tremont Street, where could be secured an abundance of sunlight. His place quickly attracted the attention of quite a number of prominent people, who were desirous of inquiring into the science as well as to have their portraits taken. The process of sitting for one of Gallard's pictures was a painful one, as considerable time was required, during which the sitter was obliged to look almost directly at the sun. The pictures were often far from likenesses, frequently having a most ghastly appearance. His efforts in the new art were not at all satisfactory to his patrons.

In the winter or spring of 1841 Dr. Garoux, also a Frenchman, arrived in Boston from his native land. He claimed that he brought the latest and best developments in the daguerrean art. He had silver plates, or silver-coated plates, on which were pictures of docks, warehouses, and shipping, permanently fixed by means of the camera and certain chemicals. He gave lectures in Tremont Temple, described the process by which pictures were made and developed, and received pupils, to whom he imparted the details of the art.

We cannot with absolute certainty assert which one of the several Bostonians who at about the same time became interested in it, was first to engage in the daguerrean art, but there are reasons for believing that it was John Plumbe, Jr. Before the close of 1841 (after the lectures of Dr. Garoux) there were at least three parties in that city who were making daguerreotype pictures, viz: John Plumbe, Jr., H. I. Abel, and a Mr. Darling. Southworth & Hawes, John A. Whipple, and Mr. Black

engaged in the business at a considerably later date, although it has been supposed by people unacquainted with the facts that the four last named were pioneers in the business.

We have referred to Daniel Davis as a magnetic and philosophical instrument-maker, and likewise to the experiments of himself and brothers with electricity. We now wish to connect the Davis brothers with the daguerrean art and the process of electrotyping, both of which quickly came to the front. Mr. Davis about this time made what was called a "camera and mercury-box," which was said to be an improvement on an apparatus used by Dr. Garoux for a similar purpose; whether it was made for the doctor or Mr. Plumbe we do not know, but incline to the belief that it was for the latter. As the business grew Mr. Davis was called upon to make a device with which to enclose miniature pictures in a burnished metallic border—a thin sheet of copper with straight or scalloped inside edges, with gold coating, called by the manufacturer "diaphragms," and by some of the picture-makers, "mats." The cutting out of these devices was done by Mr. Davis or his workmen; the coating or plating by his brother Asahel. This work was for Mr. Plumbe, and "Plumbe pat. 1841" was stamped upon each one.

It is an interesting fact and worthy of record, that early after the introduction of the art into Boston Mr. Davis invented, patented and sold to Mr. Plumbe a process for electrotyping or fixing permanently the portrait, and also for giving it a slight coloring. Thus it will be seen that the Davises were prominent in developing the art in this country. They did a large amount of work for Plumbe, who acquired a pecuniary interest in the electrotyping process independent of the daguerrean art; and Asahel

Davis located in Philadelphia to introduce that industry there. Later he learned of him the daguerrean art, and in that pursuit was for a time in Plumbe's employ. It would seem that Plumbe undertook to monopolize the business by teaching young men the mystery of the art, and establishing them in the large cities, near and far.

About the time that the first daguerreotypes were made in Boston, the people of that city were entertained by the nightly presentation, for consecutive weeks and months, of "Daguerre's Diorama, direct from Paris," in which "magnificent views of scenes in that city, Venice, Constantinople," etc., were given, the originals of Daguerre's own work, that, the advertisements said, were "painted by the means of reflection and refraction of light, which produce the magical effect of day and night, from the radiance of noonday to the gloom of midnight; and, what is still more wonderful, by a process known only to Daguerre himself, produce the appearance and disappearance of figures upon the same canvas." Exhibitions known as dioramas, cosmoramas, and dissolving views were popular for a number of years, about 1840 and later. There were many presented in Lowell, which undoubtedly old residents can with pleasure call to mind. Then came the era of panoramas, in which Joe Banvard, with his "Panorama of the Mississippi" and the "St. Lawrence and Saguenay Rivers," took the lead. In this business Lowell also had a part, for a number of the panoramas which were sent over the country to instruct and entertain the public were painted within our city limits.

Perhaps it may be well to state at this stage of our story that before the days of the daguerreotype, miniature and portrait painters were numerous in all the large cities. In 1842 there were no less than ten in Lowell; at the present time we do not know that there is one. We are

able to name the ten referred to, viz: James L. Conner, George C. Gilchrest, A. J. Simpson, W. H. Kimball, S. P. Howes, Alfred Ordway, T. B. Sherman, T. C. R. A. Healey, Miss M. Gillis and a Mrs. Adams. At one time Mr. Gilchrest and Mr. Simpson were in partnership, one painting miniatures, the other portraits.

Mr. Simpson had read in the newspapers accounts of the method of making pictures by the Daguerre system; and regarding the matter as rather in his line of business, he thought that if there was anything better than his method, it would be well for him to look it up and possess all information possible regarding it. The announcement that Dr. Garoux was to lecture in Boston arrested his attention, and he proceeded to that city, he thinks to listen to the first lecture in this country by that gentleman. Arriving at the scene of the lecture, he noticed at the street entrance a display of attractive pictures; many were suspended on the walls of the lecture-room, which the small audience inspected at their leisure. The lecturer gave an account of the discovery by Daguerre, expatiated on its importance, explained the method by which pictures were made, and specially instructed those seeking information concerning the art of concentrating the sun's rays upon the prepared plate in the camera, and thus revealed the secrets of "nature's pencilings."

Our fellow-citizen—(we are glad to mention that he still exists in the flesh as well as in the shadow that was caught and indelibly fixed by the artist's skill)—was so far interested in what he saw and heard that he resolved to make the experiment of daguerreotyping for himself. Leaving the lecture-room at the close of the exercises, he went directly down to Washington Street, and in an optician's store near the Old South Church he bought a

small lens as the first and most important article to be used in his experiments. The other things he thought he could make or procure in Lowell. Back in his home, for a camera obscura he made a small box bearing some resemblance to the one he had seen at the lecture; and then it was an easy matter with a piece of paper to construct a tube or tunnel for his lens, with which to obtain the necessary focus for concentrating the sunlight on the plate in the camera. The next thing was more difficult to obtain — a proper plate for his picture. But generally “where there is a will there is a way.” And Mr. Simpson willed to go to the shop of one Nathan Adams, a mechanical genius at the corner of Central and Chapel Streets, for assistance in the preparation of plates. A suitable piece of copper was obtained, and to it was fused or welded the required amount of silver. The two, made into one, and solid as possible, were then run through a rolling-machine until reduced to a proper thickness, when the silver formed the face of the copper plate. It was not perfectly smooth, but answered the purpose for the time being. It was then only necessary to cut it into proper sizes — say about two inches by three. The shield to hold it in place in the camera was easily made. By a simple process the plate was coated with iodine, and this completed the preliminary work; he was ready to expose his plate in the camera for a picture.

And here we make another digression to speak of Nathan Adams — sometimes called “Captain Adams” — through whose assistance Mr. Simpson obtained his crude plates, especially and because he is entitled to recognition as the inventor of the first valve musical instrument and the application thereto of the diatonic or natural scale. He was a native of Salem, New Hampshire. Previous to

coming to Lowell, on land and sea he had roamed about the world considerably. For several years he was in the United States man-of-war Constitution, with Commodore Hull, not as a sailor but as band-master. Besides being a musician—playing several instruments and singing well—he was a successful composer, but we do not know that a note of his work in that direction now exists. He was a veritable jack-at-all-trades, and if alive to-day would undoubtedly be regarded as a first-class crank. He was a bachelor, and while in Lowell he slept in his little shop, took his food there or wherever he happened to be when hunger came upon him, if convenient, and if not went without for the time being; it seemed to make very little difference whether his stomach was full or empty. He frequented the restaurants of Capt. Jonathan M. Marston, basement, corner of Merrimack and John Streets, and Hersey & French, basement, corner of Central and Hurd Streets, who catered for the public as “licensed victuallers,” and provided solids and liquids for the inner man on a liberal scale. Adams was a good man to work when in the right mood, but entirely indifferent in the matter when not. He was generally socially inclined, full of music and anecdotes, well-informed for a man of his standing in society, and a favorite among those who knew him best.

While on the Constitution (as we have already intimated) he conceived the idea and really invented the diatonic or natural scale for, and was the inventor of, the bugle (superseded in later years by the cornet), which was the precursor of all the valve musical instruments. It came about in this way: In an idle moment on one occasion, while handling a sea-horn (so called at the time—an instrument used in the daily routine exercises of the ship), it occurred to him that it might be improved and made useful for another purpose. He proceeded

to cut a proper hole in it, near the mouth or bell end, and experimented by opening and closing the hole with the palm of his hand, and thus he got a modulated tone. The result was encouraging, and he proceeded to cut other orifices until he had scaled the instrument off for seven keys or valves. In this way he satisfied himself that he could make a new and valuable instrument. When in the course of time he reached London he went to a musical instrument-maker named Kent and made known his invention to that gentleman. The result was that Kent constructed an instrument, brought it before the musical world, and in the end received the credit of both inventing and making it, and his name was by popular consent long attached to it, while its real inventor was never recognized as having anything to do with its production, consequently no credit has heretofore been accorded to him. Those who knew Adams well, had the best of reasons for believing this story of the origin of the bugle, which came from his own lips, entirely true, and thus have we found warrant for telling the tale as 'twas told to us.

On one occasion, when the Constitution was at New Orleans, the commodore gave General Jackson a reception on shipboard. (It may have been in 1815; on January 8th of that year, it will be remembered, the memorable battle of New Orleans was fought.) At this reception the band-master, who had an excellent voice of great compass, was brought forward and introduced to sing a song. He sang a comic ditty, the chorus of which started at a note exceedingly high and suddenly dropped to one exceedingly low, the first line of which was "Way down back side Nantucket P'int." The singing so pleased General Jackson that he asked that it be repeated, with which request Adams proudly complied.

And we have an interesting sequel to that little incident. When General Jackson, June 27, 1833, was in Lowell (while he was making an extended tour in New England) Captain Adams was particularly interested. To some gentlemen whom he met in Hersey & French's saloon, a few days before his arrival, Adams had said—"I know General Jackson, and I can make him recognize me in the crowd." Thereat his listeners laughed him to scorn. "You know General Jackson! Guess not. He'll recognize you in the crowd—over the left!" or words to that effect. But Adams persisted; and it was agreed that they should be together on Church Street, when the procession came into the city by way of that avenue, that they might see if the president of the United States would recognize this humble citizen of Lowell. At a proper moment, when the general's carriage was opposite him, at a high key Adams struck up—"Way down back side Nantucket P'int," and down dropped his voice, as he concluded, to "double b (bb) flat, by——!" as he expressed it. Instantly the president started, brightened up and looked around till his eyes rested upon Adams, whom he beckoned to come forward, but he held back; all he cared for was to convince his skeptical friends that he really did know General Jackson and that the general remembered him. Later, in the afternoon or evening, he called at the Merrimack House and there met the hero of the battle of New Orleans, who was at this time at the zenith of his popularity.

Poor Adams!—his death was as strange as had been much of his life. He died in his shop at Nantucket entirely alone, and it was several days before his remains were discovered. A man of genius and many accomplishments, long since dead and gone—"unhonored and

unsung." Few are there now remaining who even remember that he once had in our city "a local habitation and a name."

The subject for Mr. Simpson's first picture was his wife's sister, Mrs. Maria Lowerre, now of Nashua, N. H. Mrs. Simpson was first selected for the position; but "Andrew's" anxiety and nervousness at this critical moment so amused her, for she was a little skeptical, that she could not command sufficient self-control for the occasion. consequently Mrs. Lowerre was substituted. The place where the experiment was made is the western chamber of the house which was then as now his residence, No. 147 East Merrimack Street, where the operator had the advantage of a strong, unobstructed light. After the lady had been directly facing the sun for a painfully long time (a full fifteen minutes, to be exact)—having probably first been told to "look pleasant and not to move"—the plate was removed, with but a trace of a lineament upon its surface. The next work in hand was the development of the picture—that is, bringing it out on the plate. To do this Mr. Simpson put quicksilver in an iron or tin dish, and beneath the dish placed a lighted lamp. He laid the plate (held in place by its shield) face down over the dish, sufficiently enclosed to insure the proper action of the vapor. Thus suffused, the image which the sun's rays had imprinted upon the coating of iodine, it was expected, would be revealed or brought out. After due time and patient waiting the plate was removed from its vapor bath and, "Eureka!" the artist had his reward! He had indeed succeeded in making what he has the best of reasons for believing was the first daguerreotype picture ever produced in Lowell. It was far from perfect or even a good specimen of the art, but the

likeness was there! But remember the apparatus and the advantages for doing this work! It would be interesting could the scene, with all the crude implements employed, be reproduced. There was not in all but one article (the lens) which could be made useful for anything more than this experimental trial; and it seems strange that the artist was able to produce anything approaching a likeness, which he certainly did, and his first daguerreotype — somewhat faded and scarce discernible now from the influence of accumulating and corroding years — is still in existence.

Mr. Simpson made no attempt to introduce the new art of picture-making to the Lowell public; for about that time business interests in another town took him away. He had, as we have mentioned, been associated with the late George C. Gilchrest. The new art came forward rapidly, and Mr. Gilchrest naturally engaged in it. How, where or under what circumstances he took it up we do not know; but it is more than probable that he did the first daguerrean work for the public that was done by a permanent resident of Lowell. A number of persons rushed into the business, as it was not difficult to acquire a knowledge of it and not a large amount of capital was required. Other miniature and portrait painters took it up, as a legitimate branch of their profession or a new development in their line. The names of some so employed are no longer remembered. The late Timothy Pearson, who afterwards became an attorney-at-law in this city, at an early date took daguerreotypes for a time in Wentworth's Building. In May, 1841, B. R. Stevens was established in Mansur's Building, then No. 30 Central Street, and through the newspapers he announced that he had taken a room "for the purpose of taking daguerreotype miniatures, where every effort would be made to satisfy those who favored him with a call." In 1842

Luther Harrington was a "professor of photography" at old No. 35 Merrimack Street—in Concert Hall building, now the location of A. G. Pollard & Co.'s dry goods store. It will not be amiss to add that at one time Ari and Asahel Davis did a successful business in this line on Central Street, near Middle. In many a household, we make no doubt, are still regarded with loving, tender care well-preserved pictures that were made by these pioneers in the daguerrean art. The originals who are still living have so changed that they bear but little resemblance to "the counterfeit presentment" of fifty years ago, and one is inclined to smile incredulously, when comparing the real with the artificial, at the changes which Time has wrought. But in the pictures of those who early passed to the higher life, as fixed by the sun's light and the artist's skill, still live the originals; no such change has marred or made them less fair. Despite the many intervening years the little daguerreotype preserves almost a living presence, as love, affection, and the numerous treasures "in memory's hall" do eagerly bear witness.

In 1841, when considerable interest prevailed concerning the scientific and art subjects with which we have been dealing, Mr. Ari Davis came to Lowell to lecture on electricity, magnetism, electrotyping, and astronomy, and he exhibited many philosophical instruments, daguerreotypes, etc.; but his purpose was to introduce the instruments made by his brother, rather than to discuss the daguerrean art, although he was quite as much interested in it as either of the other brothers. In February, 1841, he lectured before the Lowell Institute, his subject being Electro-Magnetism, with experiments by means of instruments made by himself. A local paper said—"His apparatus is extensive and valuable, and perfectly answers

the purpose of clearly and beautifully illustrating his interesting lectures on the most wonderful of all the wonderful discoveries and inventions of this wonderful age."

Mr. Davis, it seems, was a good deal attached to Lowell, perhaps for the reason that at one time he had been employed as a mechanic at the Lowell Machine Shop, and likewise that the wives of himself and his brother Asahel were sisters of Mr. Joseph M. Dodge, at the time a well-known contractor and carpenter; these circumstances, or others unknown to us, certainly brought him often to Lowell as a lecturer. On the 2nd of April, 1841, he was announced to lecture on "The Daguerreotype, when," said his advertisements, "the principle of the Daguerreotype apparatus will be explained, and the manner of using it clearly illustrated in taking likenesses of individuals or any object in nature or art." We quote again from his announcement: "It will clearly show that by this operation exact imitations must necessarily be produced. The daguerreotype having recently been essentially improved by Mr. Plumbe, making the productions still more perfect, he, together with Mr. Davis, feels additional confidence in their ability to satisfy the demands and expectations of the curious."

The lectures were delivered in the City Hall, and the lecturer announced that "during the afternoon, from 4 to 6 o'clock, previous to the lecture, a view or portrait will be taken at the City Hall, when those holding tickets of admission to the lecture will be allowed the opportunity of seeing the apparatus and the process of using it." We have been unable to ascertain anything whatever in regard to the lecture or the result of the efforts of the lecturer to take a "view or portrait" previous to the entertainment. The only newspapers of the time we have been able to

examine are as silent as an oyster on the subject; the art of reporting everything of local importance and much of no importance whatever had not then been developed. It is evident that Mr. Davis was at this time associated with Mr. Plumbe; and it is likewise evident that it was after Dr. Garoux had lectured in Boston and exhibited pictures on the same subject, as well as after Mr. Simpson's interesting experiment.

Mr. Ari Davis's knowledge of electricity led to his recognition by parties in Washington, when, about fifty years ago, Congress appropriated \$20,000 to defray the expenses of certain electrical experiments. He had a part in making the experiments, if indeed he was not the managing superintendent. And we have another interesting fact concerning this man. On the authority of one knowing to the facts, we are warranted in saying that it was from him that Elias Howe received the very first idea of the sewing machine, which made his name famous. James Parton, in his history of the sewing machine, also indirectly admits the fact. From 1835 to 1837 Howe was employed in the Lowell Machine Shop. Later he went to Boston and found employment with the Davis brothers—the wife of Ari Davis was his cousin. Parties interested in an endeavor to make a knitting machine were in the shop one day, when Davis said: "What are you bothering yourself with a knitting machine for? Why don't you make a sewing machine?" "I wish I could," said a gentleman interested, "but it can't be done." "Oh, yes, it can," said Davis; "I can make a sewing machine myself." "Well," said the other, "you do it and I'll insure you an independent fortune." This was in 1839. Young Howe was present and overheard the conversation. Afterward he asked his cousin Davis if he was in earnest

in what he said about making a sewing machine. The answer was in the affirmative, and he then went on to explain his idea, which at once took possession of the young man. He began to study and work on a sewing machine, and in May, 1845, he completed one which would sew a seam at the rate of three hundred stitches in a minute, some points for which he had received from Davis in 1839.

Within two years from the time he left, Mr. Simpson returned to Lowell, and very naturally drifted back into the business of picture-making, with a more thorough knowledge of the subject and better instruments than when he made his first attempt to profit by what he had learned of the wonderful discovery of Daguerre. He remained in the business long enough to witness marvelous changes and improvements and the quick extinction of about all of Daguerre's original methods. But it is not our purpose to give any part of the history of the art even in this city, now that we have shown by whom it came and the methods adopted to introduce it. When Mr. Simpson finally left the business it was to succeed in trade Mr. W. H. Dyar, already referred to. Years later he disposed of his stock and trade and retired from the business streets, where he had for so long been actively engaged, with the respect, esteem and best wishes of his fellow-citizens generally.

And here we close the self-imposed task of gathering into a chapter a series of unconsidered matters, in which Lowell people have figured more or less conspicuously. If nothing else has been accomplished in its preparation, it is possible that the many names and dates given will be of service to those who succeed the present members in regarding the interests of the Old Residents' Historical Association.



Rayn. F. Shaw

VIII. *Benjamin Franklin Shaw; an Outline.* By Ralph
H. Shaw. Read November 18, 1892.

[Copyrighted, 1892.]

“O, what hadst thou to do with cruel Death,
Who wast so full of life, or Death with thee,
That thou shouldst die before thou hadst grown old?”

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN SHAW, my father, was born at Monmouth, Maine, on the twenty-second of November, 1832. His ancestors, at the remotest period reached by his genealogy, were Scotch, and he was a lineal descendant of Roger Shaw, who settled at Hampton, New Hampshire, in 1647, and who was several times the Hampton Deputy. I remember how my father laughed when he told me that this ancestor, as the Hampton Vintner or Keeper of the Ordinary, was authorized to sell intoxicating liquors to Christians, but not to Indians, except when, according to his judgment, it should “seem meet and necessary for their relief in just and urgent occasions.”

His sentiments in regard to this ancestor, and to his ancestors in general, were very well expressed in the following letter, written in 1882:

My Benefactor:—It was a kind act of yours, and one gracefully done, to spend so many hours in making me acquainted with the names and places of abode of my ancestors. The oblivion of a dim past—and I have often supposed it might be the charity of oblivion—had, until you undertook to peer into it, quite concealed from me whatever evidence of their existence the generations of Shaws anterior to that of Joseph, whose will was executed in 1743, left behind. I can hardly express the pleasure your clearing the obscurity gives me.

Though each of my predecessors was as humble in station as I am, it is agreeable to one who somewhat loves and venerates ancestry to have so simple a fact as that definitely fixed, for we could hardly feel a certainty of that were not the chain viewed as so many links—each having individuality, or that degree of peculiarity a fond imagination draws from the names, dates, offspring, etc., etc., and throws around the figures of his people gone before, which makes so interesting the contemplation of them.

To the name “Roger”—a name which to me indicates a genial austerity—you have added the record of his connection with wine, Indians, and spirits, and the implied fact that he, perhaps alone of his fellowmen, could be trusted to sell rum. What moral integrity, purity, holiness was that in him which sanctified him to that high office! He was a man, doubtless, who would not put to his neighbor's lips a cup his own should not taste; and, if there was only one cup, he was, we may feel assured, a man who would see that his neighbor partook only sparingly of it.

Whether my father was proud of his connection with Roger Shaw, or not, he must have regarded with some satisfaction the fact that among his ancestors, though remotely, were natives of Scotland. It pleased him once to say that “Watt, a Scotchman, made useful the steam engine, and that is enough for one country to be proud of. Still, in metaphysics, history, and works of imagination and poetry, Scotland has produced eminent men.”

At the time of my father's birth, and for years after, his father, Moses Shaw, a skilful mechanic, carpenter, and builder, was in poor circumstances, owing to the dulness of the times; and the house in which my father was born was a very rude one—not so good as the typical New England farm-house of its day. He told me that on many a stormy night in winter the snow blew through the crevices in its walls and fell on his bed. Monmouth, during his boyhood, was a woodsy, lonesome town, and its houses were “few and far between.” Whatever may have

been its charms in summer, it was dreary enough in winter, and I shall never forget the picture he presented to my mind when he told me that here, as a little boy, he would sometimes lie awake at night to hear the barking of wolves in the distance and the ticking of the old fashioned clock in his room. "How comforting," he added. "was the ticking of that clock! It assured me that I was safe at home." *

In 1841 he went with his parents to live at Topsham, Maine. Though the years were few that he passed at Monmouth after he had become old enough to receive impressions or to be affected by his surroundings, he often thought of the picturesque old town, and delighted to describe it. In a letter written in the last year of his life, in acknowledgment of an editorial notice, he said, "I am glad you mentioned my birthplace, Monmouth. Towns have turned out sons of infinitely greater ability to make names for themselves; but no birthplace ever inspired greater love than that I bear for the old farm in Monmouth, near the head of Winthrop Pond."

Soon after his folks had settled in Topsham, a quiet old town on the Androscoggin, he began to realize that life imposes burdens and makes demands that must be met. He was obliged to work whenever there was work that he could do, even if it interfered with his attendance at school. When he was ten years of age he was sent to Bowdoinham to do light work on a farm. He went in seed-time and remained until harvest, receiving for his services, in addition to his board, the stupendous sum of nine dollars. He had worked about four and a half

*When he was eight or nine years of age he built a little up-and-down saw-mill on the side of a brook that ran through a pasture in this town. He dammed the brook for power; had a tin saw about six inches long, and borrowed long red potatoes for "logs," and sawed them into "boards."

months for it! When he was twelve years of age he was employed during the winter in a match factory on Shad Island, receiving matches in the spring in return for his work! But matches were looked upon as a luxury then, and those received by him, if they were not sold, must have been very economically used by his parents. He managed, however, to attend the district school at Topsham during its winter sessions, with few interruptions, until he was fifteen years of age, when he was sent to Saco, Maine, to earn what he could as a clerk for a dealer in dry goods. Here he remained two years, returning to Topsham in 1849. This dealer, who came to Lowell to see him some years before he died, told me that he made a very successful clerk, and that his intelligence and gentlemanly manners were remarked by everybody that met him.

On returning to Topsham he assisted his father during one summer at house-building, and learned enough of carpentry in one way and another to be able to say that he had nearly mastered a trade.* But he found he was not rugged enough to be a carpenter, and, wanting to "get knowledge, get understanding," and living almost in the shadow of Topsham Academy, he wished he could attend that institution, but the circumstances of his parents were such he did not see how he could. He comforted himself a while with the thought that a person can teach himself something, and had a room in his father's house set apart for a study, and borrowed books from a neighbor. In this room he pored over these books night after night, adding much to the store of his knowledge; but it was natural that the more he learned the more he wanted

* At this time, when the work of the day was done, he employed the moments at his disposal in constructing a suction hose fire-engine (small seals), showing much ingenuity.

to learn, and he looked again with longing eyes at Tops-ham Academy—and not in vain: he was told, by some one having influence at the academy, that he might have tuition there during the winter, free of cost, if he would ring the bell, build the fires, and sweep the floors. He at once promised to do this work, not caring for the humiliation which his sensitive nature would be sure to feel. He rang the bell, built the fires, and swept the floors, and may have been looked upon as a menial by some of the other pupils. No matter!—though he rang the bell, built the fires, and swept the floors, he stood at the head of his class, and his teachers told his parents, time and again, that they “had never caught him with a poor lesson, though they had never found him studying very hard.” He was quick to comprehend, and his memory was good. At the end of the term he had learned all there was to be learned at the academy; but he was not satisfied, and expressed a desire to go to college, especially to Bowdoin College, which was not far away.

His uncommon intelligence and capacity for learning had so favorably impressed his neighbor, Rev. Dr. Wheeler—who had lent him books and given him access to an excellent library—that this scholarly gentleman, on hearing of his desire to go to college, told his parents that he would bear the expense of his tuition if they would let him go. But his parents felt compelled to say that their family was a large one, and that he must contribute what he could to its support. He knew that he could do very little, if anything, in this direction, if at college, and, sorrowfully giving up the hope of receiving a polite education, went to work for a bookseller in Brunswick, Maine, in whose employ he remained until late in 1850, when fortune favored him a little, and he was engaged to keep the books of a prosperous dealer in lum-

ber at Gardiner, Maine, whither he went with a light heart, wearing the first full suit of good clothes that he ever had. He was now eighteen years of age.

“TOILING UPWARD IN THE NIGHT.”

I know very little about my father's life at Gardiner, but he worked diligently, and gave a portion of his earnings to his parents. He was married here, January 20, 1853, to Harriet Nowell Howard, who was born at Haverhill, Massachusetts, and whom he had met in Topsham in 1852 and earlier. He had given so much satisfaction to his employers here that late in 1853, when he was twenty-one years of age, they sent him to act as their agent in a sash and blind business at Philadelphia. Either this sash and blind business did not pay well, or he wearied of it, for in the fall of 1854 he quitted it as its creditor, and was in the City of Brotherly Love with nothing to do, and almost a stranger. But it was not long before he found employment and entered the office of the publishers, Lippincott, Grambo & Co., now the J. B. Lippincott Co., beginning his work here as an under-clerk, but showing so much ability that he was soon promoted, and in a few years given general charge of all the clerical work and paid a handsome salary.

In 1859, when he was twenty-seven years of age, he built a beautiful villa in Fisher's Lane, Germantown, now part of Philadelphia, employing his father and younger brothers to do the work. There were now prosperous days; but “the haunting dream of better” would not suffer him to be content. He did not want to do clerical work all his life; but what he should do to get away from “the desk” and better his circumstances he did not know. He had invented a number of useful things,

including an inkstand, which I am now using, a penholder, and, I am told, a letter-press; but he had been too busy in the discharge of his duties at the office to turn any of these devices to account. What should he do? It was hard to say; but casting about, as it were, he found there was need of improvement in the text-books used for primary instruction in geography, and he believed that he could supply it, though he knew he could do nothing to this end during the day-time. He went to work, burned his taper, and in 1862 issued his Primary Geography on the basis of the object method of instruction; illustrated with numerous engravings and pictorial maps. This excellent work was highly commented upon by eminent educators, and introduced into many of the schools in Pennsylvania and western states. The testimonial of Epes Sargent, one of many equally good, presents the merits of this work so much better than could any words of mine that I will insert it here:

The author evinces in his novel work a familiarity with the best modes of instruction, practical knowledge of the art of teaching, and correct judgment as to the best means by which the pupil's reasoning powers may be developed.

The book captivates by its illustrations and pictorial maps, and satisfies by its easy, logical arrangement, appropriate subject-matter, and the broad scope it gives to thought. Not confining the attention to dry details in technical terms, it interests, instructs, and stimulates by the pleasing and important information by which it is diversified.

The idea of indicating climatic conditions, and of showing the mutual adaptation of things to places by means of pictorial illustrations and textual descriptions, is too good to be passed without remark; while the excellence of the plan is so obvious that mention seems to be almost superfluous.

He was not publicly known as the author of this work. It bore the name of Fordyce A. Allen, principal

of the Chester County Normal School, West Chester, Pennsylvania. The reason will be obvious, doubtless. The author, who could boast of no higher *Alma Mater*, if he ever regarded it as such, than the academy at Topsham, and who was very nearly self-taught, had not gained a reputation in any department of educational work. On the other hand, the gentleman whose name was used was widely known as a person of "accurate scholarship," who had been for fifteen years an educator, and had been connected with county institutes in every section of Pennsylvania, as well as in other states.

Encouraged by the reception that this work met with, its author began the compilation of his Comprehensive Geography, combining mathematical, physical, and political geography, with important historical facts; designed to promote the normal growth of the intellect. This important work, characterized as "original and progressive," was published in 1864, when he was only thirty-two years of age, and was as well received by educators as the Primary Geography had been, and as widely introduced. One of its most pleasing, peculiar features was the exhibition in its physical maps of the marked elevations and depressions in the surface of the earth, by means of nice gradations of light and shade.

I shall not undertake to describe this accurate and thorough work; but to give some idea of its comprehensiveness, and the labor involved in its compilation, I will present a portion of its preface:

The Primary Geography, the first book of the series, begins with the pupil himself, and invites his attention to such works of nature and art as may be seen around his home. Gradually extending the view, it places before him, part after part, our own country, then, one by one, other lands, until he obtains a glimpse of the whole earth.

This work, the second of the series, considers in its entirety the earth thus put together; afterwards the several natural and political divisions of its surface.

Thus the scholar ascends from the study of the several parts to the contemplation of the whole. Then, separating the mass, he examines closely each of its divisions.

Although the general plan of the book is analytic and comparative, the subjects are, for the most part, treated inductively; since it is not expected that the learner will comprehend effects until their causes have been made known to him.

The combination of natural and civil history with the commonly recognized branches of geography has afforded an opportunity to bring out in an unobtrusive manner many of the important principles and minor facts pertaining to the subject.

The early animals whose remains in museums are objects of curiosity; the vegetation to which we trace the coal formations; the later plants and the higher animals, including man; the great empires of antiquity; the theories of the ancients concerning the earth; the results of modern investigations; the political divisions of the present day; — these are spoken of in their natural order.

This chronological arrangement facilitates the elucidation of the mathematical part of the study. It enables the pupil to see the earth as the ancients saw it; to change his ideas as mankind changed theirs; and to regard the terrestrial mass as men regard it now. Instead of exhibiting the globe at the outset, it assists the reasoning powers in slowly forming into a round body the apparently flat expanse of land and water.

This was a great work; was it not a remarkably great work considered with respect to the age, the limited schooling, and early circumstances of its author? It was compiled, as the Primary Geography had been, at night, and for nearly three years kept its author from his bed until two or three o'clock in the morning and nearly made a recluse of him, for it prevented his participation in any social event or pleasure. It was put forth as the work of Benjamin F. Shaw and Fordyce A. Allen. Professor Allen did nothing in its production further than to make

some suggestions as to what its general arrangement would better be. This statement is confirmed by a letter from Professor Allen to my father dated November 6, 1864. In this letter, following the averment that "whenever and wherever opportunity has presented itself, I have always spoken of the work as being chiefly your own and the result of your own labors," occur these interesting words :

You are struggling to get a reputation in the literary and educational field with the odds seemingly against you. Your position has been such that it was hard to make the start. But you are standing upon a solid basis, upon a foundation laid by yourself, every stone of which you have quarried, hewed, and laid with your own hands. In short, you are coming into the field with real merit.

"INTO EACH LIFE SOME RAIN MUST FALL."

Early in 1865, finding that protracted night work had so impaired his health as to make it imperative that he should have more out-door air and exercise, and having conceived the idea of cattle-raising in the far West, he resigned his lucrative position at the counting-house to engage in this business, and, in company with a New Hampshire school-master, whom he had known for years, purchased government claims in Kansas. Whereupon he sold his home in Fisher's Lane, and moved his family to South Danvers, Massachusetts, having bought the Captain Lowe estate in that town, locally well-known, and at that time possessing many attractions.

Here he left his wife and little ones and departed with the school-master for Salina, then a frontier hamlet, to enter a business for which he had, it seems to me, no natural qualifications. For a while the business proceeded smoothly and encouragingly; but it was not long

before he found that the school-master was unscrupulous—that he not only pretended to forget the promises he had made, but appropriated to himself funds belonging to the company; the atmosphere of Kansas, the presence of savages and more savage outlaws, the sight of tomahawks and bowie knives, and, for all I know, the use thereof, seem to have demoralized him. The discovery of this moral crookedness on the part of the school-master, together with the loss of hay burned by Indians and of cattle dying from the cold of an uncommonly severe winter, put an end to the business of cattle-raising, and early in 1866 my father returned to the bosom of his family, barely escaping the wilds of the West with his life, not so well off in purse, but very much better off in health.

Directly after his return he accepted the position of general manager of the outside operations and investments of Dr. J. C. Ayer & Co., Lowell, Massachusetts, which he held until the summer of 1868, continuing to reside at South Danvers. To most men the discharge of the duties of this important position would have been work enough; but, in addition to it, he invented a seamless stocking and an automatic loom for its production, which involved a radical departure from any method of making stockings that had been known, and which, as perfected by him some years later, raised him to the distinction he enjoyed as an inventor. They were suggested to him in the autumn of 1865. "I was then," he once said, "away down on the southwest borders of Arkansas and Missouri. One night while driving cattle I was pursued by rebel bushwhackers and forced to swim the Osage River. I escaped my pursuers. While drying my clothes by the cabin fire I noticed for the first time the remarkable similarity between the heel and toe of a

stocking. It gave me the idea that both might be made in the same way. This was the seed-thought which later led to the invention of the knitting-machine."

Though this stocking, which was patented to him April 23, 1867, was destined to be made, in the course of some years, by many manufacturers, to be widely marketed, and to become known commercially as "the seamless stocking," it did not satisfy him, mainly because its heel did not fit perfectly, and, fearing it would not be salable, he laid it aside with the loom, which was the first circular knitting-machine capable in itself of producing a stocking without seams, having a rounded heel and toe.

Though he laid these inventions aside he did not abandon them. He knew how important they were, and looked hopefully forward to their development, to which he would have applied himself at once had he not exhausted his means. His western venture had cost him much; he had sold the rights in his geographies, mortgaged his home, and used the proceeds; and was a poor man.

On resigning the position of manager for Dr. J. C. Ayer & Co., he entered upon the most unsatisfactory period of his life, during which he sold his beautiful home in South Danvers at auction, and moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts, and, after a number of reverses, became nearly discouraged.

This period of nearly eight years, though so unsatisfactory, was not barren, but was productive of much that was highly creditable. He seldom referred to it; yet I sometimes think that during this period he best showed his uncommon attainments and extraordinary versatility, so many and so various were the kinds of work he did. He invented processes for making glue, gelatine, and

super-phosphate, two of which were successfully used by concerns with which he was connected; invented a process and apparatus for destroying the offensive gases of rendering establishments, which were used in factories at East Cambridge with the most gratifying results; and did some literary work, a portion of which was commercial.

He had literary talent in an artistic degree, and the stories, essays, sketches, and poems of his that have been preserved incline me to regret that his circumstances and duties were such he could not give more time to its cultivation. His humorous story of "Joab Quint," a poor simpleton, makes every reader laugh till his sides ache. His essay upon the "Slaughtering of Domestic Animals" was awarded the prize at the New England Agricultural Fair, at Lowell, in 1872, by the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. His open letters to the press were always ably written, and his private as well as his business letters were frequently models of style.

I may be excused for including in these pages a few of his poems, though he shrank from the mention of them with deprecation, they were so far below his ideal.

FAREWELL TO SUMMER.

The leaves are falling, one by one;
The fruits are mellowing in the sun;
The birds are singing sadder lays;—
Farewell, farewell, bright summer days.

Our hopes are failing, one by one;
Our works are telling what we've done;
The castle grand is vapor gray;—
Farewell, farewell, bright summer's day.

 HARVEST HOME.

When the woods are aflame with brilliant hues,
 And the sun with a golden glow imbues
 Whatever looms on the tremulous air;—

When the dusty quakers drowsily fly
 As the ponderous team moves slowly by,
 And the gossamer floats in the ether rare;—

When the apples are ripening in the sheen,
 And the mellowing pumpkins shine between
 The withering rows that leave them bare;—

It is then sleepy nature simulates rest;
 And the farmer, with harvests plentifully blest,
 The repose autumnal would dreamily share.

But to man was not given an annual rest;
 Unceasing activity was God's wise behest
 To the lord of all in the earth and the air.

There are manifold duties beyond cropping the soil,—
 In disposing the gains of requited toil,—
 In benevolence to all assigned to our care;—

In improving the mind, in refining the sense,
 In learning to gratefully recompense
 The Giver of Everything Good and Fair;—

In preserving the germs for another year,—
 In preparing ourselves for the heavenly sphere—
 For the Harvest Home that awaits us there.

 GROWING DARK.

'Tis growing dark, dear mother,
 The room is very still;
 I now see angels, mother,
 Coming down the hill.

They reach for me, dear mother.
 To take me in the air;
 If you could go, too, mother,
 I'd be so happy there.

And you will come, dear mother,
 And bring my brother dear,
 And father, too, dear mother;
 You must not leave them here.

I'm going, going, mother,
 One kiss, one kiss for me.
 The angels lift me, mother.
 I see,— I see,— I see —

OBACHICKQUID.

(It is an historical fact that the squaw of Obachickquid was carried off by Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans. Upon that incident the following verses are founded. Hobbamoeko was the Indian name of the principal evil spirit. Kitchtan was God.)

When the night-winds
 With the shadows
 Filled the woodpaths,
 From his hunting
 Came all foot-tired
 To his wigwam.
 Obachickquid.

“ Lulu! ” called he :
 Came no answer.
 “ Lulu! ” cried he :
 Came no answer.
 “ Lulu! hear me,
 Obachickquid! ”
 Came no answer.

Dying fire was ;
 Cold the pot hung ;
 Gone the wolf-robe
 From the bed-place :
 Gone the necklaee.
 Gone the moccasins :
 Left was silence.

Half the moon shone,
 Darkened hills half ;
 Cold the dew fell ;
 Far the wolf howled.

By his doorway,
 Gloomng, grieving,
 Obachickquid

Thought and asked he : —
 “ Hobbamoeko
 Evil whispered ;
 Then she left me.
 Who the lover?
 Long he shall sleep
 On my wolf-robe! ”

Brushed the grief-dews
 From his forehead ;
 Bow and quiver,
 Axe and knife took.
 Through the woods went
 Swift as antlered —
 Obachickquid.

Out the moon went ;
 Far the wolf slept ;
 Soft the brooks ran ;
 Low a fire glowed —
 Peering, crouching,
 Creeping, stealthy,
 Obachickquid.

By the fagots
 Indian sitting;
 From a bough hut,
 Sobbing, wailing.
 Broke the bow-string,
 Obachickquid!
 Gone was Uneas.

Then the thongs cut,
 Lulu kissed he;
 Turned his back then,
 Scorned her — left her.
 By the fire sat,
 With his head down,
 Obachickquid.

Near him Lulu,
 Hair in wild locks,
 Cheeks with tears wet,
 Red her eyes were;

Like the birch-tree,
 By the storm shook,
 Trembled deep she.

Spoke these words then:
 "Bend the lilies
 When the north wind
 Sweeps the vale through;
 Then to sunshine
 Turn their cups bright;
 Blast has touched not."

Tender hugged her,
 Gentle spoke he:—
 "Good was Kitchtan
 To protect you.
 Kiss me, Lulu,
 And forgive me;
 Wrong I did you."

From his wigwam
 Soon the smoke curled.
 Bright the fire blazed,
 Glad the pot sung;
 In the sunshine
 Spread the wolf-robe
 For his Lulu.
 Obachickquid.

"TRIUMPH AND FULNESS OF FAME."

When on a visit to Lowell early in 1876 he happened to meet his friend, Earl Amri Thissell, who had known him for years, and had always regarded the invention of the stocking and loom already referred to as a long step in the right direction. He told Mr. Thissell the melancholy circumstances to which he had been reduced; how he had been prevented from going on with the stocking and loom; that he had exhausted his means when he laid them aside, and that it had

cost all he had earned in one way and another since then to support his family. And he said, with visible emotion, "If I have any future, it is in that loom."

Mr. Thissell was not a rich man, but he had confidence in the ability of my father to develop these inventions, and in the outcome of their development, and offered him pecuniary assistance for an interest in them. This offer was gratefully accepted, and the work to which he had been hoping for years to be able to devote himself was begun at once.

I remember how his looks brightened the moment it occurred to him how he could perfect these inventions, so that the stocking would be faultless in shape and the loom capable of so producing it automatically. He had been sitting in a brown study in his parlor at Cambridge, when he suddenly raised his head, and, looking at me, exclaimed, "I have found out how to do it." The day on which this occurred was, I believe, one of the happiest days of his life.

Another loom, embodying the principles of the earlier one, and so ingenious as to seem "almost imbued with human intelligence," was constructed, and on it, in the summer of 1877, was produced what has since been known as the Shawknit Stocking, differing from the earlier one in having gussets in its heel and instep. This stocking, which was patented to him February 12, 1878, satisfied his ambition, which was to make the best-fitting stocking art could produce.

The loom, famous as the first Jacquard circular knitting machine, and the first machine to produce what is now commonly known as "the seamless stocking," and the first, and as yet the only, machine to produce a stocking having the structural features of the Shawknit, has been so often and so well described in public print as to

make even a partial description of its mode of operation seem almost supererogatory. After the ribbed top has been transferred to it, it knits the rest of a sock in the incredibly brief space of four and a half minutes. Having knit the leg, it changes automatically from circular to reciprocating motion, slows itself down to half-speed, introduces a splicing-thread, fashions the heel, cuts off the splicing-thread when it is no longer wanted, changes again to circular motion, resumes its original speed, and knits the foot. It then changes again to the back and fro motion, and fashions the toe, and then stops itself for the operator to transfer to it a new top and start it again. All that remains to be done to the stocking, by hand, is the closing of the hole at the toe and the taking of a few stitches at each side of the heel. From the time the ribbed top is put on until the toe is finished the loom is entirely automatic, and, with the exception of the needles and cylinder, it has little in common with other knitting-machines.

The stocking and loom perfected, it now remained for my father and his associate, Mr. Thissell, to interest capitalists in these inventions. For some weeks my father exhibited the loom in Lowell, where he had now come to reside, and in October, 1877, after a hard struggle, the

SHAW STOCKING COMPANY

was incorporated, with a capital of \$30,000, to build and operate the knitting-loom and manufacture the stocking invented by him, and he was chosen manager. The rapid growth of this industry under his management must be indicated in these pages by the simple statement that the company had, in 1877, a capital of \$30,000, and in 1878 operated eight looms, employing twenty-four persons, and that as early as 1879, and from time to time thereafter,

its capital was increased, and new looms and subsidiary machinery were added to its equipment, so that for some years before 1890, or before his decease, it had a capital of \$360,000, and operated two hundred and seventy-five looms, employing nearly five hundred persons.

In 1880, a desire to introduce the loom into England and Germany having been manifested by hosiery-makers in those countries, he visited Europe. He took the loom to London, patented it, and sold the right to manufacture under it to an English company for \$75,000. The loom made quite a sensation among the hosiery men of Leicester, for it had before required four or five different processes to complete a stocking; for instance, the ribbed top was made on one frame, the leg on another, the heel on another, the foot on still another, and each frame had to be worked by a different hand, trained to his own specialty.

The advance made by him was declared by an English trade journal of high repute, under date of June 24, 1881, "to be as greatly beyond the general practice in hosiery manufacture in our time as that of Lee was in his." It will be remembered that Lee was the inventor of the first stocking-frame.

In "Lowell Illustrated," an interesting volume by Frank P. Hill, librarian, published in 1884, the story of the exhibition of the loom at the Palace of Westminster, is felicitously told:

The English patent law is so framed as to allow a person to secure letters-patent on an invention of which he has merely heard, provided that within six months he file a complete description of the same. A piracy of the sort permitted by this peculiarity of the law was attempted in the case of Mr. Shaw's stocking-loom, and the hold which the "voyager" got upon the invention, through a

visit to the rooms on Broadway, and otherwise, was the thing the inventor was obliged to throw off before the loom could be offered in the foreign market.

It was during the legal contest which was waged over this piracy that the Lord Chancellor consented to the exhibition of the loom in his chambers at the Palace of Westminster, in order to compare it with the odds and ends and unorganized parts and devices which the opposing party had put in to illustrate the progress of the "invention" with him. It is to be presumed that His Lordship was misled by the small size and few parts put in by the adversary, as to the weight and proportions of the Shaw loom, and no opportunity was allowed him to make any discovery in that direction until he should be confronted with the machine in his own elegant apartments. The loom weighed about eight hundred pounds and occupied a floor space of two and one-half by five feet, and stood five and one-half feet high. The day and hour appointed found Mr. Shaw, with a large gang of English laborers, who exhaled the odors of the indispensable beverage, laboriously, yet tenderly, getting the loom up the "Peers' Staircase." This and the wainscoting were in the highest polish of white and colored marbles, and were such stairs as, leading to the hall of the House of Lords and to the offices of the highest law officers of the crown, one treads in stillness and with bare and reverent head. His Lordship had just passed along the corridor above, clad in his official wig and robes, and preceded by the officer who bears the mace and cries, "Make way for the Lord Chancellor," when a messenger to learn the whereabouts of the machine appeared at the head of the staircase. Some confusion arising, the attention of the chamberlain was attracted to the spot. He came in the uniform of his office, and what was his horror the ruddy English countenance tried but failed to show. "Stop right there!" he shouted. "Go back! Whatever are you about? You will spoil the whole building! Who are you? Whatever are you a-doing on down there? Oh, my!" By this time he had got down to the loom, in whose august presence he wiped the perspiration from his forehead. "You have clipped the stairs already, and I will have you arrested and lodged for damages." The situation was exciting and amusing. It was hard to reconcile the faithful chamberlain to the presence of the portentous machine. Let it go an inch farther he would not. He "cared nothing whatever for the Lord Chancel-

lor. The Lord Chancellor never intended it. He can come 'ere, but the machine mustn't go there." And there, half way up the "Peers' Staircase," it stood, until His Lordship and all the learned advocates and solicitors, in gowns and wigs, got ready to come down to see it. And there Mr. Shaw exhibited and explained it, himself, in true American fashion, turning the pulley. His exhibition lasted about half an hour, and many a playful remark was made by the gowns and wigs, and smiled at by the Lord Chancellor, about Yankee ingenuity, ascending to lightning and descending to stockings, etc., during this brief but important interval. The chamberlain, however, did not smile. He made wrinkles on his brow, and an assurance by the inventor that if the Parliament Houses were ruined he would send over new ones from America, having failed to pacify him, a dinner, not omitting what are known on the other side as "good things," was tried, and with the happiest results.

His success in England made more interesting the industry at Lowell, which became the subject of much gratifying newspaper comment, and a long notice in one of the Boston papers, January 17, 1885, began with these words:

The honor of being in the lead in the manufacture of superior hosiery certainly belongs to Massachusetts, and to Lowell in particular. Time was when Nottingham, Leicester, and other manufacturing centres in England, which had been for centuries engaged in making hosiery for the world, held the palm for superiority, but even Leicester has had to bow to Lowell in Massachusetts. This is to be attributed to the invention of the ingenious Shawknit stocking loom by Mr. Benjamin F. Shaw, of Lowell, a machine that has effected a thorough revolution in stocking knitting. When Mr. Shaw had perfected his machine in 1877, the work of constructing and operating it was undertaken by a company of capitalists, and the first machine unveiled to the public was exhibited at the fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association in Boston in the autumn of 1878. Here it attracted much attention from both domestic and foreign manufacturers, and there were not wanting those who predicted that the machine would prove a failure; still, even those wedded to old-fashioned operations, either

by necessity or desire, saw more excellence in Mr. Shaw's invention than they were willing to admit. It may not be amiss to add, as illustrating the doubts with which this invention was received, that while the committee of the Mechanics' Charitable Association in 1878 awarded the Shaw Stocking Company a gold medal, the board of management of that association did not think the exhibitors of sufficient importance to be entitled to an invitation to the banquet which was tendered to the "principal exhibitors." Within two years after that, people from all parts of Europe were coming to see the loom, and riots were threatened in Leicester if the loom should be shown there.

How active he was during the years that he was manager of the Shaw Stocking Company!—doing work enough for the company, himself, and others to exhaust many ordinary men, if any number of such men could have done it at all. He was talented and had educated himself in the truest sense of the word. He had filled his mind with useful knowledge, and had developed by exercise its highest faculties. The Rev. Dr. Hervey, president of the College of Letters and Science, St. Lawrence University, who had known him for twenty-five years, said, in the address at his funeral, that he had "never seen a man so well informed that was not thoroughly educated in the schools." He was a clear and comprehensive thinker, a ready and able writer, and did the various work of these years easily—at least with no apparent effort. He was aided in some of it by the readiness with which he grasped legal principles, for he had much to do in the courts for the protection of his inventions.

I cannot, in these pages, review all that he did, during this busy period, that was indicative of the manner of man he was. His contributions to the Lowell papers (1883-1885) having reference to the Triple Thermic Motor, in which his detestation of fraud in whatever guise perhaps found its fullest and most forcible expression,

have not yet been forgotten. It is believed they were the direct means of saving many a person from the loss of his little accumulation of hard earnings. They were scientific, sarcastic, and ludicrous, and one of them, entitled "The Hodjum, Codjum, and Dodjum Company," an amusing allegory in which the intelligent reader found much between the lines, was recently published in the *Lowell Morning Mail* at the suggestion of a clergyman, who called it "the most prophetic utterance he ever read, as interpreted in the light of subsequent events."

He was a firm believer in a protective tariff, and was active in the defeat of the Mills bill, which he opposed with all the persistence of his indomitable nature. His luminous letters to the press against this measure, some of which were controversial, were widely copied and as widely commented upon, and he became known throughout the country, not only as a believer in the preservation of the American market for the American manufacturer, and in the identity of interest between the employer and the employed in the economic question under discussion, but as one that had "carefully mastered the principles of political economy." His letter to the Honorable R. Q. Mills, chairman of the congressional Committee on Ways and Means, dated April 3, 1888, which he caused to be published, and which the *Boston Journal* pronounced "an unanswerable refutation of the idea of the free traders," became a campaign document. Unable to refute his arguments, the editors of free trade papers generally threw stones. One of them said: "It is the continued plethoric condition of his pocket-book that he has in view, in laboring for the maintenance of the tariff which enhances the price of his goods, and not the material interests of his employes in the least." But what did he say in the closing paragraphs of one of his

letters, which was indicative of the interest he felt in our wage-earners? He said this: "This economic question is one affecting every person living in this country, and this thought occurred to me when I read a paragraph in a former issue, in which you said that 'all persons interested in the tariff' should read an article that I had sent you. 'Why,' said I, 'who is not interested in the settlement of a question that has arisen, whose settlement involves either the prosperity or the ruin of all but the rich who live by grinding down the masses?' They talk about contributing to the wealth of the capitalists and corporations, and they say that all sorts of manufactured goods should be admitted free. They ignore the fact that all the money that goes abroad for imported goods, goes to capitalists, who for generations have inherited wealth, and who exercise arbitrary, irresponsible control over the lives of thousands of poor and dependent people, who are born upon their soil, and kept in such a condition of servitude and poverty as prevents them from ever leaving it. There is nothing more repugnant to humanity than the condition of life in which the manufacturing operatives abroad are kept. And yet, for the support of those foreigners who have inherited their factories, and for the support of that system of servitude which has resulted in the moral degradation, physical deformity, poverty and ignorance of the thousands of operatives in England and in Germany, they advocate the stopping of the mills in this country, and the sending abroad of our money!

"The question, then, is really this: 'Shall we contribute to the support of our own working people or to the maintenance of the inherited, despotic, and inhuman capitalists abroad?' A vote for free trade is a vote to enrich those who profit by the helplessness of the worthy

workers in Germany, England, and France, where it is considered 'a crime to be born poor.'

The Mills bill was defeated; the McKinley bill, in some of the details of which he had a hand, was passed; American manufacturers were given protection, and the Home Market Club passed these resolutions on his death:

Resolved, That by the death of Mr. Benjamin Franklin Shaw, which occurred at his residence in Lowell, December 11, 1890, the Home Market Club lost one of its most esteemed officials. He was a public benefactor, not only as an inventor and the founder and manager of a successful business, but as an intelligent and influential advocate of sound national policy. The work of such a man survives him. Esteemed in life, he has been more truly revealed by death, so it may be said of our appreciation, not less than of the grief of near friends, that

"Time but th' impression deeper makes
As streams their channels deeper wear."

He undertook during these years to bring about a better system of patent laws, and, during the interval between 1884 and 1889, invented the Shawwoven loom and stocking, which were fairly well described in the *Lowell Vox Populi* of April 27, 1889, and elicited the following open letter from a well-known mechanical expert:

Editor *Vox Populi*:—The exhibition
of some stockings from a new circular automatic knitting-loom, invented by Benjamin F. Shaw, of the Shaw Stocking Company, of this city, deserves a more extended notice than was given it in a former issue of your paper. There is nothing wonderful in a striped stocking as such; but there is a great deal that is wonderful in a seamless stocking, having a plain sole and a striped upper, or vice versa, with a series of in-woven figures resembling embroidery running along the sides, when that stocking is the product of a single circular machine, which is automatic in all its movements, and which requires only to be supplied with yarn and connected with power to turn it out. Mr. Shaw has invented a wonderful machine, a machine which will be conspicuous among the marvelous

inventions of this age of mechanical progress. Such a machine is not the product of mere ingenuity, but of inventive genius—of ideality, or the creative faculty. Mr. Shaw may be associated with such inventors as Lee and Jacquard, men who were really inspired for the performance of their work. The improvements he has made in knitting machinery are not limited to simple modifications of long-used parts. He has conceived new articles of dress of complex structure, and created new organisms with which to construct them. He has covered very broad ground. His breadth is like that of the musician who, beyond writing a mere tune, composes a symphony. Our citizens, from living at the scene of this achievement, will be unable to form a just estimate of its importance. Whose next-door neighbor ever does anything of any great account? Seen from a distance, whence this invention may be viewed without envy, in its relation to the history and state of the art, the work of Mr. Shaw will appear like a mountain in a hilly plain. Wonder and admiration on the part of foreign manufacturers may be predicted when this loom shall come to their knowledge.

IRA LEONARD.

LOWELL, April 22, 1889.

These inventions were not patented until after his decease, nor was the stocking marketed until then. And during these years he gave some time and much thought to the development of his beautiful summer retreat, Ossipee Mt. Park, of which more will be said.

Though so busy, he found time to interest himself in the welfare of his employes, so that the most pleasant and cordial relations existed between him and them. Having regard for their health, their morals, and their general prosperity, he treated them more like a parent than an employer, and he said at one of a series of literary and musical entertainments which were given them at his suggestion that "the employers and employes of the company are all brothers and sisters, members of one family, so far as the relationship of brothers and sisters can exist among people not born in the same family."

It was his wish to make the conditions of work the best that are possible, and these entertainments, by which his employes were not only diverted, but assured that an interest was felt in them beyond what is merely of a monetary nature, were a means to this end, and as such were widely commented upon by the press. They were delightful occasions, and a newspaper report of one of them ran in part as follows:

Shortly before eight o'clock the pink-tinted electric lights in Huntington Hall, the largest assembly room in Lowell, shone down on an animated scene, which resembled nothing so much as the closing exercises in a female college, for a large majority of the four or five hundred employes are young women. The floor was handsomely decorated with blossoming flowers in pots and tropical plants, while the employes were each provided with a floral favor. The boxes adjoining the stage were occupied by members of the corporation and their families, while the galleries were devoted to their guests. At the opening hour a grand promenade was indulged in by the employes, in which Mr. and Mrs. Shaw joined. The appearance of these hundreds of employes promenading in the brilliantly lighted hall in silks and satins and muslins made in the latest fashions, their faces aglow with pleasurable excitement, was one that might well cause a feeling of pride in the breast of an American who takes the least interest in the progress of his country.

Considerate, generous, and sympathetic in his treatment of his employes, it is no wonder that they esteemed him; no wonder that they placed on his casket a floral tribute bearing this inscription:

IN MEMORIAM.

BENJAMIN F. SHAW.

A Beloved Employer,

And turned away from his blanched face with heavy hearts and tearful eyes.

His interest in the two orphans, Mannie and Lizzie Cole, children of the noble Boatswain Jack Cole, who died in the Washington Naval Hospital from the effects of exposure in the Arctic expedition of the ill-fated Jeannette, was an illustration of his benevolence. He had read of the nearly destitute condition in which they were living in Brooklyn, in a notice in the *New York World*, and sent them money as a gift, and offered them employment. They came to Lowell, and he cared for them with all the tenderness of a parent. He gave them work, acquainted the public with the details of their sad experience, raised money for them, and aided them in undertaking to secure from the national government funds that were due to them. He took them in summer to his home at the mountains, where they enjoyed long sojourns; and he was as glad to see them grow rugged and rosy-cheeked in the mountain air as if they had been children of his own. There were no sincerer mourners at his funeral than they, who had said in the hushed stillness of his house on the day of his death that "he had been as a father to them both." The public knew but little of his many acts of kindness and charity. He sought no reward but the satisfaction of his own conscience in doing good for others.

" Into your heavenly loneliness
Ye welcomed me, O solemn peaks!
And me in every guest you bless
Who reverently your mystery seeks."

In the summer of 1879 my father passed some days with his wife and daughters at a farm-house in Tuftonborough, New Hampshire, and at the suggestion of his host, who led the way, visited the famous Ossipee Falls, in Moultonborough, New Hampshire, now quite as well known by the name of "Falls of Song," and clambered

from them through the tangled woods to a quaint, weather-beaten cottage, from which he looked far down on the peaceful valley and waters of Winnepesaukee. His delight in the Falls and the prospect was greater than his companion had thought it would be, who had not learned with what a loving eye, with what poetic sentiment, he viewed the beauties of nature. That this delight was not simulated in the least, his companion saw not long after.

In the course of a few weeks he visited the Falls again, traced the brook of which they are a part to its source, viewed the lake again from the cottage, and in the autumn of 1879 rejoiced to say that he owned the Falls, much of the brook, and the site of the cottage, having bought nearly five hundred acres containing them.* In the purchase of this land he came into possession of a natural park, which he called Ossipee Mt. Park, and made his summer home, and which he so well developed, and so generously permitted many others to enjoy, that it has been called "a monument to his good taste and public spirit."

It is not my purpose to describe it in these pages; but I cannot resist the temptation to present in this connection a portion of an open letter by Professor Fay of Tufts College, who called the park "a New England paradise," and said "we insist again that the half-recognized presence of a presiding genius is essential to any real paradise. Here it has done much to render all the charms of this rare spot accessible, and to develop new beauties.

*The farmers of whom this land was bought had been, with respect to the charms of their locality, like the brown bear of Whittier, "blind and dull." They were surprised at the sudden demand for the acres they owned, and felt that the opportunity of their lives had come. One of them, as soon as he had disposed of his farm, bought a new suit of clothes, a new hat, and a very elaborate watch-chain, which most people said was either gold or brass, and promised himself a period of long-needed rest; and this promise was fulfilled.

With such discretion has this been done, with such art, as not merely not to be obtrusive, but often actually to conceal itself. An opening in the trees beyond the unbroken lawn is a hint of where the path begins which leads by the easiest or most attractive ways to the rocky 'Knoll,' the ledgy 'Steep,' into the depths of the ravine, to the foot of the highest waterfall, then back along the matchless brook, which you cross by many a rustic bridge. Here and there a side path invites you by a shorter cut to some one of the principal features of this delightful park. As you stray along the path you now and then see, at a little distance beyond you, a seat suggesting a tarry, but you see no reason why it should be just there. You reach it, and sit down half-involuntarily. Immediately you are looking through a vista in the trees upon a bit of distant landscape almost too idyllic to be a part of Puritan New England. Perhaps a slight turn of the head reveals a glimpse through the thinned underbrush of a foaming cascade coquetting down the dark, mossy cliff. If it would offend you to know that Nature no more prepared the vista and carefully pruned away the screening shrubbery than she placed the rustic seat, we will leave you to your illusion. Nevertheless, when we meet in the prosy, work-a-day world, I know that you will be first to speak of the thousands of dollars spent by the owner of this domain in making it what it is to-day—a spot unparalleled in all New England."

In March, 1882, the people of Moultonborough, in town meeting assembled, named the highest peak of the Ossipee Range Mt. Shaw, in his honor, by which name it has since been officially known, and on the Fourth of July, 1882, to signify his appreciation of the compliment they had paid him, he invited them—all the people of Moultonborough—to the park, where they were enter-

tained with suitable musical and literary exercises, in which the most prominent of them participated. On this occasion he read an original poem, which perhaps he would not have mentioned were he living, but which in many of its passages was highly poetical.

How delightful were the days he passed here, in over-seeing the work of cutting a path, building a bridge, or opening a vista, or in communing with nature and reaping

“The harvest of a quiet eye.”

His desire to have his friends enjoy his romantic retreat, and the cordiality with which he invited them to it, were enough to show that in his heart was the sentiment so well expressed by Lucy Larcom in the poem beginning:

“I said it in the meadow-path,
I say it on the mountain-stairs:—
The best things any mortal hath
Are those which every mortal shares.”

Here he entertained John Greenleaf Whittier, Lucy Larcom, Irene Jerome, and other noted persons whose refinement of thought and feeling made their presence congenial. Mr. Whittier wrote to him: “Surely there is nothing in all New England mountains to compare with thy place.”

Ossipee Mt. Park was, indeed, an idyllic home, and he hoped to watch at it, in old age, the growing and the falling of the leaf; but, alas! on the 24th day of November, 1890, he was carried from it in an enfeebled condition after a painful sickness of four weeks, which he had uncomplainingly endured, to his home in Lowell, where he soon suffered a relapse, and on the 11th day of December, 1890, at the age of 58 years, departed this life. He died strong in the faith that the soul is immortal and God is good, and his last words, uttered slowly and with difficulty, were these:—

“I feel all the solemnity of what is now presented to my mind. I have been expecting this, but its suddenness surprises me.”

His life was in the main a struggle. How well he lived it, how useful he made himself, how much he accomplished, how much good he did, these pages but imperfectly show, while they afford hardly more than a glimpse of the man himself.

They fail to do justice to his beloved memory and the feelings to which the thought of him gives rise in my heart. I do not think of him as an inventor nor as a public benefactor, but as the man “so jovial and so full of kindness,” so nice in his tastes, so simple in his manners, so witty, so companionable, and so strong withal that he was liked by everybody that came to know him intimately. His relish of fun and his ability to make it will never be forgotten by those that gathered about his hearth or were in friendly correspondence with him. I have seen many laugh at his witty and humorous speeches, his comical looks and actions, till they could laugh no longer from sheer exhaustion.

He was one of the best entertainers, and there is a passage in a description of Thackeray that applies so well to him that I am going to avail myself of it: When one was “taken into his confidence, no friend could be more jovial or unrestrained than he was. The simplicity of the man was one of his greatest charms. He could not endure affectations and mannerisms. He talked without effort, without hesitation, and without any of the elaborateness which comes of egotistic cogitation and the desire to present oneself in the most favorable light. He was one of the most ‘natural’ of men, if the word is taken as meaning the absence of self-disguise.” An editor who had enjoyed his hospitality at his mountain home only a

few weeks before he died, impressed by the heartiness of his manners and the interest he gave to conversation, said in a tribute to his memory: "Hearty, sturdy, with a grasp that told of strength and a face that beamed with health, my host bade me farewell and come again. I cannot say I ever met a host so genial, and I rejoiced in the opportunity my visit afforded me to see the sentimental side of a man whose life was spent in practical pursuits. I found a mind well stored with literary information, a mind which cherished intimate communion with the poets, and a nature that found Nature something more than sublime. Up among the peaks of his mountain home he found his most perfect content, and every hour brought him fresh delights in new revelations and ever-changing phases."

He went abroad on business; but he travelled there with the curiosity, discernment, and feeling of a poet and artist. This is shown by his letters to members of his family, giving his impressions of what he saw that was picturesque or had literary or historical interest. These letters are so characteristic, as well as delightful, that I wish I could include them in these pages.

It has been truly said, in the tributes to his memory, that "he was one of the best types of New England cultivation;" that "he was a hale, hearty, and vigorous man, a warm and generous friend;" that "he had a spirit of wit, a hopeful and joyful spirit, liked the sunny side of life, and occasioned vivacity in those about him;" that "he was a man of positive convictions, as all great men are;" and "had no sympathy with anything unfair, unjust, or mean;" that "he was a man of extraordinary resources and indomitable courage;" that "he was a public-spirited man, and one that kept himself constantly informed of what was going on in the world;" that "he

was not only an extensive reader, but an intelligent one," and that "whenever any opinion was expressed contrary to his conviction or knowledge of the facts, his ready pen was brought into requisition to refute the statement;" that "he was emphatically a man of enterprise and push," and that "eminently a self-made man, winning his way to material prosperity by the exercise of his natural genius, he knew how to appreciate all that he had won, and was never so happy as when he made those happy around him."

And it is gratifying to me to know that his good "name will have place among the inventors who have done so much to adorn the annals of a generation with their bloodless achievements in the fields of science and mechanical research."

I loved him and was justly proud of him. I can hardly realize that he is not living, and find myself at times waiting

"For the touch of a vanished hand,
And the sound of a voice that is still."

He was laid at rest in the Lowell Cemetery.

IX. Masonic Events in the Early Days of Lowell.

Read February 20, 1893.

THE Masonic fraternity must have been much more conspicuously before the public in the early days of Lowell than it has been at any time within the last forty and more years. None of the Masonic bodies now appear in public excepting on rare occasions. Possibly the Knights Templars have paraded our streets half-a-dozen times within the last twelve years, and the "blue lodge," in which every one aspiring to the highest degrees in the order begins his ascent, appears in public but seldom, the other organizations less frequently, and some not at all. Important meetings, in "the good old times," were held in churches, and the military companies joined the Masons when their presence was deemed necessary to contribute to the interest of certain important occasions.

When Clinton Lodge of Billerica was consecrated and its officers installed, in August, 1826, the event was a notable one throughout the town and the adjoining towns. A procession was formed at a central point and the lodge was escorted by the Billerica Light Infantry to the church, which had been suitably decorated by ladies of Billerica—the wives, daughters, and friends of the brethren. The church was entirely filled by the Masons, the military, and their friends. Rev. Mr. Whitman, of Waltham, delivered an excellent address, appropriate to the occasion. Singing and prayers were a part of the service, and altogether

it was an imposing and impressive occasion, in the minds of all present. After the exercises at the church, in another place, the craft and quite a number of other persons partook of a dinner; and after the dinner of course there were sentiments and speeches (according to the fashion of the day) and a jolly good time — “a feast of reason and a flow of soul.”

Right here in Lowell, the same year, Mt. Horeb Royal Arch Chapter was “consecrated and its officers installed” in conservative St. Anne’s Church. To accommodate that body and give ample room for the performance of the rites a stage was erected in front of the altar. The fraternity entered at the rear end of the church, under an imposing arch of twenty-four feet span, which we are told was “elegantly dressed and tastefully wreathed and festooned with evergreens.” At the top of the steps, leading to the platform, on each side were two columns and also one on each corner on the front side of the stage, which were wreathed with evergreens and surmounted with baskets of flowers. Pentucket Lodge of Lowell and Clinton Lodge of Billerica, with delegations of brethren from other lodges, took part. It was intended to have ladies present, but the members of the craft were so numerous and they so crowded the church that there was no space left for them. At the close of the rites in the church, the brethren re-formed in procession and in good time appeared at the Merrimack Hotel (now Merrimack House), where a banquet was served, and of course speeches, sentiments, and songs followed. The Masons had due regard for the demands of the “inner man,” as they have in these modern days.

When the corner-stone of the First Baptist Church of this city was laid, May 31, 1826, the Masons were particularly prominent. Pentucket Lodge was assisted in the

performance of the rites by Mt. Horeb Royal Arch Chapter. A procession was formed at the Merrimack Hotel and to fine martial music moved to the site of the church, escorted by the Lowell Light Infantry and Mechanic Phalanx and marshaled by Nathaniel Morrill, Francis Bush, Cushing Barker, and Henry J. Baxter. The ceremonies at the laying of the corner-stone were conducted and directed by the master of Pentucket Lodge, John Fletcher. After prayer Rev. John Cookson delivered an address suited to the event. An original ode by Luke Eastman was sung by the society's choir, "in good style," we are assured.

At the conclusion of the ceremonies the procession was again formed and at once proceeded to Carter's Hotel (now the Washington Tavern), where three hundred people sat down to a banquet. It is hardly necessary to repeat that the feasting was followed by formal toasts and also formal speech-making; those who could not make speeches gave volunteer sentiments. Freemasonry, the clergy, the country, public men and public institutions, the church, etc., were honored with approving sentiments. This is one of the sentiments: "The First Baptist Society in Lowell—May its members cultivate peace, harmony, and concord among themselves, and a spirit of good-fellowship toward their Christian brethren."

Among the gentlemen prominent in this event we are able to name Daniel Balch, Benjamin Mather, Colburn Blood, Joshua Swan, Captain Artemas Young, Captain J. Derby, Captain Zacheus Fletcher, Nathan Oliver, Dr. William Graves, William Davis, Lieutenant T. J. Greenwood, and Nathaniel Morrill—all long since passed on; indeed, there are not many now living, comparatively speaking, who even remember any one in the list we have named.

We may add that the church was promptly erected and ready for dedication and holding worship on the 15th of November following the laying of the corner-stone. At the same time Rev. Mr. Cookson was installed as pastor of the society.

At the present time Masonry and the churches are not as intimately associated as they were in the days of which we write. In most of the large cities all over our land the Masons have buildings and halls (their own property) of the highest style of architecture and of large financial value, in which to "consecrate and install their officers," and the religious bodies lay corner-stones for their church edifices without the aid of "the brethren of the mystic tie" or the presence of military companies with "the spirit-stirring drum and ear-piercing fife." Verily the customs of sixty and more years ago long since went out of use and are now remembered by only one in many of our elderly people.

Z. E. S.

X. *Life and Works of James B. Francis.* By William
E. Worthen. Read February 20, 1893.

WHEN I accepted the invitation of your president to prepare a memorial of the late Mr. James B. Francis for your society, it was because he was one of my oldest friends, having been associated with me, socially and professionally, for over fifty years, and for the reason that I knew him in his every-day life, had seen his growth in his profession, could appreciate his careful research, his accurate knowledge, and his practical and strong good sense in its application, and knew his deservedly high reputation among engineers and business men.

I was also glad to contribute a paper to your association, although not a present resident or member of your society, because I think I can safely assert that I am among the very few of your old residents of 1822, in which year I came to this city with my father when he moved from Amesbury, to take charge, as superintendent, of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, which was at that time the only water power and mill company. It was at his suggestion that the proprietors of the Boston Manufacturing Company, looking about to further extend manufacturing, which had been so successful at Waltham, came to East Chelmsford and secured the real estate, canals, and franchises of the Proprietors of Locks and Canals on Merrimack River. My father had charge of the construction of the Merrimack Canal, and of the early mills, but

died suddenly in 1824 while at work. From my earliest years I can recollect the works as they progressed, the work people, and the inhabitants. I am thus personal because it is now nearly forty-five years since I gave up my residence at Lowell. Most of my old acquaintances have passed away, but I wish to assert my right to the claim of being an old resident, and show that my knowledge of Mr. Francis has been obtained from intimate relations with him.

I first met Mr. Francis soon after his coming to Lowell, November 22, 1834, he having been sent here from the Stonington Railroad with the eminent engineer, Mr. George W. Whistler, then engineer of the Locks and Canals Company.

Most of this audience doubtless can recollect when there were no railroads, and at the same time are at a loss to know how people got along without them. Lowell was located twenty-five miles from Boston, its market for raw material. Its products were brought here and returned by wagons, and by the boats on the Middlesex Canal. The store-houses of the different manufacturing companies were on the branch canals, with doors for the reception and delivery of freight from the boats. The mills were heated by wood, brought generally from the neighborhood, and there was a strong competition for this kind of fuel in the Middlesex Glass Works.

Railroads were in use abroad for the conveyance of coal and freight, and the Quincy, Massachusetts, Railroad for the conveyance of granite, in 1826. Lowell also had its early railroad. When Deacon Rand took the contract for the construction of the Western Canal, he cut through the woods back of the first school-house on the line of Lowell Street, and laid a track of wooden stringers with a strap rail from the canal to the grounds of the Lowell

Corporation, and from the excavation of the canal filled up the low ground where the houses and Carpet Mills were erected and still stand.

The necessity of railroads led to their inception throughout the United States, but the mode of traction was not decided on. The opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad in 1830, and the success of the locomotives offered in competition by Stephenson, Ericson, and others, gave an immense start to railway enterprises both there and here. As there were few parties with practical or scientific education, the United States detailed officers from the army for the larger enterprises, some resigning for the purpose, and surveyors flocked to the new and encouraging outlook of work.

Mr. Francis was born at Southleigh, Oxfordshire, May 18, 1815, and was put to school early; but on the appointment of his father as superintendent of the Duffrynlyn and Porth Cawl Railway and Harbor, South Wales, he left school in 1829, to become his father's assistant. In 1831 he was employed on the Great Western Canal in Devonshire and Somersetshire, then in course of construction.

Already had news reached England of the extended undertakings in the lines of railways in America, and of the dearth of engineers. In 1833 Mr. Francis made up his mind to try his chance; and, taking passage in a ship (this was before the time of steamers), landed in New York City, April 11th. On the voyage he made friends with the captain, of whom Francis used to tell pleasant anecdotes, and of his endeavors to make a Yankee of him. Young Francis was consigned to Phelps, Dodge & Company; but, with confidence in himself, he hunted up Mr. Whistler, who was in charge of the construction of the Stonington Railroad. Mr. Whistler, struck with this

young man's appearance and manner, engaged him at once, and sent him to Greenwich as assistant to Mr. J. W. Adams, his nephew, whom he told afterwards he took Francis for his looks. On this work he met Mr. James P. Kirkwood, who was older and had earlier arrived from Scotland. Adams and Kirkwood continued friends of Mr. Francis, became eminent in their profession, and each became, like Francis, presidents of the American Society of Civil Engineers.

Greenwich was an old Indian fishing village, and arrow-heads (as in my boyhood at the foot of the Pawtucket Falls just above the Lawrence Mills) were plentiful. The young men in the engineering parties were in the habit of collecting them, but it was observed that Francis had the larger and better collection, and it was found that he made them himself, breaking up a mass of flint, having selected his stones and flaked them to their finished shape by other pointed pieces, in the same way the Indians did, except that their tools were usually the points of horns. This process was not then known here, but it is probable that Francis had discovered it in his Welsh experience of working this material.

It was early decided to build a large machine shop at Lowell, for the making of cotton and other mill machinery, and after its construction Major Paul Moody, together with a full force of experienced mechanics, was transferred from Waltham to Lowell. Here was everything in the line of cotton mills and machinery invented, designed, and constructed, for there were few models from which to copy.

At Major Moody's death everything necessary for the running of a mill could be furnished by the machine shop, and its reputation for good designs and work was the best in the United States. Mr. George Brownell, one

of the old Waltham foremen, succeeded Major Moody; but in laying out mills, canals, and lots, Joel Lewis occupied the position designated as engineer. Upon the death of Mr. Lewis, November 11, 1834, Mr. Francis assumed the duties; but the title of engineer was given to Mr. Whistler, who came to Lowell in 1834, to take charge of the new enterprise undertaken by the Locks and Canals Company, viz.: the construction of locomotives.

The Lowell Railroad had imported a locomotive from the works of George and Robert Stephenson, which served as the first model. The mechanics of the machine shop were of a superior grade, the tools consisting of lathes and drills of the first quality, but the cold chisel and file took an important part. I recollect when the first planer was imported for the shop. There were none of the modern admirable mechanics' tools and appliances for machine work, and the construction of locomotives was radically different from that of cotton machinery.

As a graduate of West Point, Mr. Whistler had the best education of the time, but with little practical knowledge of machinery. He was an admirable draftsman, had shown great executive ability, had been as long connected with the construction of railroads as any one, and was conversant with their necessities. He availed himself of Francis' assistance, and there were four locomotives designed, with outside connected coupled drivers, weighing about twenty tons each; three, the Massachusetts, New York, and Rhode Island, went onto the Western Railroad, and the King Philip to the Boston and Providence Railroad. Richard Colburn, the brother of Warren Colburn, ran two of the first, and all did good service for many years. But Mr. Whistler's services became more needed and valuable on the construction of railroads than in the building of locomotives, and he gave up his position

as engineer of the Locks and Canals in 1837, although he continued to act as consulting engineer. On the retirement of Mr. Whistler, Mr. Francis was made the engineer. Their relations were such that Mr. Whistler would have been glad to have taken Mr. Francis to Russia, but the latter now had become permanently settled in Lowell.

In 1837 Mr. Francis married Miss Sarah W. Brownell, and, after a brief residence in Lewis Street, took the house vacated by her father at the corner of Thorndike and Dutton Streets. In the photograph of the cottage at the Church Farm, in which Francis was born, it appears to have been inclosed in a garden; and when he took his first house after his marriage there was a large garden attached. To this he gave personal attention with his usual persistence, and the result was that it became noted for its vegetables, fruits, and flowers. The same might be said of his later gardens in Worthen and Andover Streets; and with his usual generosity he plentifully supplied his neighbors with their products.

The early interruption to the school studies of Mr. Francis left his education incomplete, but with his settling down he purchased a complete set of J. R. Young's Mathematics and devoted his nights to study, so that when I first went into his office after the completion of my college course, he was much farther advanced than myself. An education like his could not have been obtained in any public institution. About 1842, in connection with Mr. Francis, we made a report on the improvement of the Print Works of the Merrimack Mills; and, although we did not lay out so extensive an alteration as has since been made, our recommendation began with, "Nothing short of a radical change." For the data, for the quantity of water used, and the power utilized, we made exper-

iments on the flow of water through gate openings at the lower locks and dynamometer experiments on water wheels.

In 1844 Mr. Uriah A. Boyden, who had been studying carefully the theory of the Fourneyron turbine, applied to Mr. George Motley, who was the agent of the Appleton Company, to permit him to construct a turbine wheel for the new picker house. Having thorough confidence in Mr. Boyden's ability, Mr. Motley consented; and this was the first turbine wheel put up at Lowell. On its completion Mr. Francis assisted at the test and was much pleased at the result, the percentage of effect being over 75. Later and larger wheels of Mr. Boyden improved this result. Mr. Francis was alive to the increase in power to be obtained by a change of water wheels, as, from his own experiments and observations, he did not estimate the power of most of the breast wheels then in operation at over 60 per cent. In addition, and in favor of the turbine, there was less space occupied, the better application of power, and less change in effect under varying conditions of high and low water.

Mr. Boyden's patents were purchased, and then commenced a very active phase of Mr. Francis' life in the construction and substitution of turbines for the old breast wheels, and new ones for the later mills, together with the testing of the wheels after they were set up. Many of these will be found recorded in "Lowell Hydraulic Experiments," which contains not only turbines, their construction and tests, but also experiments on the flow of water.

This last was made necessary in the change of proprietorship of the Locks and Canals from private stockholders to that of the manufacturing companies in proportion to their leases; a careful measurement of the

water used by the different companies was to be made, and rules and regulations for such use, with charges for over-use and excess.

Mr. Francis, as head of the Locks and Canals Company, was the chief of police of water. He prepared the rules and regulations, designed the appliances for the measurement of water in the canals, organized an engineer force for the work, kept the amounts and collected water rents, with the result that now for about fifty years the vast body of water has been judiciously, economically, and satisfactorily distributed. A system that should serve as an example for the proprietors of other rivers and streams, as a means of economy in the use of water, and of preserving amiable relations and cutting off interminable and expensive law-suits.

When the Merrimack Manufacturing Company took possession of the property and franchises of the proprietors of Locks and Canals on the Merrimack River they secured, besides, a large amount of real estate on which to develop mills and a city. The manufacturing company had a large idea of the water available, but they knew that this development would be slow and that quick returns would attract capital. They laid out the Merrimack Canal, which afforded the readiest way of utilizing considerable power. Its greatest expense was the cutting through the ledge between Market and Merrimack Streets, as there were few rock men and blasting tools to be had at that time. With the construction of the canal they at once secured a large power, with the full fall of the river about thirty feet. Soon the plan of utilizing the whole power was digested and plotted, varying but little from what it now is. The Hamilton Canal followed, discharging into the old canal, with a plan to farther utilize the water through the Boott Canal. The Western Canal

followed, with a like plan of utilization on the Lawrence Canal. The use of water on two falls was not, with breast wheels, as economical as on a single fall, like the Merrimack, but the distribution of mills through the property was better, more available for power and at less cost.

When Mr. Francis came he took charge of the construction of the Boott and Massachusetts mills, and this completed the mills as originally laid out. The capacity of the old canals was outgrown.

With the change of proprietorship there was sufficient capital, and it seemed proper that all the proprietor mills or partners should be placed as nearly on one basis, and with as little loss of head in the canals, as possible.

For this the Northern Canal was proposed, which, in its design, laying out, details, and construction, was entirely under the charge of Mr. Francis. There is no published record, but the work is before you daily. Its large section, its substantial construction, the long river wall, and the immense head gates (worked so readily by water power that they are shut when necessary at noon to pond and retain the otherwise waste water) have admirably filled the purpose of their design, and when compared with later works of the same class it still stands at the head.

By the construction of the Northern Canal water was supplied directly to the Tremont and Suffolk Mills, the violent current in the Western Canal was stopped, and turned in the opposite direction to become a feeder for the Hamilton and Appleton mills; the trunk constructed beneath Moody Street relieved the Merrimack Canal, contributed to the supply of the Merrimack Mills, and was used as a regulator to the Boott Canal.

By these changes the head of water at the mills was kept very nearly constant and with but little loss in its flow.

The history of the Northern Canal would be incomplete without that of the slide gate at the guard gates of the old canal.

I recollect well that in 1831 there was rumor of a break in the old guard gates of the old canal, and I understood that Major Moody and Moses Shattuck, with a large force of men, were there filling in straw and gravel, and there were signs of weakness around the abutments. The danger passed, and in 1832 new gates were put in and everything was deemed secure.

In the construction of the Northern Canal Mr. Francis made a thorough study of the flow of the Merrimack River, especially of the heights of water at the times of freshets, and he found that in 1785 there was a freshet largely in excess of that of 1831, and that if such a freshet should occur again it would sweep out the locks at the guard gates, on the old canal, and rush down through the center of the City of Lowell, to the destruction of mills and buildings, and probably cause a large loss of life. It never was in Mr. Francis' style to risk anything. What has happened must, in like conditions, happen again. He designed a portcullis gate to cut off the water in case of such a freshet and protect the city. He constructed a dike from the guard gates to the westerly bank, in which an opening had to be left for the locks.

Above this opening and in the walls of the lock he constructed guides; at a height that would not interfere with navigation he hung a solid timber gate suspended by an iron strap. This was completed in 1850. In 1852, April 22nd, at 3 A. M., the water had reached to a height of 13 1-2 feet above the top of the dam, and the water began to find its way round the heel posts of the gates of the upper lock. Preparation was at once made to cut the strap holding the gate, and within half an hour it was

freed and the gate slipped down, the dam was complete and the water cut off. The water continued to rise for twenty hours, to the height of 14 feet 1 inch above the crest of the dam, the highest on record; that of 1785 was 13 1-2 feet. Mr. Francis' provision was for still higher water. To most of you the description is familiar, but to the younger ones it is well worth while to take a walk to the guard gates. In my time, with pleasant company, it was the thing, and even now one of the attractions should be the sight of the gate that saved the city. It is there in its old place, for it has been hoisted up and set again. In addition to the canal, Mr. Francis constructed a new dam, secured the rights of higher flash-boards, and removed a portion of Hunt's Falls, increasing the available fall at least fifteen per cent., and to that extent the total water power.

When the mill companies became organized as the joint owners of the water power it followed, naturally, that they should organize a Mutual Fire Insurance Company. This work, naturally, fell to the charge of Mr. Francis, and he built a high service reservoir, with turbines and pumps to fill it, mains and hydrants to distribute the water, together with a system of pipes and sprinklers within the mills, which were placed as he directed, and were under his inspection; and which, like all the works of which he had charge, meant a rigid compliance with the rules and regulations. So trustworthy was this inspection that the cost of maintenance and losses were less than one-tenth of one per cent.

For the security of the bridges and other wooden constructions, of which there were many under his charge, and in the mills, he introduced kyanizing and burnettizing for the preservation of the timbers, and by its farther introductions made it a profitable industry.

From his long service, together with his known and successful connection with the Lowell water power, his reputation as the best and most reliable hydraulic expert became established, and his advice was sought throughout the entire country. He made many extensive examinations and reports, of which he preserved the most valuable, of his minutes and records, which, together with a list of his contributions to magazines and society publications, are indexed by his son, Col. Francis, and will be preserved for further reference of engineers and interested parties.

He was an expert before court, and I served with him often, sometimes on the same side, and sometimes opposed; and at all times satisfactorily to myself, as his testimony was not affected by the exigencies of the case, or by the argument of the attorney, as it was based on scientific facts and his practical knowledge of their application.

He would instruct the counsel as to what he could testify, and it rested with them to say whether he should be called or not. He was of the class of experts that should be attached to courts and not to clients.

He often served as referee in suits, especially toward the latter part of his life, when his directors had relieved him from attention to the duties of his office by the promotion of his son to the office of his assistant, and afterwards as his successor.

Whenever he was called once, and another necessity came, he was called again. He was respected for his knowledge, honesty, and truthfulness, and this was his character in all the offices of trust, and they were many, which he filled.

His friend, Uriah A. Boyden, appointed him and William G. Russell executors and trustees to dispose of his estate, inventoried at \$180,000, with its accumulations,

for the scientific investigation on caloric, and the publishing of the same, if they deemed expedient, and also to devote the remainder to the establishment and maintenance of an astronomical observatory on some mountain peak, or to bestow the same in aid of such observatory in conjunction with others.

“In the course of their investigations Mr. Francis, from time to time, visited most of the observatories in the United States, and, among others, the Lick Observatory; and it is characteristic of the conscientious scruples of the man that the whole charge made for his expenses incurred in these visits was only \$160, as he carefully discriminated between the expenses for his journeying on his account and on his vacation, and the expense specifically incurred in going out of his way to visit an observatory.” To this quotation from a letter from his co-trustee he might have also added that he often took the route of his vacation journeyings expressly to take in the observatories.

It became early apparent to the trustees that funds left by Mr. Boyden were insufficient to establish an independent observatory, and the process of accumulation was slow. They, therefore, turned over to Harvard College the sum then in their hands of \$232,559.90, to be used in connection with the funds furnished by the college, in connection with the service, its administration, officers, and the whole establishments, plants, instruments, and equipments of the Cambridge Observatory, for the construction and maintenance of one or more mountain-peak observatories, and the reduction and publication of the observations therein made. It is under this arrangement that the observations and operations of Prof. Pickering and his corps are now being made in the Andes of Peru.

It has been Mr. Francis' fortune to be appreciated in his lifetime, both in his social and business relations, not

only by the citizens of Lowell, but by all with whom he had relations, and they were many, throughout the whole country and abroad.

He was never desirous of political office, and only took it from a sense of his obligation as a citizen. He had been a member of the Legislature, of the Common Council, and Commissioner on the construction of the new City Hall. He received a testimonial of silver from some of the citizens after the freshet and the dropping of the gate in 1852. It was pleasant to be thus appreciated, but it was even pleasanter to be so soon confirmed in his judgment of the necessity of such a gate, in which he had never wavered.

With his directors, in his long term of service, he had seen many pass away or retire and new ones come in, but one, John T. Morse, came in as treasurer in 1845, and is still in office. Mr. Francis was always in the most amicable relations with the directors, and they had confidence in his ability and honesty; and when they retired him from active service it was with the intention of preserving his life free from the annoyance of petty details, that they might have his advice as long as possible.

In making up the memoir of my friend, Mr. Francis, and in consideration of the association to whom it was to be addressed, I have thought it necessary to make it a history of his life as I knew him, and his works, showing the growth of the man, and the practical sense which predominates in their construction. The poet speaks of the architect of St. Peter's as building "better than he knew;" the engineer in plain prose is expected to build as well as he knew, and Mr. Francis had the knowledge on which to build, and I do not know of anything of his that failed from weakness of construction.

Although Mr. Francis was born in England, and always felt an affection for the persons and places with which he was connected in boyhood, he was loyal in his adopted country, the home of his wife and children, and of an immense circle of dear friends. Whether innate or acquired, he had the Yankee trait of an inquiring disposition. As a naturalist, he posted himself on the flora of the neighborhood in which he was thrown. But on the fauna he was the more interested in the people, to know their pursuits, how they lived, and their characteristics; and in cases like the break at South Fork he was a pleasant and thorough examiner who could elicit facts. Perhaps conversant with the greater power of steam, he never could have been considered a horseman, nor had he a taste for music except the song of birds.

In the short history I have given it will be understood that Mr. Francis had wonderful administrative and executive ability; that what he undertook he studied thoroughly. There were very few laches in design or execution, none radical. His "Lowell Hydraulic Experiments" are not only standard as to the rules therein given, but will always be standard as to the manner such experiments should be carried out, with appliances beautifully designed and adjusted, observations carefully taken and checked, and results elaborately but simply recorded. The construction of the drop-guard gate is merely one example of the thoroughness of his convictions.

Although Mr. Francis' disease was protracted, and the result appeared doubtful, he continued in his professional practice, and maintained his pleasant social relations with all his usual interest. In the early summer of last year I went with Mr. and Mrs. Francis to the site of Jamestown, Va., where his grandfather had been taken by the captain of a ship, kidnapped in London and

indentured as an apprentice for his passage. Mr. Francis stood the fatigue of the journey from Fortress Monroe better than his companions, was more alive to the surroundings, and more conversant with its history. At that time I do not think Mr. Francis expected to recover; yet at that annual meeting of the American Society of Civil Engineers he attended their business meetings and the social reunions, to the pleasure of all, as he had done for many years, although they recognized and regretted the many signs of feebleness which were observable.

As an engineer Mr. Francis was a man of great talent. He greatly developed that talent in his designs and constructions, which were profitable to his employers and instructive to those of his profession. As a citizen he understood and performed his duty. Socially he contributed to the pleasure and comfort of all about him, through his pleasant address, his frank and ingenuous manner, and his sympathetic character. In everything he was strictly honest and conscientious, respecting both himself and others. He was, by nature, a religious man, and early became connected with St. Anne's Episcopal Church, under the rectorship of the late Dr. Theodore Edson, where, as a member and an officer, he continued true and faithful to his obligations unto his very life's end.

XI. Annual Report. By Benjamin Walker, President.

Read May 2, 1893.

IN PRESENTING the customary annual report of the Old Residents' Historical Association, I have the honor to submit the following facts connected therewith, together with brief notices of members who have died, and a list of the acquisitions which have been made to its library, during the year.

Up to this time the records show that five hundred and twenty-four old residents have joined the association, two hundred and forty-one have died, one hundred and nineteen papers, containing an amount and variety of historical and valuable information obtainable from no other source, have been read before the association, comprising four bound volumes, with another to be added before the end of the current year. These statements show, primarily, how much the community, this association, and every citizen of Lowell owe to Messrs. Edward B. Howe and Z. E. Stone for their efforts in organizing the Old Residents' Historical Association, and to all others who have lent a helping hand in achieving results which the most sanguine could not have anticipated, and which place this really invaluable fund of facts and information within easy access to all who have the good name and prosperity of the city of Lowell at heart.

As will be seen, old Father Time has laid his hand heavily upon us. Most of the projectors and very early residents of Lowell have passed into life eternal, and you

will be invited during the evening to make such slight changes in the constitution of this association as will enable us to increase its numbers by admitting younger and more vigorous life-blood into its membership, and I again impress upon you the desirability and the necessity for adding female members to our list. Among the ladies of Lowell there is literary ability, and a fruitful source of information, from which we have not yet heard, and for which it certainly behooves us now to bend our energies.

On the 19th day of December next, Forefathers' day, substantially, our association will complete the twenty-fifth year of its existence. The suggestion has been made, and an opportunity will undoubtedly be given, to celebrate this event, in some proper way, the Executive Committee already having the matter earnestly in hand. In whatever form this may come, I trust it will not only meet your full and cordial approval, but that you will, one and all, give it your sanction and presence, and that the dignity of the occasion will only be equalled by the interest which will, of necessity, attach to so important an assemblage of the veteran members of this association and of the city of Lowell. I know how difficult it is for the aged to leave their homes and pleasant firesides even for a single evening, and while this reconciles us to the idea that a want of fuller numbers, at our quarterly meetings, cannot be regarded as any want of interest in its proceedings, the interest of the approaching celebration must and will, of necessity, be greatly enhanced by your presence.

I spoke last year of the more prominent officers of this association, and particularly of the late Dr. John O. Green, your honored president for so many years, the venerable C. C. Chase, his eminently worthy successor, and the late Alfred Gilman, for so long a term your able and faithful secretary and treasurer.

During the present year death has continued its ravages among us, and we have to record the decease of thirteen members, some of whom were among our most distinguished and prominent citizens. I am able to append a brief notice of each.

FREDERIC A. SPOFFORD was born October 3, 1818, in Pelham, New Hampshire, came to Lowell in February, 1845, and died June 26, 1892, at the age of seventy-three years. Mr. Spofford was an overseer on the Boott Corporation for many years, and, upon leaving the employ of that company, engaged in the grocery trade, in Centralville, with Daniel Stickney, where he remained for twenty-six years, the partnership being dissolved about four years ago.

Mr. Spofford was well and prominently known in business circles during the more active years of his life, being constantly engaged in church choirs, and served the First Universalist and Shattuck Street societies to great acceptance. He was also active in the various musical organizations of his day, and was a member of the Ancient York Lodge of Masons. Mr. Spofford was a gentleman of much geniality of character, and was held in universal esteem.

DR. GILMAN KIMBALL was born in New Chester (now Hill), New Hampshire, came to Lowell in 1830, and died July 27, 1892, at the advanced age of eighty-seven years and seven months. Later this evening I shall have the pleasure of asking you to listen to a paper prepared by Dr. D. N. Patterson, giving a sketch of the distinguishing characteristics and professional career of this remarkable man.

HENRY C. GUILD was born August 19, 1826, at Francestown, New Hampshire, came to Lowell February

1, 1839, and died September 9, 1892, at the age of sixty-six years.

For two years after coming to Lowell, Mr. Guild, being then thirteen years of age, was a pupil of the North Grammar (now Bartlett) School, after which he entered upon his early business career as clerk in the dry goods store of Orange & Hathorne, on Merrimack Street. His whole after-life was connected with some branch of the dry goods trade. From 1839 his long residence in Lowell remained unbroken, with the exception of ten years, when he was employed in Boston, for the well-known firms of Wm. P. Tenney & Co., Grew & Perkins, and James M. Beebe & Sons. Mr. Guild was, subsequently, and for many years, a store-keeper on Merrimack Street, but for the last twelve years of his life he acted as travelling salesman for the Shaw Stocking Company. His widow, Lucy M. Guild, and son, Albert S. Guild, are still residents of our city.

JAMES B. FRANCIS was born May 8, 1815, at Southleigh, near Witney, England, came to Lowell November 22, 1834, and died September 18, 1892, at the age of seventy-seven years. At the quarterly meeting held on the 20th of February, 1893, a memorial of Mr. Francis was read by William E. Worthen, Esq., of New York, which will be published, complete, in the next annual issue of the association.

ENOCH S. RAND, who was born March 15, 1818, at Gilford, New Hampshire, and came to Lowell in March, 1835, died October 18, 1892, at the age of seventy-four years. Mr. Rand was one of the pioneers in the express business between Lowell and Boston, the firm name then being Sargent & Rand. Afterwards he was a member of the firm of Lovejoy, Paul & Co., later known as Lovejoy & Rand. At this time their business was carried on over

the western division of the Boston and Maine Railroad. He retired from business about eight years ago.

Mr. Rand was a member of the Kirk Street Church.

ALFRED GILMAN was born in Lowell, March 30, 1850, and died October 19, 1892, at the early age of forty-two years. Upon the decease of Alfred Gilman, Senior, (April 8, 1891,) so long the honored and faithful secretary and treasurer of this association, he was succeeded by his son, the subject of this sketch, who brought with him to the duties of these offices all the zeal, ability, and natural ambition which had so distinguished the father, and in the performance of which he at once showed himself so eminently qualified. While he could not be regarded as an Old Resident, in the strict sense of that term, he had passed his whole life in our city, had for years observed the workings of our association, and, in his election, had perpetuated the name of one so long and honorably identified with it, as its principal executive officer.

After graduating from our public schools, where he received a good education, Mr. Gilman engaged in the tailoring business with his father, under the firm name of Alfred Gilman & Son. Upon the death of the senior member he assumed the business, and successfully prosecuted the same up to the time of his own decease.

Mr. Gilman was a member of Veritas Lodge, I. O. O. F., and for many years choirmaster at St. Anne's Church. While modest and retiring in demeanor, he possessed many strong personal characteristics. He was firm, and, at times, even rigid in his convictions of duty, always faithfully observing the same, and thereby maintaining a thoroughly upright and conscientious course of life. He died sincerely mourned and greatly beloved by all who knew him in his religious, business, or social walks of life.

JAMES W. NASH was born in Boston, Massachusetts, April 7, 1823, came to Lowell in May, 1848, and died October 21, 1892, at the age of sixty-nine years. He was for many years a stove dealer on Central Street, and during the latter part of his life a book-keeper for E. Hapgood & Son, mattress manufacturers. He was a past grand of Veritas Lodge, I. O. O. F.

NATHANIEL T. STAPLES was born September 21, 1815, in Taunton, Massachusetts, came to Lowell July 5, 1835, and died October 30, 1892, at the age of seventy-seven years. He was formerly well known as a mason and contractor, but retired from active business many years ago.

GEORGE W. WORTHEN was born in Bradford, Vermont, October 9, 1815, came to Lowell in 1835, and died November 30, 1892, at the age of seventy-seven years. After a residence of one year in Lowell Mr. Worthen removed to Nashua, New Hampshire, remaining until 1846, when he again returned, and afterwards resided in this city. He was superintendent of the steam and engineering department of the Lowell Manufacturing Company from 1846 to 1880, resigning his position in October of that year, in consequence of failing health. Mr. Worthen served as a member of the Common Council in 1850, was a veteran and devoted member of the Kirk Street Church, and was deservedly held in high estimation by all with whom he had been brought in contact during his long and useful life in our midst.

JOHN GRIFFITH was born in Elizabeth, New Jersey, January 20, 1814, came to Lowell in September, 1845, and died December 17, 1892, at the age of seventy-eight years.

Mr. Griffith was first employed in this city by Benjamin H. Shepard, at his umbrella and music store, 75 and 77 Merrimack Street. On the first day of September,

1856, he became a joint partner of the establishment, with the late W. C. Rugg, under the firm name of Rugg & Griffith, and continued this partnership until December 1, 1868, when it was dissolved by mutual consent, Mr. Griffith withdrawing from the business.

In March, 1869, Mr. Griffith became connected with John Shorey in the curtain fixture business, where he only remained until October of the same year. From thence, and for a few months, he was in the service of the J. C. Ayer Company, after which and for many years he was employed in the wire shop of Woods, Sherwood & Company, being connected with that establishment at the time of his death. Mr. Griffith was a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and also of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, and was, in every respect, a most estimable and worthy citizen.

WILLIAM S. BENNETT was born in Framingham, Massachusetts, May 17, 1814, came to Lowell April 6, 1830, and died December 19, 1892, at the age of seventy-eight years. On arriving in Lowell Mr. Bennett was first employed by Mr. Francis Hobbs, at that time a prominent tailor, his store standing near the corner of Salem and Cabot Streets, opposite what is still known as the Adams Block, and one of the principal business localities of the town. Later he found employment with Henry J. Baxter, and subsequently became a partner, doing business under the firm name of Baxter & Bennett, at this time located on Merrimack Street, in the store now occupied by the D. L. Page Company. After a few years they removed to a store located where the Hildreth Block now stands, and later to No. 11 Central Street, the premises now known as the Harris Hotel.

After the death of Mr. Baxter the business was continued by Mr. Bennett, who, some years later, formed a

partnership with Mr. Haven P. Cook, the latter gentleman assuming the business upon the retirement of Mr. Bennett from active service.

Mr. Bennett was a prudent and careful business man, and never sought public office. He was a director of the Appleton National Bank from 1866 to the date of his death, a trustee of the City Institution for Savings, and a constant attendant of the Unitarian Church. Although modest and retiring in disposition, he was possessed of a singularly genial and happy turn of mind, gaining the confidence and esteem of all who knew him, both as a business man and a private citizen. Mrs. Bennett, a most lovely and estimable woman, died at an advanced age, in April, 1889.

WILLIAM HOVEY was born September 10, 1802, in Dracut, Massachusetts, came to Lowell in February, 1834, and died March 21, 1893, at the advanced age of ninety-one years. Few old residents have been more interested in, or more gratified to be connected with, this association than Mr. Hovey, who has been a member ever since its organization. He was born in the house built by his grandfather, which has been occupied by three or four generations of the same family. He was keenly interested in his native town, and for several years filled the office of selectman.

Upon the annexation of a part of Dracut to the city of Lowell Mr. Hovey served in the Common Council, but his great interest in life was centred in his books. It is related that he looked forward with special delight to the publication of volume after volume of Scott's Waverly novels, and what he read he remembered. He was so retiring in his disposition that few were aware of the amount of historical knowledge he possessed.

Mr. Hovey's recollections of Lowell and vicinity in its early days were exceedingly vivid, as also of Boston, where he passed a few years of his life when a young man. His first trip to Boston was made in the packet-boat of the old Middlesex Canal, occupying one whole day. For a short time he also resided in New York, where he married Hannah M. Cahart—and in a letter written from that place to his mother, sixty years ago, he wrote that “if he were living in Boston, instead of New York, he should probably visit her three or four times a year.” Single letter postage from New York in those days was fifteen cents.

At the age of ninety, Mr. Hovey was singularly free from infirmities of mind and body, his pleasures were simple, and his kindness and good-will toward every one was unbounded. In life he was a perfect type of puritanical correctness and goodness, and in death he was fully prepared for that eternal reward which he ever sought to obtain.

CYRUS H. LATHAM was born June 1, 1824, in Raymond, Maine, came to Lowell in November, 1838, and died April 21, 1893, at the age of nearly sixty-nine years. Mr. Latham was a civil engineer by profession, and was prominently connected with the construction of the Boston, Concord and Montreal Railroad. Afterwards he became paymaster of the A. L. Brooks Company, and in 1866 became connected with the firm of Woods, Sherwood & Company, retaining his membership until the time of his death. He was also president of the Lowell Hosiery Company, a director in the Mechanics' National Bank, an incorporator and an honored trustee in the Central Savings Bank, and a trustee of Bates College, Lewiston, Maine. For many years he was greatly interested in city affairs, representing Ward Five as a member of the Common

Council in 1863, serving as alderman in 1864 and 1865, as a member of the School Committee in 1872-3-4-5, and as a member of the Lowell Water Board in 1875-6-7. Mr. Latham was a member of the Pentucket Lodge of Free Masons, and Mt. Horeb Chapter, R. A. M. He was also an active and influential member of the Paige Street Free Baptist Church, also serving many years as the superintendent of the Sunday School.

In private life Mr. Latham was distinguished for his dignity and urbanity of manner, having a kindly and pleasant smile for all, and in his death the city loses one of its most upright, respected, and influential citizens.

The following contributions to the Old Residents' Historical Association have been received during the year :

Report of Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati, 1893.

Proceedings Fourth Annual Meeting Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

Second Triennial Catalogue of Portraits.

Annual Report Buffalo Historical Society, January, 1893, Buffalo, New York.

Proceedings New England Historical and Genealogical Society at Annual Meeting, 4th January, 1893, Boston. List of Members of Same, January, 1893. Registers of the Same for July and October, 1892, and January, 1893.

Brown University Catalogue, 1892-3, Providence, Rhode Island.

State Library Bulletin, Albany, 1893, University of New York.

University Extension Bulletins for September, October, November, 1892, New York.

Annual Report of University of California, 1892, Sacramento, California.

Americana, Catalogue 1892-119, Karl Kierseman, Leipzig, Germany.

Dedham, Massachusetts, Historical Register, July and October, 1892, and January and April, 1893, Dedham Historical Society.

Hyde Park, Massachusetts, Historical Record, 1892, Hyde Park, Massachusetts.

Catalogue of Yale University, 1892 and 1893.

Apponyi Library, Bernard Quaritch, 15 Piccadilly, London.

The New England Biblioplist. John Ward Dean, editor.

These contributions make a valuable acquisition to our library, which has already assumed such goodly proportions, and will add greatly both to its general and historical interest, as the years that are to come roll gradually on.

XII. *Memoir of Dr. Gilman Kimball. By Dr. D. N. Patterson. Read May 2, 1893.*

It is perhaps a sufficiently rare occurrence that it falls to the lot of one member of the medical profession — nearly forty years after — to prepare a memorial of the physician who attended at the birth of the writer. Yet I well remember on a certain occasion when I had rendered some assistance to Dr. Kimball, at an operation which he performed at the Lowell Hospital, on our way home he thanked me for what I had done, and in a kindly word of encouragement felicitously remarked that he remembered seeing me at one time when he didn't think I would amount to much; in fact, did not expect that I would live twenty minutes.

It was that scholarly gentleman and gifted writer, Mr. James T. Fields, who, referring to the collection of portraits that adorned his home, on one occasion said, "These are my assembled guests, who dropped in years ago and staid with me without the form of invitation or demand on my time or thought. They are my eloquent, silent partners for life, and I trust they will dwell here as long as I do. Some of them I have known intimately; several of them lived in other times; but they are all my friends in a certain sense. To converse with them and of them —

“ ‘When to the sessions of sweet, silent thought
I summon up remembrance of things past’ —

is one of the delights of my existence, and I am never

tired of answering questions about them, or gossiping of my own free will as to their every-day life and manners."

It is with something of the homage with which Mr. Field was wont to regard his "companions on the wall," that the members of this association refer to the collection of pen-portraits which for a quarter of a century they have been collecting from the archives of our local history.

The fathers of our city who sleep within

"The low green tent
Whose curtain never outward swings,"

were once where we stand to-day. If we read their record aright we cannot fail to see that many of them — though sometimes in an humble and secluded sphere — set forth examples of high living, high thinking, and energetic action for their associates and the world's good. Such retrospects cannot but give us a more abiding faith in these men, who shaped the destiny of our city, and to whom we of to-day, and those who shall come after us, cannot but feel a sense of perpetual obligation.

Ten years ago it was the privilege of the writer of this essay to prepare a series of papers containing "Reminiscences of the early physicians of Lowell and vicinity." These papers, fifteen in number, and containing thirty-two sketches, first appeared in the *Lowell Courier*. Subsequently the manuscripts were purchased by the Old Residents' Association, and they now comprise the fourth number of Vol. II. of their published contributions. When those papers were completed there were then living in this city, and engaged in the active practice of their profession, only five physicians who were located here prior to 1860. These were Dr. John O. Green (the first president of this association), Dr. Joel Spalding, Dr.

Nathan Allen, Dr. Charles A. Savory, and Dr. Gilman Kimball. ' .

A decade has passed, and all these men, in the order in which their names are given above, have passed beyond the scenes of their earthly labors. They were veterans in years and in accomplishments, and were honored and loved by friends and neighbors, to whom they were endeared by the ready help they afforded in times of suffering and affliction. They have so recently left us that the mention of their names recalls their familiar faces to the youngest person in this hall to-night. Of two of these gentlemen separate papers touching upon their lives and professional characters are now to be found among the publications of this society: one, that of Dr. John O. Green, being an able and exhaustive autobiography, and the other, a memorial of Dr. Nathan Allen, prepared by myself. Reference to Dr. Joel Spalding was fittingly made by the president in his annual report in 1888. Of the late Dr. Charles A. Savory, a gentleman of the old school, of sound judgment, dignified bearing, and of wide and diversified attainments, the president, Mr. Benjamin Walker, has already spoken in his able address which was read one year ago.

I trust you will pardon this seeming digression from the subject of this paper, my apology being that it is not the object of this association, or the intent of those who contribute to its publications, to indulge in ante-mortem flattery of the living or mere fulsome eulogies of the dead, but rather to place upon record, for future generations, a chronicle of the events and incidents of every-day history as they occur in this beloved and peaceful city, which will be of interest to those who shall live here in the years to come. These events and circumstances, it must be borne

in mind, are as real and vital to us as are those of other and larger cities to their inhabitants.

A little less than one year ago — July 27, 1892 — Dr. Gilman Kimball, who was the last survivor of the earlier physicians in Lowell, died at his residence in this city, at the advanced age of eighty-seven years.

It is to a brief resumé of his personal life and character, with special reference to his high attainments as a physician and surgeon, that I invite your attention this evening.

Concerning his birth and early education a brief paragraph must suffice. Dr. Kimball was born in New Chester (now Hill), New Hampshire, December 8, 1804. His father, Ebenezer Kimball, was born in Wrentham, Massachusetts. At an early age he moved to Antrim, New Hampshire, where he married Polly Aiken, eldest daughter of Deacon James Aiken, who was the first settler in the town. Soon after his marriage he moved to New Chester, New Hampshire, where he continued in active business life for forty years, and where the subject of this sketch was born.

Dr. Kimball received his early education in the public schools of the town in which he lived, and at the age of twenty began the study of medicine. During his term of pupilage he availed himself of advantages derived from several different instructors. A portion of his time was spent under the tuition of the medical faculty of Dartmouth College. He also spent two years in Boston in the office of Dr. Edward Reynolds, at the same time attending lectures in the Harvard Medical School, and clinics at the Massachusetts General Hospital. He also became a daily attendant at the United States Marine Hospital at Chelsea, where he had large opportunities for

the study of disease, and special advantages for the practice of surgery. He graduated as doctor of medicine at Dartmouth Medical College in 1826.

In 1827 he commenced the practice of his profession in Chicopee, Massachusetts. Two years later he left his practice in that town to avail himself of the more extended opportunities of professional study in Europe, where he secured advantages which, in those days, could not be obtained in this country.

To this audience, who so well knew Dr. Kimball, it seems hardly necessary to say that for surgery he had a peculiar predilection, and, at the outset, an unusual aptitude for this department of his profession. To improve himself in this line of work he placed himself under the tuition of Professor Auguste Berard, assistant professor of anatomy in the leading school of medicine in Paris, from whom he received daily instructions both in anatomy and operative surgery.

“ For general instruction in surgery he selected the Hotel Dieu, not only from its being the largest and, in many respects, the best-appointed hospital in Paris, but from its having at the head of its surgical department the distinguished surgeon, Baron Dupuytren, at that time the most popular, as well as the ablest, teacher of surgery on the continent of Europe ; in this respect holding the same position in France that Sir Astley Cooper did in England. From this eminent surgeon he received an autograph certificate, stating the fact of his daily attendance, both in the hospital and at his clinical lectures, from August 24, 1829, to July 1, 1830.”

In the fall of 1830 he returned to this country, and soon began practice in the town of Lowell, where he continued to reside for over sixty years, which, with the

exception of that of Dr. John O. Green. was the longest period of practice of any physician in this city.

As a physician Dr. Kimball was skillful, conscientious, and faithful to his patients, and enjoyed the confidence and personal regard of numerous families in this community. It is too often forgotten that the highest function of a good physician is to restore the *morale* to discouraged and disheartened families. Nothing is more painful to a medical man than to be called to attend an absolutely incurable disease; and yet some of his noblest work is done in just this class of cases. It is discouraging to the medical attendant to feel that "the skeleton hand is ever just in advance of his own;" that the unequal warfare he wages can terminate only in defeat. But by judicious care and tenderness, and by palliating suffering, he may at least smooth the road to the dark river, comforting patient and friends alike, and at the last may give a peaceful exit from the scenes of this life to the realities beyond.

Dr. Kimball abhorred quackery wherever found, and his disgust and indignation at all forms of hypocrisy, charlatanism, and dishonesty among the members of the profession were sometimes clothed in vigorous and pungent language. He was ever charitable and considerate of the early efforts of the young physician, and he did much to improve the standard of professional achievement and etiquette among his contemporaries. His influence, too, on the younger members of the profession was always and everywhere encouraging.

In 1839 the Lowell (corporation) Hospital was established, and at a meeting of the directors of the different manufacturing corporations who composed the official board of the institution, Dr. Kimball was unanimously

elected physician in charge. That he faithfully fulfilled the arduous duties of that responsible position is well attested by the fact that he was retained in that position for twenty-six consecutive years.

In 1842 he was elected to succeed the brilliant Dr. Willard Parker of New York — one of Chelmsford's gifted sons — as professor of surgery in the medical college at Woodstock, Vermont, and in the following year he was chosen to fill a similar position in the Berkshire Medical Institution at Pittsfield, Massachusetts. For a presidential period of four years he filled these responsible and honored positions with great fidelity to his trusts, and was unremitting in his efforts to further advance the high standing of his profession. A medical gentleman, formerly of this city, who sat under his teaching at Woodstock, has told me that as an instructor his lectures were plain, practical expositions of the truths and fundamental principles of the science of medicine, and contained, in substance, the results of his own wide reading and observation.

An anecdote is related of him while a professor in that institution, which shows his manly independence, courage, and Christian courtesy, when placed in an unusual and trying position. The circumstances were as follows: At the opening of one of the college terms two colored lads became members of the class. Their presence at once awakened a decided aversion on the part of the other students, which soon ripened into revolt, and they openly declared that they would not continue to attend lectures in that institution if these "gentlemen of color" were allowed to remain.

This state of affairs soon reached the ears of the faculty, and a meeting of the board was called to see what action should be taken. After a careful considera-

tion of the matter — to their honor be it said — they finally decided that, as nothing derogatory to the character and scholarship of these students could be alleged, and as the only charge brought against them was their *color*, they should be allowed to remain in the school, even if every white man in the class should leave. The question then arose, who should announce their decision to the class? Lots were cast, and it fell to Dr. Kimball to inform the students of the faculty's determination. He was equal to the time and the occasion.

At the close of his afternoon's lecture he quietly stated that he desired every member of the class to be present at his morning's lecture as he had something of importance to say to them. He also sent word to the colored students that he wished them to meet him in the laboratory a few minutes before the lecture hour. At the appointed time they were promptly on hand, and he plainly told them the feelings of the class toward them, and also the position of the faculty, adding that so long as their deportment and recitations were satisfactory to their instructors they should be subjected to no personal insult or physical injury from their associates. Then, entering the lecture-room, and placing one of them on the right side of his desk and the other on the left, he announced to the class the decision of himself and colleagues, and then proceeded with dignified composure, yet with suppressed emotion, to place himself on record as in favor of the equal rights of all men, upholding in strong and vigorous language the anti-slavery movement, which, in those days, was but in its infancy. In closing he admonished the members of the class that any further demonstration of abuse to these colored students would be met with prompt and unconditional expulsion from the college. It needs only to be added that these students were not again

molested, and that they finished their course with a rank which was both creditable to themselves and to the institution.

An illustration of his chivalrous character was shown on another occasion in a movement he made in behalf of the working people of Lowell, which clearly shows the true fibre of the man, as, in a certain sense, it affected his bread and butter, and well-nigh cost him his position as house physician in the Lowell Hospital. Certain abuses and practices had gradually crept into the management of some of the boarding-houses on several of the corporations, which seriously affected the health of their patrons, and also reflected on their deportment and morals. For a long time these practices, though well known by several of the agents, were winked at by these officials and no action taken on their part to remedy the evils. These facts repeatedly coming to the attention of Dr. Kimball, he published a manly and fearless letter, in which he publicly called the attention of our citizens to the existing evils, and censured the officials for their dereliction of duty, and pointed out a way by which these existing abuses could be remedied. It goes without saying that a reform in this direction was speedily inaugurated, and no more complaints were heard from that direction, as their causes had been removed.

In 1861 Dr. Kimball accompanied General Butler as brigade surgeon, first to Annapolis and soon after to Fortress Monroe. To him was given the honor of superintending the organization of the first military hospitals established for the reception of the sick and wounded of the Union army. Subsequently, when General Butler was appointed to the command of the Department of the Gulf, he was commissioned to serve on his staff as medical director. Soon after this appointment he was physically prostrated by

exposure to a malarial climate and obliged to return home. Once again he attempted to fulfill his duty to his country. This time he was ordered to join the army of General McClellan, then encamped beyond Yorktown. "He had scarcely reached his new post, however, when he was again prostrated and forced to return home on leave of absence." After these repeated prostrations he sent his resignation to the surgeon-general. It was accepted, and he was honorably discharged on the ground of physical disability. It was ever after a source of regret to him that he was unable to serve until the close of the war the cause which he loved and the country that he honored.

The passing hour admonishes me that I must hasten to consider the special achievements which he accomplished in surgery, and which have placed his name high on the roll of medical history: I refer to his eminent career as an ovariologist.

Dr. Kimball was one of the pioneers in the practice of ovariectomy in this country. There is no other one operation known to medical science, that early met with such decided opposition on every hand as did this branch of operative surgery. The mortality was large. Of the first three hundred cases operated upon in this country and abroad more than forty per cent. proved fatal, and a third of the remainder were incomplete and unsuccessful.

It was denounced by the general profession, in the medical societies, and in all the medical colleges, to say nothing of the unmerited and bitter opprobrium of the laity, who looked on the operation as little short of murder. Dr. Kimball's first operation of the kind was performed in 1855. At that time the whole number of surgeons in this country who had ever performed this operation was less than ten. Before his death he had performed ovariectomy three hundred times.

He also has the distinction of being the first surgeon to perform successfully the removal of the whole of the uterus based upon a correctly established diagnosis. He also performed this operation twelve times, with six recoveries.

Pardon me for a moment's digression from my subject, as it is with professional pride, and should be of more than a passing interest to our citizens generally, when I state that from the ranks of the medical fraternity of this city, five of their members have attained more or less distinction as ovariologists, and won reputations not confined to this city, state, or New England. Their names are Dr. Gilman Kimball, Dr. Walter Burnham, Dr. Charles A. Savory, Dr. Lorenzo S. Fox, and Dr. John C. Irish. I doubt if, outside of the large hospital centres, there can be found in any other city as many surgeons, in proportion to the whole number of physicians, who have gained equal distinction.

Dr. Kimball's surgical activity was not wholly confined to gynecological cases. He performed nearly, if not all, of the so-called capital operations in surgery. The amputation at the hip joint, which is the most hazardous of operations, he performed twice, one of which cases was successful. The ligation or tying of the large arteries which are distributed through different parts of the body, and which require, on the part of the surgeon, an accurate anatomical knowledge, a cool nerve, and a steady hand, he has the reputation of having performed all these operations successfully. At one time he removed a diseased elbow joint, the wound healing by new formation of tissues, the patient finally recovering its use so that he was able to serve in the Union army as an able-bodied soldier. In addition to these he performed all of the operations common to general surgery. As an operator

he was cool, and fully prepared for all emergencies. He avoided a needless display of instruments, and, although having plenty in reserve, used but few. Conservatism was one of his most decided characteristics. Bold, fearless, and courageous if the knife must be used, conservative and unyielding as adamant if the necessity did not exist. His name will pass into history as one of the foremost and leading surgeons of New England, if not of this country.

Dr. Kimball was a pleasing writer, and contributed largely to the medical literature of his day. His papers consisted largely of the results of his own observations and studies in the different branches of his profession, and were extensively quoted by the leading medical journals both in this country and abroad.

His high standing in the medical profession which he so creditably filled for three score years is evinced by the many honors which, from time to time, were bestowed upon him. He became a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1832, and was elected president of the same in 1878, received honorary degree of M. D. from Williams College in 1837, and from Yale College in 1856, also the degree of A. M. from Dartmouth College in 1839. He was elected Fellow of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the University of New York in 1843, elected member of the American Gynæcological Society in 1878, and president of the same in 1882. Only a short time before his death he was elected honorary member of the Obstetrical Society of the District of Columbia, and of the Trinity Society of Dallas, Texas.

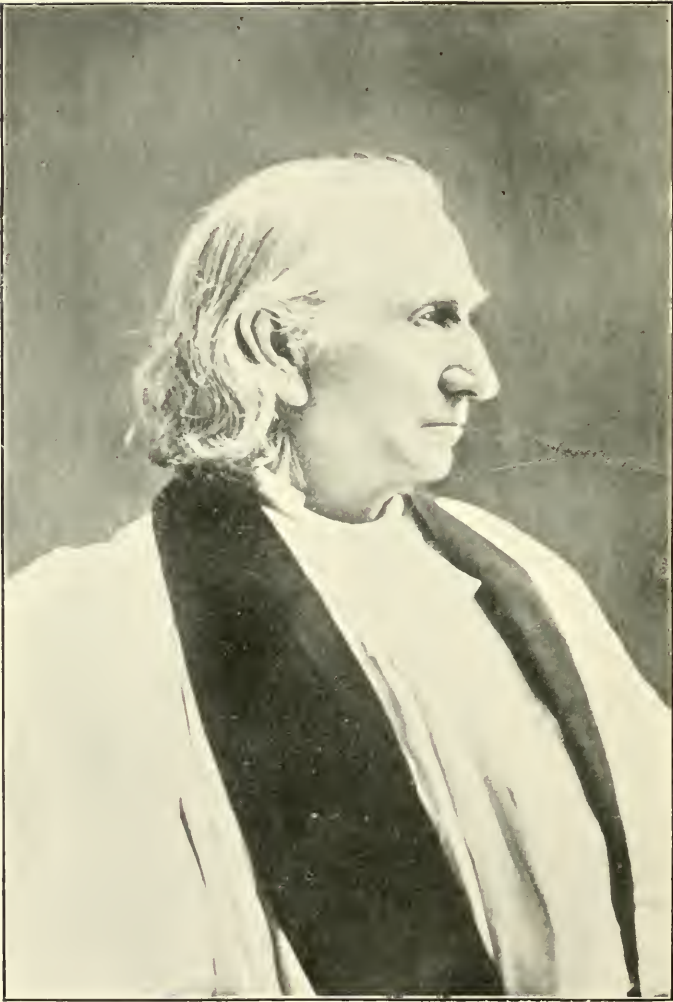
Dr. Kimball served on the school board of our city in 1832, '39, and '43, and was also a director in the First National Bank from its organization, but aside from these he held no other local public positions, as the demands of

his profession occupied his attention so closely that he had no time to attend to political and other secular duties. Dr. Kimball was a member of this association, and also one of the original members of the Kirk Street Congregational Society, in whose welfare he always took a sincere and paternal interest.

He was twice married—his first wife being Mary Dewar, eldest daughter of Dr. Henry Dewar of Edinburgh, Scotland. She was a woman of kind and benevolent disposition, and of rare intellectual attainments, and was well and widely known in the social and religious circles of the early days of our city. His second wife was Miss Isabella Defries, daughter of Capt. Henry T. Defries of Nantucket, Massachusetts, who, with one son by his first wife, Mr. John H. Kimball, a well-known gentleman of this city, survives him.

As previously stated, Dr. Kimball's career of medical service in this city covered a period of over sixty years, and it was not until within a few months of his death that he entirely relinquished practice. He lived to see all the contemporaries of his early and middle professional life cross the "inevitable threshold," and when he himself drew near the boundary line between the seen and the unseen, a kind and merciful Providence spared him from long and tedious weeks of pain and suffering. The record closes here, but the life continues, and

"On that far-off, that unseen shore,
Shall we not meet as heretofore
Some summer morning?"



REV. THEODORE EDSON.

XIII. *Rev. Theodore Edson, S. T. D.; a Centennial Tribute. By Rev. Edward Cowley, D. D. Read August 24, 1893, by Ephraim Brown.*

THEODORE EDSON was born in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, on the twenty-fourth day of August (known in the Calendar of the Church as the Feast of St. Bartholomew), in the year 1793, and died at St. Anne's parsonage on the 25th day of June, 1883, in the ninetieth year of his age, and in the sixtieth year of his ministry in Lowell. Among the gentlemen who entered the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church largely through his influence, was the Rev. Edward Cowley, D. D., late of New York, now no more.* At the invitation of the Theodore Edson Association, shortly after Dr. Edson's death, Dr. Cowley commenced the preparation of a tribute to his memory, which, however, in consequence of his sickness, was not delivered at the appointed time, and which, as the manuscript shows, was never completed. There are blank spaces in different places, in which, it is presumed, the facts of Dr. Edson's life were to have been narrated; but the absence of these facts has become of little importance since the publication of Miss Elizabeth

*Dr. Cowley died in New York, April 20, 1891, in his sixty-fourth year. His monuments are the Shepherd's Fold and the Children's Fold, both of which continue to receive the municipal support which he procured for them under enactments of the New York Legislature. His published works are "God in Creation," "God Enthroned in Redemption," "Jacob and Japheth, Bible Growth and Religion from Abraham to Daniel," and the "Writers of Genesis and Related Topics," all published by T. Whittaker, Bible House, New York.

Edson's memoir of her father in the fourth volume of our "Contributions." Fragmentary as the following tribute confessedly is, it is so far complete as to be deemed not unworthy to be read on this centennial of Dr. Edson's birth, before a society of which he was an active member from the start.

On Saturday afternoon, March 6, 1824, a one-horse chaise arrived from Boston, containing two of the most remarkable men that have ever lived in Lowell. One of these was Kirk Boott, the agent of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company; the other was the Rev. Theodore Edson, then in Deacon's Orders, who came here by Mr. Boott's procurement, and commenced his ministry of sixty years on the following day.* Referring to this event in a sermon preached and printed fifty years later, Dr. Edson says:

"I was not originally bred to the ministerial profession, and it was not till I thought myself inwardly moved by the Holy Spirit, nor till Divine Providence seemed to favor, that I ventured to turn me to an educational preparation for the sacred calling; and I proceeded in preparatory exercises with an anxious apprehension as to whether my great desire for the work of the ministry were a natural feeling merely and no indication of the mind of the Holy Spirit. The nearer I approached the point of hopeful admission to Holy Orders, the more fearfully responsible the office appeared, and yet the more desirable the work. I entered the ministry with a very deep sense of unworthiness of so great an honor, and with intense gratitude to God for putting me in the sacred calling.

*For Mr. Boott's account of Dr. Edson's coming to Lowell, transcribed from his interesting diary, see the *Lowell Morning Mail* for March 8, 1884. For Dr. Edson's memoir of Mr. Boott, see the first volume of our "Contributions," pp. 87-97.

The thought of wages did not occur to me as a subject, the consideration of which was to have any weight on my decision for or against the ministry as a profession."

Would that all ministers of religion entered the ministry with equal purity of purpose and humility of heart, and with equal respect for the sacred calling! Well did Dr. John O. Green, his friend for sixty years, remark that "the consistency which magnified his office was the complement of the humility that made little of the man."*

During the years of my personal intimacy with Dr. Edson I had the curiosity to learn who, among those with whom he had come in contact, had exerted the most influence in making him what he was. During his college life no small influence was exerted over him by President Kirkland. Still greater influence was exerted over him by the Rev. Dr. Samuel F. Jarvis, the first rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, who prepared him for the ministry. Next to the influence of Dr. Jarvis, probably no man's influence over him during the earlier years of his ministry was equal to that of the Rev. Dr. J. S. J. Gardiner of Trinity Church, Boston. It was Dr. Gardiner who recommended him to Mr. Boott for clerical work here. It was Dr. Gardiner who introduced him to the daughter of Bishop Parker, and afterwards married him to her. It was Dr. Gardiner who first preached in Lowell in exchange with him. "Of his own proposing," Dr. Edson says, "he exchanged with me repeatedly during the first summer, and his expressions of good-will and approval were very encouraging to me." It was largely from the example of Dr. Gardiner that he learned to read the liturgy with naturalness, with grace and dignity, and with devotional fervor such as few can command. As

*Dr. Green's tribute to Dr. Edson in the third volume of our "Contributions," p. 31.

men said of the Rev. Charles Kingsley, "*he prayed the prayers.*" About 1828, when Trinity Church concluded to elect an assistant for Dr. Gardiner, their choice fell upon Mr. Edson, who would, undoubtedly, have gone from St. Anne's to Trinity but for the apprehension that, by reason of the peculiar situation existing here, the experiment of an Episcopal Church in Lowell at that time would fail if he then left St. Anne's. Had Mr. Edson gone to Trinity as Dr. Gardiner's assistant, he would probably have succeeded him in the rectorship of that important parish upon Dr. Gardiner's death in 1830.

In his "Figures of the Past" Josiah Quincy says, "Dr. Gardiner was the best reader in the town; and his reading of the liturgy, and especially of the burial service, is never to be forgotten." Remembering what sublimity Dr. Gardiner added to that wonderful fifteenth chapter of the First of Corinthians, which has so often soothed and strengthened the hearts of the children of men in affliction, Mr. Quincy regrets that he cannot begin to "clothe these words with the sublimity" with which the voice of Dr. Gardiner invested them.* To all who remember the impressiveness with which Dr. Edson read that immortal discourse, it is interesting to remember how great was the example which he early adopted for his guidance and instruction.

In looking over the sermon preached by Dr. Gardiner at Trinity Church, at the funeral of Bishop Parker, December 9, 1805, I have been gratified and surprised to observe how much of it is entirely applicable to Dr. Edson. Theodore Edson was less than twelve years old when that sermon was preached, and probably never saw the bishop,

*Quincy's "Figures of the Past," pp. 314, 315. See, also, his "History of the Boston Atheneum," of which Dr. Gardiner was one of the principal founders.

who died without having performed any episcopal function. But although he was not directly influenced by his wife's father, he was considerably influenced, indirectly, by the traditions relating to him, which were preserved in the bishop's family, in Trinity parish, "and in all the region round about." He was thoroughly familiar with this funeral sermon, which was regarded as one of Dr. Gardiner's best pulpit efforts; and, perhaps, one of the reasons why so much of this sermon is so applicable to him is that he cherished to the last the memory of Bishop Parker, and ever regarded him as a model clergyman.

Speaking of Bishop Parker as a man Dr. Gardiner says, "he was endowed with great and distinguished virtues. With a sound understanding he united a most humane and feeling heart. No child of misfortune was ever turned away from his door without relief. . . . To avarice he was an entire stranger. He despised money for its own sake, and valued it only as necessary to procure the conveniences of life and relieve the wants of the poor and unfortunate. . . . As a citizen, he was in the highest degree useful. There is not a society in town, established for the promotion of public good, or private benevolence, of which he was not a distinguished member, and in most of them an active officer. Whatever tended to improve or ameliorate the condition of his fellow citizens was the constant subject of his care and attention, and he zealously co-operated in every plan devised for that purpose. . . . To the widow and orphan he was the comforter, adviser, and friend."

Speaking of him as a clergyman Dr. Gardiner says, "Bishop Parker was equalled by few. He read with propriety and impressive sublimity our excellent liturgy, and performed all the ordinances of religion in a manner

best calculated to impress the hearer with their importance. . . His discourses were serious and solid, explaining some important doctrine, or enforcing some moral virtue. He was deeply impressed with the necessity of inculcating the essential doctrines of Christianity which peculiarly distinguish it from other religions, and from a mere system of ethics. . . But, when not engaged in the duties of his profession, he carefully avoided religious controversy, fully sensible that disputes on theoretical points rather engender strife than promote the cause of Christianity, and that combatants, in contests of this nature, frequently depart alienated but not convinced. To his professional duties he was scrupulously attentive, . . and observed all the fasts and festivals of the church with conscientious exactness. . . His attention to the poor, and to the sick, was unremitting. He administered every spiritual and temporal consolation which their situation demanded, and cheerfully sacrificed all engagements to the calls of duty."*

There is much more in this sermon on Bishop Parker which might be incorporated in this tribute to his son-in-law; but these quotations must suffice. They are given here in preference to any words of my own, because they have a triple value, being interesting as specimens of Dr. Gardiner's pulpit style, interesting as a correct appreciation of Bishop Parker, and also of his son-in-law, Dr. Edson.

*For memoirs of Bishop Parker, Dr. Jarvis, and Dr. Gardiner, see the fifth volume of Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit." A portrait of Dr. Gardiner will be found in the sketch of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Boston, 1780—1880, by the lamented Phillips Brooks, in the third volume of the "Memorial History of Boston." Bishop Brooks says that for thirty-seven years, 1792—1830, Dr. Gardiner was the best known and most influential of the Episcopal ministers of Boston. His broad and finished scholarship, his strong and positive manhood, his genial hospitality, his fatherly affection, and his eloquence and wit, made him, through all these years, a marked and powerful person, not merely in the church, but in the town."

To the present generation Bishop Parker has become the shadow of a name. He had six sons and six daughters, all but one of whom survived him. They were all persons of culture. The voice of one of the sons was often heard in St. Anne's pulpit until silenced by death. The most distinguished of them was Richard Greene Parker, well known as a teacher, and as the author of school books. Among the books published by him was one on Natural Philosophy, a series of National Readers, and "Aids to English Composition." The last far excelled anything of the kind previously published, and in some respects has not been surpassed even yet.

In his fiftieth anniversary sermon Dr. Edson tells us that in his early days Mr. Boott occasionally reminded him of the importance, as well as the difficulty, of so "ministering the church" as to make the services acceptable and satisfactory to the promiscuous population then gathering here. In order to do this, yet without any compromise of principle, he became a "Broad Churchman;" not in the party sense which that name has since acquired, but in the sense of tolerant, broad-minded, comprehensive churchmanship. Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Unitarians and Universalists, as well as Episcopalians, for many months worshipped together in St. Anne's Church, and found Dr. Edson a helpful pastor; and when those other than Episcopalians had become sufficiently numerous to form churches of their own, they did so without any loss of respect for the church in which they had sojourned (so to speak) or for its ever-faithful minister. To illustrate the friendly relations which existed between Dr. Edson and the people of other denominations, I will here mention two or three well-attested facts. When the Rev. John N. Maffitt laid the corner-stone of the First Methodist Church on Chapel

Hill, in 1826, St. Anne's Church was offered for his use and was accepted. The use of the church was also freely granted to the friends of the Rev. Paul Dean (Restorationist), for his services. There probably were other occasions when similar courtesies were granted to others. I have myself seen, on a Christmas Day, the Rev. Dr. Blanchard, Congregationalist, the Rev. G. F. Cox, Methodist, and the Rev. Dr. Miles,* Unitarian, kneeling at St. Anne's chancel and receiving from Dr. Edson's hands the bread and wine of the Holy Communion. For many years, to my personal knowledge, it was Dr. Edson's practice, upon communion days, to invite "all persons present, members of other churches, of whatever denomination, to remain and partake with us of this holy sacrament."

The large number of confirmations—1951—the still more remarkable number of baptisms—4164—recorded in St. Anne's Parish Register in his time, and the large attendance at both the Sunday Schools, only partly indicate the fatherly care which Dr. Edson always took of the young. It is noticeable that the confirmations considerably exceed the marriages, which are 1402. Two thousand two hundred and twenty burials enable us to imagine how often he stood

" Beside the bed where parting life was laid,
And sorrow, guilt, and pain by turn displayed ;"
And how often, " at his control,
Despair and anguish fled the troubled soul."

He was always mindful of the minutest matters that minister to the relief of the sorrowing. It happened at

*A few weeks after Dr. Edson's death, Dr. Miles occupied, for a day, his old pulpit in Lowell, and preached a sermon on Faithfulness, in which he paid a generous tribute to Dr. Edson's memory, and suggested that a statue of him be erected in front of St. Anne's Church, or of the new City Hall.

the funeral of a worthy young man* many years ago, that the quartet choir which then supplied the music, by some mistake was absent. Dr. Edson was well aware that one of the favorite hymns of that young man was that beginning—

“The morning flowers display their sweets,
And gay their silken leaves unfold;”

and he selected that hymn for use on that occasion. The choir being absent he did not announce it in the usual form, but in his tenderest and mellowest tones read it through from beginning to end—a very welcome service to the bereaved family.

Like Bishop Parker and Dr. Gardiner, Dr. Edson, as already observed, excelled as a reader of the liturgy. While he read every part of it well, there were some parts of it which he invested with a tenderness and depth of devotional fervor which no other man, to my knowledge, ever equalled. One of these was the following clause in the litany: “That it may please Thee to defend and provide for the fatherless children and widows, and all who are desolate and oppressed.” (No wonder that one who prayed thus through a long life should have founded the orphanage that now bears his name.) Another was the clause in the prayer for the whole state of Christ’s Church Militant, beseeching the Father of All “to succor, help, and comfort all those who, in this transitory life, are in sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity.”

Other passages might be quoted, but these show how broad and deep and tender were his human sympathies. And how true and constant he was as a friend! He counted among his friendships some which had lasted thirty, forty, fifty, aye sixty years, without interruption.

* No doubt the reference is to Mr. William Cowley, the oldest brother of Dr. Edward Cowley, who died in 1847.

I can never forget his unbroken kindness and friendship for me. I can never forget that, in the darkest night of my life, he gave me the assurance of his undiminished esteem, invited me to come to St. Anne's once more, and added, "You will be as welcome to my pulpit and altar as ever."

"O good grey head that all men knew,
Who stood four square to all the winds that blew."

His ninetieth year was drawing to a close when the final summons came; and he was gathered to his fathers, as he had so often prayed that he might be, "in the communion of the Catholic Church, in the confidence of a certain faith, in the comfort of a reasonable, religious, and holy hope, in favor with his God, and in perfect charity with the world." To the city in which he lived, to the people whom he loved and labored for, he has left an example of manliness and of saintliness by which he, being dead, yet speaketh.

XIV. *Personal Reminiscences of Lowell, Fifty Years Ago, by Paul Hill. Read Aug. 24, 1893, by Hon. Samuel P. Hadley.*

PUTTING gently aside the sense of loss and loneliness that necessarily comes to one on his return to the "scenes of his childhood," there is something of hearty pleasure in wandering about the old localities, in hunting out the haunts and landmarks of the early days, and in finding here and there some of the old company that once made merry together as only boys may.

After an absence of nearly thirty years, coming back to Lowell gives my memory a start in the direction of "Lowell as it was in the thirties and forties," and the names and faces of those early contemporaries rise before me incessantly, meet me in my daily rounds, and remind me of many an episode or anecdote that belongs to the past.

Two of the most interesting characters in the early history of Lowell were Captain Elisha Ford and Moses Shattuck. Both these men were in the employment of the Locks and Canals Company; and the Captain, who lived at Pawtucket Falls, built the main dam in the river, and the head gates of the old Pawtucket Canal. He had charge of the dam, the head gates, which governed the flow of water in the canals, and the three sets of locking gates, through which great quantities of merchandise, wood, timber, brick, and lime, were passed, via the

“Swamp Locks,” into the lower canal, finally being delivered at the lower landing in the rear of what is now the police station.

Captain Ford was a peculiar man; a good mechanic, and something more than an ordinary thinker. He bore dictation from no one, and ruled with stubborn firmness over his workmen. But he loved a practical joke and a good story; he always enjoyed telling (and he would pull out his snuff box and partake of its invigorating contents as he began the tale) of how one of the members of his family had shot an Indian, who was standing in the doorway of the old mill that was situated at the head of Pawtucket Falls. The Captain and the three McFarlins, who also lived at the falls, used to spend many hours on the dam, fishing for salmon; they used nets, and would scoop in one big fish after another, weighing anywhere from twenty to forty pounds each. We “boys” used to go fishing with the old Captain oftentimes, and I remember one particular night when we went on to the river in an old canoe and picked up off the dam a boatful of slippery lamprey-eels. “Lamprey-eel” fishing in those days was not only great sport, but a source of income to the fishermen, who sold them to the farmers up and down the Merrimack, and they, in turn, salted down the fish for winter eating.

At the foot of the falls on the island, near where Aiken Street Bridge now is, there was a “shad and alewife fishery,” owned by the Adamses and Howards of Chelmsford. I wish I could remember the name of the old man who fished from the Dracut shore. He always allowed himself one quart of New England rum every day while fishing.

Moses Shattuck had general charge of all the outside work done by the Proprietors of the Locks and

Canals, and he was one of the most indefatigable workers I ever saw. And in those days we never heard of eight or ten hours of labor, but worked from twelve to fifteen hours always. He was a large man, broad-shouldered, with very long arms. Indeed, perhaps no man in Lowell in those days was more generally known, at least by sight, than Moses Shattuck. Once seen he was never forgotten. He wore always a blue dress coat, with brass buttons, over which he wore a short farmer's frock, tied about his waist, with a big knot in front. A red bandanna neckerchief always enveloped his throat.

Mr. Shattuck died very suddenly, and the morning after his death, it having been suggested that a picture be taken of him, a number of us went to his house, and dressed him in the same clothes that had always seemed to give him his marked individuality. We then propped him in a chair and a most satisfactory daguerreotype was the result of our willing labor. And a few of those pictures are still extant. Mr. Shattuck married a Miss Butman, whose old homestead may still be seen in what is now "the Oaklands," and during part of their married life they lived in the little white cottage, that was surrounded with shrubbery and flowers, which will be remembered by the old residents of that early date. The cottage was located on the banks of the Merrimack Canal near the spot where Wentworth Block stands. And from this cottage through to Market Street ran the "Mall," which was afterwards greatly beautified by the planting of many varieties of trees and shrubs, the thoughtful work of William Boott, who was then agent of the Lowell Machine Shop.

It was during these years that the well-known William Wyman was postmaster. In the presidential campaign of '32, among the many excited politicians no one

was a more enthusiastic Jackson man than Mr. Wyman. After that presidential election there was held, in the old City Hall, a great Democratic jollification meeting. Possibly there are many still alive who remember the excitement that waxed hotter and hotter as the hours passed. In the midst of the noise and agitation Mr. Wyman appeared at the door. He was dressed in full military uniform, and, standing in the doorway, shouted at the top of his voice, "The child is born, and his name is Andrew Jackson!"

How wholly unlike the city of to-day was that Lowell of our boyhood! For instance, all the ground between Lewis and Lowell Streets was low swamp-land, covered with a fair growth of trees, principally maples, and here we used very often to go partridge shooting. And speaking of shooting reminds me of the many times I was permitted, notwithstanding that I was still a boy, to accompany Joshua Conant, Phineas Adams, and Peter Taylor on some of their shooting expeditions. These men were all employed in the Merrimack Company, and afterwards made a name for themselves in one way or another. It was my good fortune to shoulder my gun and follow these three sportsmen after work was over, or by early sunrise before the active world was stirring. We used sometimes to shoot bank-swallows on the wing. These birds would gather in great quantities over the banks of sand thrown out of the mill-foundations of the Tremont Company, and, as these men prided themselves upon being capital marksmen, the rule was—"spot your bird, pick up your gun from the ground, and drop (or kill) the bird; otherwise pay a fine."

Many of these mill-foundations, the canals, and river-walls were being built about this time, and there was a famous firm of stone-mason contractors by the name of

Barr, Russell & Trull, who did much of the heavy stone work of that day. Working without aid of derrick or engine, the only machine they used for hoisting stone was a small crane, so-called, with a stationary arm, not strong enough to lift a stone weighing more than a ton. This machine was owned by the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals. Captain Russell lived on Cabot Street near the old Frank Hobbs store, which was, in those days, one of the leading places of mercantile business, and is now one of the few landmarks of the city. He was the father-in-law of the late Mr. Charles Going, the well-known and popular landlord of the American House. Mr. Barr lived in the large square house on Salem Street which Mr. Patrick Dempsey now occupies, and which has also been the home of Mr. Samuel Lawrence, agent of the Middlesex Mills, and Mr. Royal Southwick, the father of Mrs. J. C. Ayer. Mr. Trull was one of the enterprising men of Dracut, living near the Center Meeting-house.

The incidents connected with the year 1847, when the new canal was built, are always very fresh in my mind. In these days the building of this canal was looked upon as one of the greatest pieces of engineering ever accomplished, and many visitors came to look at the work. Indeed, from early summer one noted man after another, engineer, lawyer, or government official, was to be seen inspecting the work, until Thanksgiving Day. Then the water was allowed to flow into the canal by blowing up the coffer-dam with two barrels of Whipple's Best Gunpowder.

Among the many distinguished guests how well I remember the arrival of Daniel Webster and his wife. Mr. Sam Lawrence (it was at this time that he was agent of the Middlesex Mills) brought them to the head of Pawtucket Street, and, stopping the carriage not far from

where the bridge now crosses the "New Canal," he called to me. When I reached them I found, to my surprise and delight, that Mr. Lawrence wished me to meet Mr. Webster, and to take the party to the bottom of the canal. Mr. Lawrence then sat with the driver, and I joined Mr. and Mrs. Webster. After following the road that had been constructed for the company's convenience in rear of the old Stone Tavern (then kept by Major Samuel Coburn, and now the beautiful estate that has so generously been given to the city for the Young Women's Home,) we reached the bottom of the canal. Mr. Webster jumped out of the carriage, and stood gazing long and silently at the great ledge that was being blasted out, and at the rough bottom of the falls. Presently turning to me, and looking intently in my face, he exclaimed, with majestic emphasis, "The stupendous works of Almighty God are so well adapted to the wants of men!" During that summer Mr. Lawrence also brought to the canal his brother, Abbott Lawrence, who was then our minister to England.

Later in the season as I was walking down Pawtucket Street I saw an open barouche coming toward me. When I was opposite the carriage I was so overcome with reverence for the venerable person I saw in the carriage that I stood still, pulled off my hat, and made a low bow! A moment later I met a friend who asked me if I knew whom I had just passed. It was John Quincy Adams.

Speaking of the canals of early Lowell, the completion of the Boston and Lowell Railroad was the death blow to the old Middlesex Canal. This water-highway had monopolized the commercial trade between the two cities since the very beginning of Lowell's existence, also doing a large business in heavy freighting for Nashua and Concord, New Hampshire.

And because of this activity the village of Middlesex sixty years ago was a lively, busy centre for one of its size; with a shoemaker, tailor, and cooper, all doing good business, two grocery stores and a livery stable, besides the old and well-known firm of "Bent & Bush, Hatters." This hat factory was situated on Black Brook, and here the bodies of the hats were made; at another building, on the corner of Middlesex and Baldwin Streets, the hats were finished and trimmed. Mr. Bent and Mr. Bush were both enterprising men, public-spirited, and wide-awake for the interests of the village, but the larger cities finally drew them and their business away, as in the case of most of the trade of that day.

Then the glass factory was also located here, on the right-hand side of Baldwin Street, not far from Westford Street, but not a vestige remains of the dismal, old wooden building, black with the smoke of the big furnaces; two of the tenement houses, however, still remain that were built by the glass company.

It was a matter of great curiosity to strangers to visit this factory when the men were at work, and I remember my delight and astonishment when, as a small boy, I visited the works. As you entered you saw large fires in alcoves, and men, naked to the waist, swinging long rods to and fro. One would think they were demons in the infernal regions, the scene was so weird. They kept on swinging the rods until a cylinder was formed, two or three feet in length, and then these were taken off to be flattened and cut for window-glass. I think there were no fancy articles made in the glass works. In 1838 or '39 these works were given up in Middlesex and removed to some other place, but many of the foreigners, mostly Germans, who had come to work at this factory remained in the village, and their descendants are among our most respected citizens.

Mr. Jesse Smith kept store for a number of years at the farther end of the old Middlesex House, and Mr. Samuel Burbank in a building not standing at the present day, on the other side of the canal from the hotel. Over this store was the tailor's shop, and one could always see him at his window, sitting cross-legged on his bench. There was a weekly paper printed; I cannot say positively but I think it was *The Chelmsford Chronicle*.

There have been very few changes in the private dwellings of those days. They still remain the same, with the exception of the "Baldwin House." This was removed to another location, to give place to a new house erected by Mr. Pratt, who bought the estate. This homestead was formerly owned and occupied by Mr. Cyrus Baldwin, collector at the head of the canal, and a brother of the original engineers and planners of the canal, Loammi and George Baldwin of Medford. The house was very picturesque, situated near the canal, with a beautifully laid out garden in the rear, and with the grand old trees that still remain, the whole appearance of the place suggested to us children of those days the "manor-house" of our English story-books.

Near this estate a bridge crossed the canal, on Main Street, now Middlesex Street, and this bridge was high enough to permit boats heavily loaded with freight to pass under. Just beyond the bridge, on the north side stood a large store-house, and still beyond a stable for the accommodation of the horses employed by the company. After Mr. Baldwin resigned his position Mr. Samuel P. Hadley was chosen collector, and for more than thirty years, in fact until the canal was closed, he remained in that business.

A large quantity of freight passed the canal daily, and the "locks" were made lively by the jolly boatmen.

How well I remember the old packet-boat, with its bright green sides above the water, as it lay moored in the canal near the bridge. The morning the boat was to start on its trip to Boston a stage-coach arrived with passengers from the neighboring towns. At precisely eight o'clock a horn was sounded, and that was the signal to go on board. No fear of being left behind in those days, however, and no hurrying into the boat from the wharf. Old and young, the babies and the lunch-baskets, were soon settled; and the long day's ride began. Captain Silas Tyler, who commanded the boat for many years, was a kind and most courteous man, always endeavoring to make the passengers comfortable and happy. The boat was drawn by two horses, tandem, attached to a tow-line, and a boy rode on the leader. There were windows on both sides of this delightful "house," and I can still see the red merino curtains that, as a child, I so loved to slide back and forth on their little rings, while I stood up on the seat.

To go back to the starting place: very soon the old ladies would take out their knitting-work, the gentlemen reading the papers, and the young mothers with their children around them, all forming a happy family with none of the conventionalities of these later days. After leaving the village of Middlesex the canal ran a long distance through woods and meadows. The small shrubs, beautiful wild flowers, and berries in their seasons, all attracted our attention until we reached the first stopping-place, North Billerica. (Near the Chemical Works a portion of the old canal can still be seen in almost the same condition as it was in those days.) On the way to Wilmington we passed over an aqueduct, the ruins of which are still standing, and most picturesque from the artist's point of view. After a few more miles we reached

the locks at Woburn, and here we were allowed to leave the packet and go to the Horn Pond House, while the boat was passing through the locks. It was a dismal place to stay, even for a short time, and the ladies and children preferred to go to the house where refreshments could be had, and where the little ones could be entertained with swings, or playing games. But soon all gathered on board again, and we passed into more open country, and through larger villages, Medford and Cambridge, finally reaching Charlestown, the end of the route, at three o'clock; the following day the same packet would return to Middlesex.

But the days of packet-boats and stage-coaches are no more, although the stages remained for some time after the cars began to run between Lowell and Boston. An old Irish woman who wished to go to the city was told that she could go in one hour by rail, but it would take three to go by the coach. "Faith," said she, "I'll go by the stage and get my money's worth."

In a recent conversation that I had with one of Lowell's former residents,—a man who lived here only during part of his boyhood, but one who has always taken a keen interest in the stirring affairs of the city,—I was reminded of certain traits of character in the older men of those days that may also be remembered by others who lived in the forties.

He dwelt for some time upon the happy life he led while in connection with the office of the Lawrence Corporation, where for some years he was clerk, and during that period he formed many relations most pleasant with men and women who have since made themselves noted, as he himself has done. In short, my friend, the Hon. J. W. Patterson, ex-senator from New Hampshire, seemed full of anecdotes and pleasant memories of those

early days which he spent in Lowell, where, in a measure, he fitted for college; for as a lad in "Squire" Aiken's counting-room at the Lawrence Mills he accomplished his mathematics and read much of his Latin. The old squire would often say to him, "Stay and be a business man — but no, you're right, my boy, if you want education you'll never be happy unless you get it, get whatever else you may!" and with that he would give a helping hand in the abstruse Bailey's Algebra, or turn an idiom on the perverse page of Cæsar that would make the lesson an easy matter for the ambitious boy. And here let me add that Mr. Aiken's own son, the late Charles Aiken, afterward became professor at Dartmouth College, and has filled since then other eminent professorships.

He spoke of the early lawyers of Lowell, and immediately my friend burst out laughing over the picture he saw in his mind's eye of the famous John P. Robinson — "who couldn't vote for Governor B."

"Do you remember him," he asked, "as he used to turn the corner of Merrimack and Central Streets? On he came, regardless of passers-by, circling round the corner as far out as the curbstone would permit, his arms gesticulating, his face grimacing, as he talked to himself of whatever was uppermost in his mind. I remember how once in the old reading-room I sat idly thinking, when, all of a sudden, a man's voice broke the stillness, and, turning round, I saw Mr. Robinson in a frenzy of excitement expostulating over his newspaper and answering the dumb opponent with as much legal precision as his vehemence would permit.

"I was also reminded of the time when Durant, the founder of Wellesley College, studied law with General Butler. Just after the former had been admitted to the bar, he often used to be employed against the general,

and once in an animated case the latter claimed that his adversary, Mr. Durant, had practised before the glass while preparing his speech.

“‘Yes, may it please Your Honor,’ replied Mr. Durant, ‘but, unlike my brother Butler, I have not practised *with* the glass.’”

Those were the days when Judge Locke was judge of the Police Court, and when the names of such men as Webster and Choate were often connected with our city’s annals. Rufus Choate was noted for his illegible handwriting, and once, when these two famous antagonists were arguing a case for one of our citizens, Mr. Webster asked if he might be permitted to examine the notes prepared by Mr. Choate. When the manuscript was handed to him he looked long and attentively at the chirography, and then gravely but emphatically tore the paper into bits, handing the shreds to every lady in the court-room as a specimen of Rufus Choate’s penmanship.

Then the big and happy family of Princes always brings pleasant recollections to one’s mind. How delightful that home was, with the beautiful daughter, Miss Kate Prince, who was one of Lowell’s most attractive belles, and who afterwards married Mr. Livermore from New Hampshire, once consul to Londonderry, Ireland, where I think they still reside. And the troop of “Prince boys,” who were always coming and going with their friends to their hospitable house, which stood for so many years where the new City Hall now stands. Old Mr. Prince as well as his sons formed among themselves a string band, and evening after evening these natural musicians would charm their friends with their delightful gift, or assist at outside entertainments for the sake of dear charity.

And thinking of these days of the forties brings me to the memorable date of "forty-nine," when so many of our New Englanders hurried towards the fields where the setting sun always paints a golden harvest. Lowell men, like the rest of the world, grew feverish over the promises of greater prosperity, and some of them started towards the prize with all the enthusiasm of Spanish dreamers.

Perhaps the most noted of those who went were three young men of about the same age, each of good family and social standing: Mr. Charles Bent, a son of the Mr. Bent of the firm of Bent & Bush, of which I have already spoken; Mr. Hiram Brownell, son of George Brownell, the superintendent of the Lowell Machine Shop; and William Waugh, son of the then popular slater, John Waugh. These young men took ship in '49 and went "round the Horn," as did many others from Lowell a year or two later. But our friends were not among the favored who found the California gold mines all they fancied; these three same young men returned finally to our city, wiser but not so very much richer for their experiences. Mr. Brownell died a few years ago, and Mr. Bent and Mr. Waugh are still living with us, in a ripe old age.

In looking back sixty odd years upon Lowell as it was,—having seen its very beginning with its great water-power running to waste,—and then remembering so well the eminent men who came here to build up this great manufacturing city of to-day (and not only this city but its offsprings, Manchester, Lawrence, and Nashua), truly may it be said as of old, "they builded better than they knew."

At no time in the history of Lowell has there been such another class of intelligent managers as were the

original men, who came to introduce the manufacture of cotton from what little experience they had had in Waltham. Such men as Boott, Jackson, Worthen, the Appletons, the Lowells, and the Lawrences would be hard to find to-day, even after more than half a century of practical experience. The assistants whom these men gathered about them to aid in the great enterprise were all men of prominence and of talent in their line of business; it is a pleasure to recall the faces and names of such men as Colburn, Prince, Means, Aiken, Avery, Whistler, Austin, Motley, Burke, Clark, Tilden, Bartlett, Spencer, and Child. All were men of high tone and character, who have identified themselves with the city by their energy, business talents, and progressive ideas.

I remember an anecdote that gives the key-note regarding Lowell's success. Mr. Means, who was a lawyer by profession, was asked how he, who had never seen a cotton mill, could expect to succeed in manufacturing cotton. His reply was so to the point: "I know enough to bring good practical men about me." This may be said of all the early managers.

On the death of Major Moody in 1834 Mr. George Brownell, who was in Waltham at the time, was engaged to take his place as superintendent of the Lowell Machine Shop. In 1837 Major Whistler resigned his position as engineer to go to Russia to build railroads for the government, and Mr. James B. Francis, a young engineer of great promise, whom Major Whistler had brought with him some three years before from the Stonington Railroad, was made chief engineer of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals. For more than sixty years Mr. Francis was the head and front of all the great engineering projects in Lowell, standing out as the most eminent and admirable figure connected with our history.

Mr. Francis married the eldest daughter of Mr. George Brownell, whose large and delightful family, five daughters and three sons, always held a high position in society. Mr. Francis was one of the most careful and painstaking engineers I have ever known; never doing things at haphazard, but looking into and studying most intently whatever subject he was to deal with. One of the best illustrations of this was in his estimated cost of the Northern Canal, which he built in 1847 and 1848. So accurately drawn were his plans and estimates that, although they were made two years before the work was undertaken, I think I may safely say that not one of these plans or estimations was altered from the beginning of the work until it was finished. Wonderful, that a work of such magnitude, costing so large a sum as five hundred thousand dollars, should have been figured so accurately! And not only in this one case, but in all others were his estimates made with such care that we hear of no such mistakes (which so often occur) as work costing double the original estimate. And again, Mr. Francis never did things by halves; sure, first and foremost, of the foundations, before going on to any other part of his work. Another illustration of his genius and far-sightedness was conspicuously displayed in 1859. The Croton Water Commissioners were about to bring water over high bridges into the city. Mr. Francis was consulted by the engineer in charge, Mr. Kirkwood. It was proposed to build a viaduct of masonry, but Mr. Francis, after studying into the subject, made up his mind that wrought-iron pipes would be far the safer material to use on account of the liability of injury from earthquake shocks. He found, too, upon investigation, that there had been in that part of the country a number of earthquakes of so great force as to injure large buildings

of masonry. And, of course, after this thorough investigation his advice was followed regarding the wrought-iron pipes.

But it is not only as a great engineer that I pause here and dwell upon the memory of Mr. Francis, but as a great, good man. A man of such integrity, such wisdom, and such fine principles that I emphasize again, he was a great, good man. A lover of his work, he was the most genial, most inspiring companion I have ever known. One never found him idle, but always busily engaged in some new scheme, new plan, the latest scientific volume or review of the day, or else in writing. Indeed, I doubt if any engineer in the whole country could be found with so extensive a correspondence. A lover, too, of his home and family, friends and neighbors was Mr. Francis; never a club man, or one personally drawn towards associations and societies. He spent his evenings by the fireside, and worshipped his "lares and penates" with a real Roman ardor. And Mr. Francis had in his nature that love of great men which was the very inspiration that produced his own noble characteristics. He knew, with Carlyle, that "we cannot look, however imperfectly, upon a great man, without gaining something by him." And by that very fireside Mr. Francis studied the lives of our great men and rejoiced in the revelation of God that comes through every hero. Webster, Choate, Gladstone, Bismarck—such men did he choose to idealize, and to follow their example in reality.

But notwithstanding his pleasure in his library, that was so well filled with the best of literature,—his care and love for the well-trimmed garden of flowers and shrubs that always bloomed for him from early "blood-root times" till the late frosts finally conquered,—his enjoyment of friendly neighbors,—his love of home, and

his devotion to his family,—notwithstanding all these domestic interests that drew him very closely to his own household, Mr. Francis was a man who knew the world, and had seen a cosmopolitan's share of it. Fond of travel, he had not only been abroad at least a half dozen times, with his eyes wide open, and his mind on the alert concerning the latest ideas in the progress of mankind, but he had studied our own country very thoroughly, and was familiar with South as well as West, had visited Mexico and Canada, and from all this travel he had gathered a wide knowledge of men and business that told in every act.

If, in pausing in these recollections to dwell upon some of the marked characteristics of our dear friend and honored citizen, I have seemed to wander too far from the exact subject of these sketches, let me beg my readers to remember that we “early residents” who have grown old together with Mr. Francis, watched his long and successful career with brotherly love and pride, we were glad to be in touch with him socially, to work with him in his great enterprises, and to honor him in the eminent position that was accorded him outside of his own city, or even New England.

XV. *Lowell in the Navy During the War.* By Charles Cowley, LL. D. Read August 24, 1893.

WHEN GIDEON WELLES took charge of the Navy Department under President Lincoln, in March, 1861, there was but one Lowell naval officer of commissioned rank either afloat or ashore,—Edward Farmer of the Engineer Corps. Only one other Lowell gentleman was then living who had ever held a commission in the navy. That gentleman was Gustavus V. Fox, who had resigned his commission (that of a lieutenant) some years before. Fox had watched the Confederate movements at Charleston with eager interest from the start, and as early as January, 1861, had submitted to President Buchanan a plan for the relief of Fort Sumter. That plan, though approved by the highest military and naval authorities at Washington, had been rejected by Buchanan. Four months later, when an attempt was made, under changed conditions, to relieve Fort Sumter according to Fox's plan, the attempt failed, and, indeed, proved the immediate occasion of the Confederate war.

When Fox returned from Fort Sumter to New York on the 18th of April, he found the Northern as well as the Southern heart thoroughly "fired" by the capture of that fort. Troops were hastening from the Northern states to save the capital from capture; but for some days all communication between Washington and New York was cut off.

In that situation various private gentlemen exhibited their capacity to initiate and execute measures for the

public good at their own expense. William B. Astor gave five thousand dollars to William H. Aspinwall to be used in re-opening communication with Washington. With this money the steamer *Yankee* was obtained for this service. She was armed and equipped by Commodore Breese, then commandant of the New York Navy Yard, with two 32-pounder cannon and twenty picked sailors, and, in order that Fox might legally command her, Commodore Breese gave him the following letter, which is transcribed from the records of the navy yard, and which nowhere appears on the records of the Navy Department at Washington:

NEW YORK NAVY YARD,
April 25th, 1861.

Sir— You are hereby appointed an acting lieutenant in the navy temporarily, and will take command of the steamer *Yankee*, now fitting out at this yard for service. All persons on board are required to obey you accordingly. Respectfully, your obedient servant,
S. L. BREESE, Commandant.

MR. G. V. FOX, New York.

This was the first appointment of a volunteer officer in the United States Navy during the Confederate war. The first volunteer naval officers of that war whose appointments appear of record in the Navy Department, were Acting Lieutenants Thomas E. Wade and James Parker, Jr., who were appointed on May 8, 1861, and assigned to duty at the Boston Navy Yard.

Unfurling his pennant in the *Yankee* on the next day, Fox left New York for Hampton Roads, but after arriving there and conferring with the naval commander, and with the military commander at Fortress Monroe, he concluded to proceed to Annapolis, where General Butler was then opening communication with Washington by rail. Arriving at Annapolis, he placed the *Yankee* at the service of General Butler, and proceeded by the first train

to the capital. President Lincoln's confidence in Fox's abilities was great, and Fox might have had a commission as a commander in the navy, had he so desired. But Mrs. Fox was an invalid and opposed his going into sea service; and it was suggested by Postmaster General Blair, to whom Fox was related by marriage, that in the civil war which was then beginning, there would be no chance for the navy to do anything except blockade duty; and by his advice Fox accepted an appointment as assistant secretary of the navy. His services in that position were of the first importance, but they belong to the general history of the navy and of the nation, and cannot be given here.

The officers and men of the navy, *as such*, have no relations with states, counties, cities, or towns. They know no north, no south, no east, no west; their relations are solely with the United States—with the nation. It is not very difficult to ascertain the personal history of the greater lights in our naval firmament; but it is difficult, with respect to junior officers who are no longer living, to learn which of them was born in this or that city, and where he resided between his birth and his first appearance on the quarter-deck. With enlisted men it is far more difficult, on account of the number of sailors bearing the same name, and on account of the number of them who enlist under "pursers' names," as well as on various other accounts.

The following notes of naval officers of the Confederate war who were born in Lowell, or who had resided here prior to their appointment, have been made from time to time during thirty years, and are now presented, not because they are complete, but because, by bringing them before the public now, some of their deficiencies may be supplied by the personal recollections of others.

Pelham Warren Ames, now of San Francisco, was born in Lowell in 1839, and removed with his father to Cambridge in 1849. He was paymaster first of the steamer Connecticut and then of the Saginaw, and was afterwards employed on special service on the Pacific coast. His father, Seth Ames, was judge of the Supreme Judicial Court.

Kirk H. Bancroft was born in Lowell September 10, 1839, and was surgeon of the steamer Iosco in the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron. He died October 16, 1869, and was buried with his parents in the Lowell Cemetery. He left a widow, since deceased, but no children. His father, Jefferson Bancroft, was a deputy sheriff of Middlesex County more than fifty years, and in 1846-48 was mayor of Lowell.

James Birtwhistle, now of Elwood, Nebraska, was born in Accrington, Lancashire, England. He served as mate, as ensign, and as master, successively, aboard the steamer Minnesota in the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron. He was wounded in the second attack on Fort Fisher.

James A. Boynton, long since deceased, was one of the engineers of the steamer Cornubia in the West Gulf Blockading Squadron.

William S. Brown, now of Boston, son of Leonard Brown, was one of the engineers of the iron-clad steamer Canonicus in the North Atlantic Squadron.

Enoch B. Carter was born in Peacham, Vermont, in 1831, and was one of the engineers of the steamer Gettysburg in the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron. He died at Omaha, Nebraska, November 6, 1886, leaving a widow and a daughter.

David S. Clark was born in Unity, Maine, October 12, 1843, and came to Lowell in 1857. He was one of

the engineers of the Phillippi and Tennessee in the West Gulf Blockading Squadron and Mississippi Squadron.

Edward R. Colby was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, March 4, 1839, and removed to Lowell in 1859. He was surgeon of the steamer Sciota in the West Gulf Blockading Squadron. He is now in the practice of medicine at Wakefield in this county.

Charles Cowley wrote of the "Cruise of the Lehigh," of which he was paymaster, in the second volume of the "Contributions of the Old Residents' Historical Association of the City of Lowell," pp. 61-73. His career as judge-advocate is covered by his book of "Leaves from a Lawyer's Life Afloat and Ashore," and will be more fully covered by his "Siege of Charleston: a History of the Department of the South and of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron," soon to appear.

Alvin S. Cram, now of Langdon, New Hampshire, was born in Sanford, Maine, and came to Lowell when a boy. He was an engineer.

Louis De Arville was born in Rhode Island in 1839, and was one of the engineers of the steamer Fort Donaldson in the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron. He returned to his native state, and there died some years ago.

Joseph G. Eaton was born in Alabama, and came to Lowell in childhood. He was appointed a midshipman September 24, 1863. Since 1888 he has been a lieutenant-commander in the navy.

Edward Farmer was born in Weathersfield, Vermont, March 1, 1836, and came to Lowell in 1851. He was appointed a Third Assistant Engineer in 1859, and is now Chief Engineer of the Boston Navy Yard.

George E. Francis was born in Lowell in 1838, and graduated at the Medical School of Harvard University. He was surgeon first of the Exchange and afterward of

the Ouchita in the Mississippi Squadron. He is now in the practice of medicine at Worcester, Massachusetts. His father, James B. Francis, was the most eminent hydraulic engineer in the United States.

Gustavus V. Fox has already been mentioned as the first naval volunteer officer of the war. By accepting civil service in the department at Washington, instead of accepting a commission as a commander in the navy, which he might have had, he side-tracked himself, as it were, and closed upon himself the gate to a distinguished naval career. Had he returned to the regular navy in 1861, his chances of becoming an admiral were as good as those of any who afterward became rear admirals. He died suddenly in New York, October 29, 1883.

Darius S. Fuller was one of the engineers first of the Massasoit and afterwards of the Iuka, in the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron.

H. P. Garabedian was born in Armenia, and came to Lowell shortly before the war. He was one of the engineers of the Geranium in the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron. After the war he returned to his native country, and died there.

Michael Garrigan was born in Ireland, June 28, 1843, and brought to Lowell when a boy. He was one of the engineers of the Malvern in the North Atlantic Squadron. He died August 23, 1889, and was buried in the Catholic Cemetery.

John D. Gilmore was born in Middlebury, Vermont, July 22, 1832, and came to Lowell in 1843. He served first as first-class fireman in the Marblehead, and afterwards as one of the engineers of the Cherokee.

Charles M. Guild was born in Dedham, October 21, 1813, and died in Hong Kong, China, in February, 1872. He married in 1842 a sister of G. V. Fox. He was

paymaster first of the Santiago de Cuba and later of the Shenandoah. His son, Charles F. Guild, is now a pay-director in the navy.

George R. Holt, now of Burlington, Vermont, was one of the engineers of the Aroostook.

Alvin Lawrence was born in Dublin, New Hampshire, June 17, 1833, and was one of the engineers of the Glaucus, Mahaska, and Powhatan in the East Gulf Squadron.

George Lawrence was born in Lowell, January 22, 1839, and was the son of Samuel Lawrence, agent of the Middlesex Manufacturing Company. He was paymaster of the Pawnee in the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron. He resigned October 7, 1864, and died at Nahant, October 3, 1884, and was buried at Mt. Auburn.

George W. Lawrence, now of Chicago, was born in Georgia, and was the son of Dr. Ambrose Lawrence, who was mayor of Lowell in 1855. He was one of the engineers of Admiral Porter's flagship, the Malvern.

These three Lawrences were all descendants of John Lawrence, a Puritan from Surrey, England, who was one of the first settlers of Groton, Massachusetts.

Frederick B. Lawson was born in Lowell, April 14, 1839, and was surgeon of the Dale and the Sabine in the East Gulf Blockading Squadron. He is now in the practice of medicine in Boston.

Erasmus D. Leavitt, now of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was born in Lowell, October 27, 1836, and was one of the engineers of the Sagamore in the East Gulf Blockading Squadron.

William A. Leavitt, now of Philadelphia, was born in Lowell, February 17, 1841, and was one of the engineers of the Huntsville, the Nita, and Napa in the East Gulf Blockading Squadron.

James Long was born in Vermont, and was one of the engineers of the Marblehead in the South Atlantic, and of the Powhatan in the West India Squadron.

Joseph Marthon, originally Michael O'Brien, was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1834, and was brought to Lowell when two years old. He had charge of the howitzer in the foretop of the Hartford in the battle of Mobile Bay, and showed such efficiency that Admiral Farragut procured for him an appointment in the regular navy. He passed through all grades of rank to that of lieutenant-commander, and died at Shanghai, China, November 18, 1891.

William Mason, now of North Brookfield, Massachusetts, was one of the engineers of the Quaker City in the West Gulf Blockading Squadron.

Thomas McDaniels is said to have been one of the engineers of the powder-boat Louisiana, which was exploded at Fort Fisher, but his name does not appear in Hamersley's General Register.

John H. Oates, now an officer of the Massachusetts State Prison, was born in Boyle, County of Roscommon, Ireland, January 10, 1837, and was brought to Lowell in 1849 by his father, Andrew Oates, a veteran of the Twentieth Regiment of British Infantry. He had charge of the gun-deck of the Congress when she was destroyed by the Merrimac, and was promoted for his gallantry and meritorious conduct to be an acting master.

George C. Osgood was born in West Newbury, Massachusetts, December 23, 1838, and came to Lowell, which has ever since been his home, in 1845. He was surgeon of the Gen. Sterling Price, Chillicothe, Conestoga, and Catawba. Since the war he has devoted himself to the duties of his profession as a physician, surgeon, and apothecary.

Cyrus Perkins was born in Sunapee, New Hampshire, January 27, 1832, and came to Lowell in 1849. He was one of the engineers of the General Price in the Mississippi Squadron in 1863.

Lars M. Reenstjerna was born in Sweden, and was one of the engineers of the Aroostook in the West Gulf Blockading Squadron.

Frederick W. Racao, now of Boston, was born in Curacao, West Indies, and was one of the engineers of the Harvest Moon, the temporary flagship of Admiral Dahlgren in the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron. He was in charge of her engines on the morning of March 1, 1865, in Winyau Bay, South Carolina, when a torpedo exploded under her, and sent her to the bottom in two minutes and a half.

Edward A. Robinson was born in Charlestown, now Boston, and was one of the engineers of the Saugus, and also of the Gettysburg. Unlike others in this list, he did not become a citizen of Lowell until since the war.

James E. Scribner, now of Waterville, Maine, was born in Poultney, Vermont, November 20, 1838, and came to Lowell in 1853. He was one of the engineers of the Virginia in the West Gulf Blockading Squadron.

Alfred T. Snell was born in Guildhall, Vermont, but was brought up in Lowell. He passed through all grades of rank as a line officer from midshipman to commander. He died September 8, 1876, and was buried in National Cemetery, Mare Island, California.

John H. Vail was born in Ohio in 1843, and was one of the engineers of the Memphis and the Lehigh in the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron.

Charles B. Wilder entered the naval service as a master's mate, and rose successively to the rank of mate,

ensign, master, and acting volunteer lieutenant. He was killed in the James River, Virginia, April 14, 1864, and buried in the Lowell Cemetery.

Emory Wright was born in Lowell, May 4, 1829, and educated in the public schools. He was paymaster of the steamer R. R. Cuyler, in the East Gulf Squadron. He died in Lowell, unmarried, August 9, 1872, and was buried with his parents and brothers in the Lowell Cemetery. His father, Nathaniel Wright, was one of the earliest lawyers of Lowell, and was mayor in 1842-'43. His brother, William H. P. Wright, was once mayor of Lawrence.

The fact that so many engineers appear in this list is due to the existence of the Lowell Machine Shop and of many smaller mechanical establishments in this city, where bright young men acquired such knowledge of the steam engine as enabled them, with a little experience, to become efficient engineers.

The population of Lowell was as changeable before the war as since; and there probably were naval officers not mentioned in the foregoing list who were natives or former residents of the Spindle City. The Dahlgren Association of Naval Veterans would be glad to be informed who they were; when and where they were born; when they came to Lowell; in what naval vessels and squadrons they served; in what engagement or other important operations they participated; where they are living, if alive; when and where they died and were buried, if dead, etc.

No mention has been made of naval officers who are entitled to places in this gallery in right of their wives. The most distinguished of these was the late Commander Frederick Pearson, who married the daughter of the late Dr. James C. Ayer.

Commander Pearson's career is large enough for separate treatment, and too large to be adequately presented in a corner of this paper. Born in Reading, Pennsylvania, in 1842, he entered the navy in 1859. While attached to the frigate *St. Lawrence*, he assisted in sinking the Confederate privateer *Petrel* off Charleston, July 28, 1861. While attached to the *Wabash*, the flagship of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, in 1862, he assisted in the reduction of Fort Pulaski, and in the occupation of Fernandina, and was an eye-witness to that remarkable incident of the war, the chasing of a train of cars by the steamer *Ottawa* up the St. Mary's River,—an incident too well attested to be doubted, though it sounds like a story of Baron Munchausen or Jules Verne. But it was in Japan on September 21, 1864, that Commander Pearson's conduct won the most peculiar renown. On that day the combined fleets of Great Britain, France, and Holland undertook to open the Straits of Simonoseki by the reduction of the forts, garrisoned by Japanese rebels, by which they had been closed to the treaty powers. The United States, as one of those powers, was represented in the combined fleet by one small steamer, chartered for that purpose, and commanded by Pearson, whose conduct in that engagement not only won the warmest praises of the British, French, and Dutch commanders, but also prompted Queen Victoria to make him a Companion of the Military Division of the Order of the Bath. Sir Frederick Pearson died suddenly in New York, December, 1890. No other American naval or military officer ever won the blue ribbon of the Order of the Bath.

I have thus far mentioned none but officers of commissioned rank. Lowell must have supplied the navy with some warrant officers—boatswains, gunners, carpenters, and sail-makers. I recall but one of these—John

O'Hare, who was killed in the naval column which assaulted Fort Fisher, who at one time was a boatswain. Many petty officers also entered the naval service from Lowell, and the whole number of men who enlisted in the navy from Lowell during the war must have been more than four hundred. Some of these were superior to many of the officers under whom they served. Lowell was represented in every naval squadron at home and abroad. Sheffield, of the *Kearsarge*, who, under Winslow, helped to sink the *Alabama*, was a Lowell man. So was Wallace, of the *Wyoming*, who was killed in battle under McDougall in the waters of Japan. John Cahill, the marine of the *Congress*, who shot the captain of the *Merrimac* in the battle of Hampton Roads, was a Lowell man, whose remains now repose in the Catholic Cemetery. The shooting of Captain Buchanan was a bold act, but scores of Lowell men, perhaps, did things equally memorable.

Soon after the war closed I suggested that some provision be made, at the public expense, to gather up and preserve a true record of such incidents. That suggestion has several times been repeated by others, but without effect. Many notable incidents have probably passed out of recollection during the last thirty years, which might and should have been recorded and printed for the benefit of coming generations. Nothing like a complete list of the men of Lowell who perished in the navy during the war has ever been compiled.* Edward O. Garity, of the *Congress*, was the first Lowell sailor who fell. I have a few other names, viz: Harvey S. Adams, James Brayton, John Cahill, John Chandler, Joseph Cheatham, Francis Hovey, George Derbyshire, John Driscoll, Michael

*See Charles Cowley's *History of Lowell*, Chapter XII.

Dohany, Thomas Faulkner, David Marren, Jeremiah McCarty, Thomas McKenny, Thomas Moore, George F. Parks, Albert Paul, John Roach, David B. Tilton, Harrison A. Tweed, and —— Wallace. Garity sleeps well in the Catholic Cemetery. Many of the others were

“ In the deep bosom of the ocean buried.”

It was the fortune of some of us to follow the flag over the high seas to foreign and unfriendly shores, and to look into skies bright with the splendor of unfamiliar constellations. None of our naval officers ever felt a deeper sense of the vastness of the issues involved in the war than those who had occasion to put into unfriendly ports. For example: ten days after the assassination of President Lincoln, it happened to me to put into Havana in the naval steamer *Mary Sanford*. As soon as we dropped anchor I looked through the telescope over the shipping, and I counted more than a dozen Confederate blockade-runners, not to mention many more whose character was less pronounced, while I could count but two vessels besides my own that wore the Star Spangled Banner of the Union. For some days we had to give ten dollars in treasury notes for what could be bought for one dollar in gold. I paid thirteen dollars for a dinner such as can be had at Parker's or Young's in Boston for a dollar and a quarter. The sympathies of nine out of ten of the people were hostile to us. Our experiences there made us all feel as we had never felt before, that, for every American citizen that had a heart, there remained no alternative but to conquer or perish; that a “greater interest was at stake and a mightier cause in hearing, than tongue ever pleaded, or trumpet proclaimed.” And since the war closed with victory for the Union, if there is any time when, more than at any other, your hearts

throb with joy and gratitude for that victory, it is when, in a foreign port, under distant skies, you see your country's flag above you, and feel your country's great arm around you. Such, at least, has been my own experience and observation.

Reference has already been made to the alacrity with which certain private gentlemen in New York initiated measures for the public good at their own expense. Other citizens, commercially domiciled abroad, exhibited their patriotism in other ways. For example: while the Confederate cruiser *Alabama* was in the China seas, late in 1863, or early in 1864, after she had destroyed an American ship near Manilla, certain American sea captains and merchants at Shanghai combined in a project to destroy her in case she came to anchor at Woosung, fourteen miles below Shanghai, at the junction of the Whang-poo and the Yang-tsze. Their plan was to blow her up by discharging two and a half tons of gunpowder in a boat that was to be run alongside of her. Charles J. Ashley of Boston was to furnish the boat, a small centre-board yacht called the *Vision*, and a gentleman of the firm of Russell & Company was to furnish the powder. The *Vision* was to be manned by volunteers, who, as soon as they had run her alongside of the *Alabama*, were to jump overboard at the signal of the explosion, hoping that when they came to the surface the *Alabama* would have gone to the bottom.

Another plan formed for the *Alabama's* destruction by the Americans at Shanghai, was to procure a fast Chinese boat, called the *Tze-Chuen*, of swifter speed than the *Alabama*, arm her with two Parrott guns of longer range than any of the *Alabama's* guns, and send her out to sink the *Alabama* by the fire of those Parrotts, while keeping out of the range of the *Alabama's* guns. Among

those concerned in one or both of these projects were Captain Joseph S. Ludlam, now agent of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, of Lowell, Captain William Blanchard, formerly of Lowell, and Captain Hayes, formerly of Boston. As the Alabama did not approach Shanghai, neither of these plans for her destruction was tried, and they belong to that vast chapter in history which relates to things that might have been.

A time may come when we are gone, when popular interest in the achievements of the navy, and in the part which the men of Lowell bore in those achievements, will be quickened into new life, and when the records of the men of Lowell in the several squadrons and cruisers will be gathered together and preserved in Memorial Hall, where the memories of the war are enshrined forever.

XVI. *The Pawtucket Falls as a Factor in Determining So Much of the Northern Boundary of Massachusetts, as Lies Between the Merrimack and Connecticut Rivers. By Hon. Samuel A. Green. Read December 21, 1893.*

WHEN I first received the message asking me to read a paper on this interesting anniversary, my first impulse was to decline the invitation with thanks; but after some reflection I thought of my early associations with your beautiful city and with Middlesex County, and then I concluded to accept it. In this instance, perhaps, the sober second thought was not the wisest or the best, as it is commonly supposed to be. More than fifty years ago I was very familiar with Lowell,—not the large city of to-day with its 85,000 inhabitants spread out on both sides of the Merrimack, but a small city of 20,000 or 25,000 people living on the southerly side of the river. Not then the handsome city, as now seen, with its stately public buildings, its fine churches, and elegant dwellings, and with many other signs of thrift and cultivation. It had not then become known as the home of men distinguished at the bar and on the bench, and in the arts and sciences, as it is known to-day throughout the land. Twice within a dozen years the voters of this Commonwealth have chosen for the highest office in their gift two of your eminent citizens; and twice within a longer period of time two others

for the second highest office. Fifty years ago no part of Dracut had been annexed to Lowell; and Middlesex Village was still owing political allegiance to Chelmsford. With kinsfolk living here my social relations to your city were as close as they were always pleasant; and my recollection of that period is still fresh and vivid. In the neighboring town of Groton I went to school with Lowell boys,—and girls, too, for that matter,—and I played with them there as well as here; though now most of them have been gathered to their fathers. At this moment my thoughts go back to that time, and I can see them in my mind's eye as clearly as I ever could when they were in the body. What a gracious attribute is memory, and what a gift to mankind! How it lightens the cares and burdens of life, and smooths the rough places along the travelled way!

I have mentioned these trivial facts of a personal nature in order to show that once I knew your city well enough to entitle me now to be called almost a Lowell boy by adoption, or, as they say in the army, by brevet; and, if it were possible for a man to have two native places, I should certainly claim this city as one of them. These introductory remarks may not be in their character sufficiently historical to meet the needs of this occasion, but they give the recollections of an Old Resident surely, and so they are in keeping with a part of the name of your association.

In my paper to-night I purpose to call your attention to a controversy that, more than a century and a half ago, was waged in the Merrimack Valley for many a year, and formed then one of the burning questions of the day. For a long time the dispute kept a large number of towns in wavering uncertainty whether they belonged to the Province of Massachusetts or to that of New Hampshire;

and when by royal decree the matter was brought to a final issue, the course of the Merrimack River, as it flows now through your city limits, was an essential element in the settlement of the case. I take, therefore, as my subject this evening: The Pawtucket Falls as a Factor in determining so much of the Northern Boundary of Massachusetts as lies between the Merrimack and Connecticut Rivers; with an account of the conflicting claims of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

To the casual observer the existence of these falls in the bed of the Merrimack River seems to be an accidental occurrence and a matter of pure chance; but this view of the subject is as fallacious as it is superficial. In this world of ours there is no effect without a cause, and everything that now is, or has ever been, is related to an antecedent. It was this fact which the poet had in mind when he wrote: "Whatever is, is right;" he did not mean morally right, but logically right. Every change in matter implies a cause, and these changes run on, connecting the present with the past, and the future with the present, through an endless period of duration. All events are governed by law, though the limitations of the human intellect prevent the discovery of the great underlying principle.

Do not misunderstand me in this statement, or suppose for an instant that I am an unbeliever in the moral responsibility of mankind. The telling influences on individual life run back indefinitely; and the same never-ending causes reach forward through another immensity of space, and affect all who come within range. During every day of our existence each one of us is influenced, either for good or bad, by those nearest to us and around us. What a responsibility, then, is life! It is the only thing that is real, and all else is flimsy. It has been wittily

said by a writer—so distinguished in many ways that I hardly know whether to speak of him as a poet or a physician, but whom all will recognize as “the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table”—that a man’s education begins a hundred years before he is born. I am almost tempted to add that even then he is only putting on the finishing touches of his training.

Since the earliest dawn of time,—so far back that the mind utterly fails to grasp the idea, or even in its wildest thoughts to approach that period,—since that remote epoch, I repeat, agencies have been at work which show themselves to-day in the tumbling waters of your noble river. The relation of cause to effect, and the inter-relations occurring every instant in their countless combinations, all bind the present with the distant past, and keep up the continuity of the thread from the very beginning to the end. In the early development of this planet Nature was making various combinations of matter that took innumerable cycles to create, which now enter so quietly into our daily life that they excite within us not even a shadow of thought or a ripple of wonder. Her work at that prehistoric period forecast the existence of Pawtucket Falls, and settled the site of your city.

According to science, geology deals with the internal structure of the earth, but it also plays another part in the manifold activities of the world. It throws up chains of lofty mountains which divide empires, and often governs even the mother-tongue that is spoken by the people. It scoops out the channels of deep rivers and confines the waters within their solid embankments. It marks out the places of slow and sluggish currents, as well as those of falls and rapids, and dots the banks with thrifty industries. It was the geological formation

of the bed of the Merrimack that set your spindles a-whirling, and gave the key-note to the music of your machinery.

The Pawtucket Falls lie at the bend in the river where it reaches the most southerly point in its whole course; and owing to this fact the falls were made the basis of settlement in the controversy which I shall describe this evening.

The Colonial Charter of Massachusetts Bay, granted by Charles I., under date of March 1, 1628-9, gave to the Governor and other representatives of the Massachusetts Company, on certain conditions, all the territory lying between an easterly and westerly line running three miles north of any part of the Merrimack River and extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, and a similar parallel line running three miles south of any part of the Charles River.

Without attempting to trace in detail, from the time of the Cabots to the days of the charter, the continuity of the English title to this transcontinental strip of territory, it is enough to know that the precedents and usages of that period gave to Great Britain, in theory at least, undisputed sway over the region, and forged every link in the chain of authority and sovereignty. It has been claimed that the rights and privileges given by the contract conflicted with those already granted by the Crown to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his son Robert, and to John Mason; but I do not purpose now to enter on the discussion of that question.

At the time of the charter it was incorrectly supposed that America was a narrow strip of land,—perhaps an arm of the continent of Asia,—and that the distance across from ocean to ocean was comparatively short. It was then known that the Isthmus of Darien was nar-

row, and it was therefore presumed that the whole continent also was narrow. New England was a region about which little was known beyond slight examinations made from the coast line. The rivers were unexplored, and all knowledge concerning them was confined to the neighborhood of the places where they emptied into the sea. The early navigators thought that the general course of the Merrimack was easterly and westerly, as it runs in that direction near the mouth; and their error was perpetuated inferentially by the words of the charter. By later explorations this strip of territory has since been lengthened out into a belt three thousand miles long, and stretches across the width of a continent. The cities of Albany, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Detroit, and Milwaukee all lie within this zone, on territory that once belonged to the Massachusetts Company, according to the charter granted by Charles I.

The general course of the Merrimack, as well as its source, however, soon became known to the early settlers on the coast. There had been told fabulous tales of the mineral wealth that lay concealed in various parts of the unexplored country; and there were, besides, adventurous scouts always ready for a new sensation, whether in search of game or treasure. In 1635, only six years after the grant was made by King Charles, a little book or tract, written by William Wood, and entitled "New England's Prospect," was published in London, which contains a map of "The South part of New-England, as it is Planted this yeare, 1635." Rude in its construction, and crude in its geographical details, the map is of great interest as the earliest one which gives the general direction of the Merrimack, as well as its source in a large pond or lake. Without doubt these facts were obtained both from the hardy sons of adventure and from the natives.

The sites of several small Indian settlements are shown along the banks of the river; and among such are "Amaskeig" and "Pennacooke," in the neighborhood of the present cities of Manchester and Concord, where these names are still kept up familiar as household words. "Pentucket," which comes now within the limits of Lowell, is represented, and an island, known to-day as Wicassee, situated a few miles up the river, and now within the limits of Tyngsborough, is also shown.

The Winthrop Map of the eastern part of Massachusetts, made about the year 1637, of which the original manuscript is in the British Museum, gives the course of the Merrimack below the site of your city, and contains this descriptive note: "Merimack river it runnes 100 miles vp into the Country & falls out of a ponde 10: miles broad."

Near the middle of the last century a map representing a large part of Eastern Massachusetts, including portions of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, was published, presumably in London, which gives the course of the Merrimack below the site of Manchester, and it is there called the "Merimac or Sturgeon R[iver]." "Pautucket Great Falls" are represented between the mouth of Stony Brook and that of Beaver Brook.

In the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society there is a large manuscript map, made for the British Government a short time before the breaking out of the Revolution, on which is shown so much of the Merrimack River as lies below the Litchfield Meeting-house. On this map is marked the site of "Petucket Falls," and also of "Petucket Pond," at the mouth of Beaver Brook. The name Petucket is another form of Pawtucket; and the several forms Pentucket, Pautucket, Petucket, and

Pawtucket are derived from a common root, and philologically are identical. The Indian word Pawtucket means "at the Falls;" and it is found to-day in various parts of the land attached to places lying on rivers. As far back as the year 1679, Indian interpreters asserted that the river near Mr. Blackstone's house in the Narragansett country was called in their language "Pautuck," which signifies "a Fall," because there the fresh water falls into the salt water. The word Pawtuxet is a diminutive, and means "at the little Falls," and this also occurs in different places.

The Indians had no written language, and the early settlers took the geographical names of the country by sound, and wrote them down accordingly, without knowing their meaning. This was phonetic spelling, pure and simple, and explains the diversified orthography of Indian words which is so common. With an unwritten language the Indians themselves had no proper standard of pronunciation; and their own usage, therefore, in regard to the same words often varied at different times. A peculiarity of their language was that the geographical names, as applied by them to hills, mountains, ponds, rivers, etc., were common nouns and had a meaning, but the same words, when used by the English, in the course of time became proper nouns and lost their significance. But all this is a digression from my subject.

Through this misapprehension in regard to the course of the Merrimack River, during the early history of the colony, there have arisen certain disputes over the boundary line between the adjoining states of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, which are not settled even in our time. The royal grant comprised a large tract of land, which was then a dense wilderness, situated outside of Christendom. After the lapse of some years the

settlers took steps to find out the territorial boundaries of the colony on the north in order to establish more exactly the limits of their jurisdictional authority. To this end at an early period a commission was appointed by the General Court, composed of Captain Simon Willard and Captain Edward Johnson, two of the foremost men in the colony at that time.

Captain Willard was a native of Kent, England, and came to Massachusetts in the year 1634. He lived first at Cambridge and Concord, then at Lancaster, from which town, about 1671, he removed to Groton, and in all these places he exerted a wide influence. In his day he filled various civil offices, and was a noted military man, holding a major's commission. His farm at Groton was situated at Nonacoicus, now within the limits of Ayer, a town named after a former resident of your city. Willard's dwelling-house here was the first building burned at the attack on Groton, March 13, 1676, in Philip's War.

During several years previously Major Willard had been engaged with his command in scouting along the line of frontier settlements, and in protecting the inhabitants. At this assault he came with a company of cavalry to the relief of the town, though he did not reach the place in time to be of service in its defence. He died at Charlestown, on April 24, 1676, only a few weeks after Groton was abandoned by the inhabitants.

Captain Johnson, the other commissioner, was also a Kentish soldier, and at the date of his appointment a member of the General Court. He first came to New England with Governor Winthrop during the summer of 1630, though at that time he did not tarry a great while; but a few years later he returned with his family, and remained until the time of his death. In the early colonial records his name always appears with the prefix

of "Mr.," which shows that he was a man of property and social position. He was actively engaged in the settlement of the town of Woburn, where he held both civil and ecclesiastical offices. For more than twenty-five years he represented that town in the House of Deputies, and for one year was the speaker. He was the recorder of the town from the date of its incorporation until his death, which took place on April 23, 1672. At the present time he is known mainly by his History of New England, a quaint work entitled "Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England," which was published originally in the year 1654. It contains many facts concerning the early settlement of the country not found elsewhere, and forms an important addition to our historical literature.

Such were the two men constituting the commission, who were to interpret the meaning of the charter in reference to the northernmost boundary of the colony, and to say where the line should be drawn. The order of the General Court, appointing these commissioners, was passed on a day subsequent to May 31, 1652, although in the printed edition of the Colonial Records it appears to be of that date. In the early history of Massachusetts the proceedings of the General Court, as a rule, are not dated day by day,—though there are many exceptions,—but the beginning of the session is always given, and occasionally the days of the month are also given. These dates in the printed edition of the Colonial Records are often carried along without authority, at times extending over a period of several days, or even a week or more; and for this reason, in some instances, it is impossible to learn the exact date of particular legislation, unless there are contemporaneous papers bearing on the subject. Under the order the commissioners were empowered to engage

“such Artists & other Assistants” as were needed for the purpose. In early times a surveyor was called an artist, and in old records the word is often found with that meaning. Under the authority thus given, they appointed Sergeant John Sherman of Watertown and Jonathan Ince of Cambridge to join the party and do the scientific work of the expedition.

Sergeant Sherman was a land surveyor, and a prominent inhabitant of Watertown. He was often chosen a selectman, and for many years the town clerk, besides being several times elected to the Legislature. He was the great-grandfather of Roger Sherman, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the ancestor of three members of the United States Senate, recently sitting in that distinguished body.

Jonathan Ince, the other “artist,” was a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1650, who, after taking the degree of Bachelor of Arts, remained at Cambridge for more than three years. During this period he appears to have been acting in various capacities connected with the institution, and, like an under-graduate, he was regularly charged for the usual small items in the college accounts. In a certain way he was the confidential clerk of President Dunster, and at the date of his appointment by the commission he was filling the butlership of the college, a position which placed him in charge of the commons. These two surveyors, Sherman and Ince, were allowed “a daily stipend of ten shillings in the best pay of the country.”

The expedition consisted of eight or ten men, including several Indian guides, or “pilatts,” and started, it is supposed, from some place within the present limits of Lowell, above Pawtucket Falls, the whole party proceeding by boat up the Merrimack. When they reached the

confluence of the two rivers in what is now the town of Franklin, New Hampshire, they followed up the eastern branch, as being at that season of the year the larger stream, and soon they came to the outlet of the lake, at The Weirs. Here the commissioners considered the source of the river to be; and in their report made a few weeks later to the General Court they gave it "the name of the head of Merremack."

For many years the place has now been called "The Weirs," so named from the fact that the Indians, from early times, had weirs set in the stream at this point for the catching of fish. It is a spot very favorable for the purpose, as it is the only outlet to the lake, and all the water within this large body flows here through a narrow channel into the river. Near by there is now a small settlement, a favorite place during the summer season for old soldiers' reunions, camp meetings, and conventions, as well as a resort for tourists, which is doubtless familiar to many in this audience. At the present time the village is known as The Weirs, and comes within the city limits of Laconia, New Hampshire.

In October, 1652, the commissioners made a report, or "return," as they called it, to the General Court, giving the result of their labors, and including the affidavits of the two surveyors. According to this report they fixed upon a place then called by the Indians "Aquedahtan," as the head of the Merrimack River. By due observation they found the latitude of this spot to be forty-three degrees, forty minutes, and twelve seconds; and the northern limit of the patent was three miles north of this point. Lying on the bed of the stream here, near the outlet to the lake, and projecting above the surface, is a large granite boulder running north and south, perhaps seven feet long, which is a conspicuous object as seen from the

shore. For a guess, it is a hundred feet from the western bank, and a hundred and twenty-five feet from the eastern bank; and at low water, even before the stone was raised, it was always uncovered and exposed to view. This rock caught the eye of the commissioners, and at once was taken by them as showing the official head of the Merrimack; and, in token of their authority, it was marked on the upper surface with the following letters:

EI SW
 WP IOHN
 ENDICVT
 GOV

These letters are roughly cut, but with moderate care can easily be made out. From the action of the elements and the discoloration by time, their edges are somewhat worn, but they are still fairly distinct. They are about four inches in height, though they vary somewhat in this respect, and are read from the west side of the rock. The initials in the first line are those of the two commissioners, Edward Johnson and Simon Willard, while the rest of the inscription gives the name of the Governor of Massachusetts at that period. Without doubt the letters "WP" stand for Worshipful, a title of dignity given in early times to persons of high official position. Formerly the boulder, now known as the Endicott Rock, was somewhat lower in the bed of the stream, and its upper surface was exposed for the most part during the summer season only, but about nine years ago it was raised two or three feet and blocked underneath, so that the inscription should not be covered with water. The rock was considered to be of so much public interest that the Senate and House of the State of New Hampshire, on September 7, 1883, and again on August

25, 1885, passed joint resolutions appropriating sums of money for its better preservation and protection. Under this authority the raising was done, and a substantial granite canopy has been built overhead, as well as a foot-bridge connecting the structure with the western bank of the river. The letters on the rock have been gilded, so that they can be more easily read. There are other letters in gilt now on the stone, besides those I have given, which are said to be the initials of John Sherman and Jonathan Ince, the two surveyors of the party; but after the most critical examination on my part, at two different times, both before and since the structure was built, I have not been able to make them out.

The boulder was situated on the property of the Winnepissiogee Lake Cotton and Woollen Manufacturing Company, which uses the lake as a storage basin, and in dry seasons draws upon it for a supply of water; but the ownership in the rock and in a small space around it has now been transferred to the state of New Hampshire. Thirteen years ago, in the autumn of 1880, with due foresight, this company had seven casts in plaster taken of the inscription. One of these was given to the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society, on March 12, 1881; another to the Peabody Museum of American Archæology at Cambridge, which was afterward presented to the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester; a third to the New Hampshire Historical Society; a fourth to the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River, whose office is in your city of Lowell; a fifth to the Essex Company at Lawrence; a sixth to the Winnepissiogee Lake Cotton and Woollen Manufacturing Company at Lake Village, since known as Lakeport, but now a part of Laconia; and a seventh to the Long Island Historical Society at Brooklyn.

It is somewhat singular that the existence of this inscription and of the rock as a memorial stone should have been lost sight of for more than a century and a half, and entirely forgotten, as is the fact. The letters were cut either in July or August, 1652; and there is no subsequent allusion to them until they were brought to light anew in a letter of Colonel Philip Carrigain to John Farmer, Esq., the noted antiquary. This communication is printed in the "Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society" (IV. 194-200), and gives some interesting details in connection with its discovery. The volume was published in the year 1834; and the letter, which is undated, was written near that time, probably in the autumn of 1833. A dam had been built across the outlet of the lake, in order to clear the channel so that a steamboat—then recently constructed—might pass to a winter harbor at Lake Village, afterward known as Lakeport, five miles below. During the excavation of the channel, the rock and inscription were first noticed by Daniel Tucker and John T. Coffin, president and cashier, respectively, of the Winnepissiogee Bank at Meredith, and by them reported to Colonel Carrigain, who promptly communicated the discovery to Mr. Farmer. At that time The Weirs came within the limits of the town of Meredith, as Laconia had not yet been set off as a separate township. It is an interesting fact to note that Colonel Carrigain, in his letter, first suggested that the stone be called the Endicott Rock, a name by which it has since been known.

In the summer of 1890, during a very delightful drive through parts of Vermont and New Hampshire, in company with the Honorable George Lewis Balcom, of Claremont, who passed his boyhood in Lowell, and received his early education here, I visited this interesting

boulder. It is situated a short distance below the railroad station, and just above the bridge leading from The Weirs to the other side of the river. The stone is the earliest public monument found within the limits of New England which was made by the English settlers. For nearly two centuries and a half the inscription has battled the storms of all seasons, and been exposed to every change of weather and to all the erosive effects of time. The state of New Hampshire showed a due regard for right sentiment when she made an appropriation to preserve and protect such an historical relic.

The northern boundary of the original grant to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, as has been shown, was based on a misapprehension; and this ignorance of the topography of the country on the part of the English authorities afterward gave rise to considerable controversy between the adjoining provinces of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. So long as the territory in question remained unsettled, the dispute was a matter of little practical importance; but after a time it assumed grave proportions and led to much confusion. Grants made by one province clashed with those made by the other; and there was no ready tribunal to pass on the claims of the two parties. Towns were chartered by Massachusetts in territory claimed by New Hampshire; and this action was the cause of bitter feeling and provoking legislation. Massachusetts contended for the tract of land "nominated in the bond," which would carry the jurisdictional line fifty miles northward, into the very heart of New Hampshire; and, on the other hand, that province strenuously opposed this view of the case, and claimed that the line should run, east and west, three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack River. In order to settle these conflicting claims, a Royal Commission was appointed to con

sider the subject and establish the contested line. The commissioners were selected from the councillors of the provinces of New York, New Jersey, Nova Scotia, and Rhode Island,—men supposed to be free from any local prejudices in the matter, and impartial in their feelings; and, without doubt, they were such. The board, as appointed under the Great Seal, consisted of nineteen members, although only seven served in their capacity as commissioners. They met at Hampton, New Hampshire, on August 1, 1737; and for mutual convenience the Legislative Assemblies of the two provinces met in the same neighborhood,—the Assembly of New Hampshire at Hampton Falls, and that of Massachusetts at Salisbury, places only five miles apart. This was done in order that the claims of each side might be considered with greater dispatch than they would otherwise receive. The General Court of Massachusetts met at Salisbury, in the First Parish Meeting-house, on August 10, 1737, and continued to hold its sessions in that town until October 20, inclusive, though with several adjournments, of which one was for thirty-five days. The printed journal of the House of Representatives, during this period, gives the proceedings of that body, which contain much in regard to the controversy besides the ordinary business of legislation. Many years previously the two provinces had been united, so far as to have the same governor,—at this time Jonathan Belcher,—but each province had its own legislative body and code of laws. Governor Belcher was a native of Cambridge; and in the discussion of these matters his prejudices and sympathies appear to have been with Massachusetts. To a disinterested person, one hundred and fifty years afterward, this fact crops out more plainly than it seemed at that time.

The commissioners heard both sides of the question,

and agreed upon an award in alternative, leaving to the King the interpretation of the charters given respectively by Charles I., and William and Mary. Under one interpretation the decision was in favor of Massachusetts, and under the other in favor of New Hampshire; and at the same time each party was allowed six weeks to file objections. Neither side, however, was satisfied with this indirect decision; and the whole matter was then taken to the King in Council. Massachusetts claimed that the Merrimack River began at the confluence of the Winnepisaukee and the Pemigewasset Rivers, and that the northern boundary of the province should run, east and west, three miles north of this point. It is true that this line was somewhat to the southward of the one proposed by the Colonial Commissioners in the summer of 1652; but at the time of the dispute the relative size of the two rivers was better understood. On the other hand, New Hampshire claimed that the intention of the charter was to establish a northern boundary on a line, running east and west, three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack River. In this controversy Massachusetts seems to have based her claim on the letter of the contract, while New Hampshire based hers on the spirit of the contract.

The strongest argument in favor of Massachusetts is the fact that she had always considered the disputed territory as belonging to her jurisdiction; and before this period she had chartered twenty-four towns lying within the limits of the tract. These several settlements all looked to her for protection, and naturally sympathized with her during the controversy.

As just stated, neither was satisfied with the verdict of the Royal Commissioners, and both sides appealed from their judgment. The matter was then taken to England for a decision, which was given by the King, on March 4,

1739-40. His judgment was final, and in favor of New Hampshire. It gave that province not only all the territory in dispute, but a strip of land fourteen miles in width lying along her southern border,—mostly west of the Merrimack,—which she had never claimed. This strip was the tract of land between the line running east and west three miles north of the southernmost trend of the river, and a similar line three miles north of its mouth. By the decision many townships were taken from Massachusetts and given to New Hampshire. It is said that the King reprimanded Governor Belcher for the partisan way in which he presented his side of the case, and this fact may have biased His Majesty. The settlement of the disputed question was undoubtedly a public benefit, but it caused at the time a great deal of hard feeling.

In establishing the new boundary west of the Merrimack, Pawtucket Falls, with which you all are so familiar, was taken as the starting-place; and the line which now separates the two states, between the Merrimack and Connecticut Rivers, was run west three miles north of this point. It was surveyed officially in the spring of 1741, with reference to the settlement of the dispute according to the King's decree. Concerning the boundary east of the Merrimack there was but little controversy, as the river was a good guide in the matter, although there were a few minor points under discussion. After the King's decision was rendered, the question of expense came up in regard to the surveys and the markings of the line. It seems to have been generally understood that the entire cost of these preliminary steps should be borne by the Province of Massachusetts, but Governor Belcher did not so regard it; and this misunderstanding caused further delay in the settlement of the dispute. George Mitchell was appointed to make the survey from the Atlantic coast

to a point three miles north of Pawtucket, afterward known as the Boundary Pine, though now the tree which gave the name has disappeared; and Richard Hazen from the Boundary Pine to the Hudson River. Mitchell worked from a fixed line, as he had to establish a boundary three miles from the Merrimack; but Hazen was to run a straight line through the wilderness with the help of only a compass, — a much harder task than Mitchell's.

Surveys dependent on the compass are always subject to many sources of inaccuracy, such as the loss of magnetic virtue in the poles of the needle; blunting of the centre-pin; unsuspected local attractions; oversight or mistake as to the secular variation; and variability from the influence of the sun, known as the diurnal variation. Error from this last source may amount, in the distance of a mile, to twenty feet or more of lateral deviation. Notwithstanding these difficulties and drawbacks, the accuracy of Hazen's survey has been confirmed to a remarkable degree; and the controversy over the boundary line in later times has been wholly in regard to the variation of the needle which Hazen allowed in making the survey. His journal, fortunately, has been preserved, and is printed in "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register" (XXXII. 323-333) for July, 1879. It shows the hardships he encountered and the obstructions he met during the progress of the survey, which was begun on March 21, 1741, and ended at the Hudson River, on April 16. In less than four weeks he established a straight line one hundred and nine miles long through an unbroken wilderness, when the ground for a large part of the way was covered with snow. At one place, he writes: "The Snow in Generall was near three feet Deep, & where we lodged near five;" and in many other places the snow was two or three feet deep.

According to the journal, the surveyors began to measure the line, running three miles due north from the Merrimack, at a place called "The Great Bunt," near the Pawtucket Falls. This spot lay on the west side of the mouth of Beaver Brook, and was once a noted fishing-ground. Formerly, before the dam was built, the falls covered a longer stretch of the river than they do at the present time; and a hundred and fifty years ago the entire course of the rapids was probably included under the name of Pawtucket Falls. The designation of "The Great Bunt" has now disappeared from the local nomenclature of this neighborhood, though some of its cognate forms were kept up for a long time. When the same line was re-surveyed in the summer of 1825, it began at a point then called the "great pot-hole place," which was presumably the same spot under another name. "Bunt" is a nautical word applied to the middle part or belly of a sail, as well as to the sag of a net, and perhaps allied to "bent;" and it requires no great stretch of the imagination to see why a cavity or hole in the river was called a "bunt."

The boundary line between the two provinces, as established by Hazen, ran straight through the wilderness, over hill and dale, across fields and pastures in a sparsely settled country, frequently cutting off large slices of towns, as well as of farms, and sometimes bisecting them, and suddenly transferring the allegiance of the people from one political power to another. To the plain and sturdy yeomanry it seemed a kind of revolution, which they could not understand. In many instances they were taxed for their lands in adjoining towns, where previously the tax had been paid wholly in one town; and much confusion was created. Even to-day many of the border farms overlap the boundary, and lie in both states, and

often the owners cannot say exactly where the line should run. A farmer living near the boundary once told me that he had paid taxes on the same parcel of land in two different towns,—one in Massachusetts and the other in New Hampshire. Another man living in close proximity to the line has told me during the present year that he could not say within several rods where the boundary came.

By the new provincial line, as established by royal decree, the following Massachusetts towns, lying in their geographical order between the Merrimack River and the Connecticut, lost portions of their territory:—

First, Dunstable, a large township originally containing 128,000 acres of land, and situated on both sides of the river, was so cut in two that by far the larger part came within the limits of New Hampshire. Even the meeting-house and the burying-ground were separated from that portion still remaining in Massachusetts; and this fact added not a little to the animosity felt by the inhabitants when the disputed question was settled. It is no exaggeration to say that throughout the old township the feelings and sympathies were wholly with Massachusetts. A short time before this period the town of Nottingham had been incorporated by the General Court, and its territory was taken from Dunstable. It comprised all the land of that town lying on the east side of the Merrimack River; and the difficulty of attending public worship across the river, in a great measure, led to the division. When the new line was established it affected Nottingham, like many other towns, most unfavorably. It divided its territory, and left a tract of land in Massachusetts too small for a separate township, but by its associations and traditions belonging to Dunstable. This tract to-day is that part of Tyngsborough lying east of the

river. The larger portion of the town, by the new line, came under the jurisdiction of New Hampshire; but as there was another town of Nottingham in the eastern quarter of that province, the name was subsequently changed by an Act of the Legislature, on July 5, 1746, to Nottingham West; and still later, on July 1, 1830, this was again changed to Hudson. Counting the city of Nashua, there are now in the state of New Hampshire no less than seven towns made up wholly or in part of the territory which was taken from Dunstable by the running of the line.

Secondly, Groton, though suffering much less severely than the adjoining town of Dunstable, lost more land than she cared to spare, lying now mostly in Nashua, though a small portion of it — not much larger than a good-sized potato patch — comes within the limits of Hollis, near the railroad station.

Thirdly, Townsend was deprived of more than one-quarter of her territory; and the present towns of Brookline, Mason, and New Ipswich in New Hampshire are reaping the benefit of it.

Fourthly, two of the Canada townships, so called, — now known as Ashburnham and “Warwick and Royalston,” the last not at that time incorporated as two separate towns, — shared the same fate as the other towns lying along the line. Ashburnham lost a thousand acres; and Warwick and Royalston, then called “Canada to Roxbury,” or “Roxbury Canada,” a considerably larger slice of land.

Fifthly and lastly, Northfield was deprived of a strip of territory more than four miles and a half in width, running the whole length of its northern frontier. This portion of the town is now included within the limits of Hinsdale and Winchester, New Hampshire, and of Vernon, Vermont.

Besides these losses a tract of unappropriated land, usually denominated Province land, was transferred to New Hampshire.

On the easterly side of the Merrimack, between the river and the ocean, there had always been much less uncertainty in regard to the divisional line, — as, in a general way, it followed the bend of the river, — and therefore much less controversy over the jurisdiction.

Many of you, doubtless, have often noticed on a map the tier of towns which fringe the north bank of the Merrimack, between this city and the mouth of the river; and you may have wondered why those places, which from a geographical point of view belong to the state of New Hampshire, should come now within the limits of Massachusetts. The explanation of the seeming incongruity goes back to the date of the first charter, more than two hundred and sixty years ago, as has been related this evening.

At the period when the new line was established, it was generally thought that the question was permanently settled, but such did not prove to be the fact. Early in the present century, owing to the uncertainty of the line at that time, public attention was again called to the subject. It was claimed by the state of New Hampshire that, in establishing the boundary, Hazen had allowed too many degrees for the variation of the needle, and consequently the line had been carried too far north; or, in other words, that there was a gore of land lying along the northern boundary of Massachusetts, and coming within the limits of that state, which rightfully belonged to New Hampshire. This triangular strip began near the city of Nashua and gradually widened toward the western end, until it reached the Connecticut River, where it was three or four miles in width. In other words, a narrow slip of land in

the shape of a wedge, with its thin edge at a point three miles north of Pawtucket Falls, and its butt end on the Connecticut, extending three or four miles along that river, south of the present state line which forms the northern side of the triangle, would comprise the territory now claimed by New Hampshire. It was further said that Governor Belcher was responsible for the allowance in the variation of the needle, and that he had given instructions to Hazen to allow this variation in order to circumvent the decree of the King, and to defraud New Hampshire. Fortunately, to refute this charge, the warrant given to Hazen by the Governor is still extant, and shows that no such directions were given; and furthermore, if such directions had been given, it would have added as much territory on the eastern boundary of New Hampshire as was lost by that state on the southern boundary.

In order to settle the dispute at this period between the citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and those of the state of New Hampshire, the Governor of Massachusetts was authorized by a resolve of the General Court, on February 24, 1825, to appoint three Commissioners, who were empowered to meet a similar Commission appointed on the part of New Hampshire; and they were jointly authorized to agree upon such principles respecting the settlement of the boundary line as to them should seem just and reasonable. Under this authority Lieutenant-Governor Marcus Morton, at that time Acting Governor, in consequence of the death of Governor Eustis, named, on May 10, as Commissioners the Honorable Samuel Dana, of Groton; David Cummings, Esq., of Salem; Ivers Jewett, Esq., of Fitchburg; and they were met by the Honorable Samuel Bell, Henry B. Chase, Esq., and Samuel Dinsmore, Esq., who had been named as

Commissioners by the Governor of New Hampshire. Caleb Butler, Esq., of Groton, was appointed surveyor on the part of Massachusetts, and Eliphalet Hunt, Esq., on the part of New Hampshire; and each one was supplied with an assistant surveyor. Under the management of these gentlemen the line was again surveyed from the Atlantic Ocean to the Connecticut River, but, owing to disagreements between the two Boards of Commissioners, no final conclusions were reached. The report of the Massachusetts Commission was made to the Governor on January 31, 1827, and that of the other Commission was previously made to the Governor of New Hampshire; and they each recommended practically, though not in so many words, that the whole matter be indefinitely postponed, as no satisfactory result then was likely to be reached.

Nothing further was done by either state looking to the settlement of this vexed question until very recent times. On April 25, 1883, a resolve was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, authorizing the Governor to appoint a Commission for the purpose of establishing the boundary line between the two states, which was to act in conjunction with a similar Commission to be appointed by the Governor of New Hampshire. The Commissioners were to reset and replace the monuments wherever necessary, in accordance with the report of the Commissioners of the Commonwealth made on February 28, 1827. (This is the date given in the printed Resolve of April 25, 1883, but it is probably a mistake for January 31, 1827.) Under this authority, the following Commissioners were appointed: DeWitt C. Farrington, Esq., of Lowell; Alpheus Roberts Brown, Esq., of Somerville; and Clemens Herschel, Esq., of Holyoke. The first two members of this board were duly qualified, but the third declined. From the want of co-operation on the part of New Hamp-

shire, no definite result was reached, and no report was made to the General Court, as provided for in the resolve. On June 19, 1885, another resolve was passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts, authorizing the Governor to appoint a Commission for the purpose of ascertaining and establishing the true jurisdictional boundary line between the two states, which was to act with a similar Commission to be appointed by the Governor of New Hampshire. This resolve repealed and superseded all previous legislation on the subject; and under its authority a new Commission was appointed, which, however, was soon afterward changed by two resignations. The Governor of New Hampshire also named another Commission to act with them. These two boards have presented several reports to their respective states, which show a thorough investigation of the whole subject; but unfortunately they do not agree in regard to the disputed line. It is understood, however, that they have reached definite and satisfactory conclusions respecting the boundary between the ocean and the Merrimack; but between this river and the Connecticut they do not concur.

At the present time it does not seem likely that the boundary line between the two states, as it runs from the Merrimack River to the Connecticut, will ever be substantially changed; but perhaps the day may come when it will be definitely marked by monuments on every road crossing the line, so that the dwellers along the border will know exactly where it lies. For generations the public sentiment of the neighborhood has placed the disputed territory within the limits of Massachusetts, and the occupants of the land have always claimed that state as their home. In their opinion they are citizens of this Commonwealth, and no judgment based upon the decree of a King, rendered more than a hundred and fifty years ago,

can dispossess them of their birthright. The customs and traditions, that have strained through a century and a half, in their case make a law on this point stronger than any human enactment.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—In this paper I have tried to give, so far as the limits of the occasion would allow, a short account of the relations of Pawtucket Falls to so much of the Northern Boundary of Massachusetts as lies between the Merrimack and Connecticut Rivers. For a long time I have felt that this connection was an interesting fact in the history of your city; and, if anything I have said this evening tends to keep alive or stimulate a similar feeling in others, I shall consider that my time has been well spent, and that my work is amply repaid.



Sincerely yours

L. E. Stone

XVII. *The Old Residents' Historical Association: Its Origin and Its History For Twenty-Five Years.*
By Z. E. Stone. Read Before the Association on Thursday Evening, December 21, 1893.

THE writer of this sketch, on a certain day in the latter part of August, 1868, had occasion to call upon the late Samuel Fay (then superintendent but later treasurer) of the Lowell Manufacturing Company, at their works in this city. During this call, the special object of it having been dismissed and a local event of some moment at the time briefly discussed, Mr. Fay incidentally remarked that he had often thought that it would be a most excellent thing, were it practicable, for certain of the early residents of Lowell to prepare papers descriptive of the city at the time they came and during the period of its most rapid development—giving likewise their own personal experiences in connection therewith—such papers to be read at public meetings; by this means he believed a great many important facts, held only in the memories of a few people, might be perpetuated, and at the same time, and through the same agency, the foundation laid for a local historical society. He had known or read of something of the kind, through which much had been accomplished in the preservation of important historical data and the simpler annals of a town, which but for this care would have ceased even to be in the memory of men living after the passage of a few years, or when those who narrated them had

ceased their labors and joined "the great majority." Mr. Fay may have mentioned a place where such a work had been done; if so, the fact is not now remembered. Nothing was said by either as to the propriety of undertaking to start in Lowell something of the nature of that spoken of, although its practicability and desirability were assented to. It is not at all probable that the subject was mentioned by him with the thought that his listener would a second time consider it; he had perhaps expressed it to others, or he may have never before given it utterance; no one can now say — no one can ever know. But though the seed that he did sow fell upon stony ground, where it had not much earth, it soon sprang up and eventually yielded fruit in great abundance.

At the date above mentioned, and previously and subsequently as well, the writer of this was conducting the *Vox Populi*; and it occurred to him (the matter being entirely in accord with his inclinations) to elaborate the idea broached by Mr. Fay in an editorial article, and in that way ascertain if there were really more than "two hearts that beat as one" on this subject among its readers in Lowell. Accordingly, in the issue of that journal of September 4th, under the heading of "Our Oldest Inhabitants," appeared a rather lengthy article which opened as follows: "There is in every place great value attached to local history, and every paragraph that is fished up by editors concerning 'old times' is read with liveliest interest by all classes. The old people of a town are regarded as 'land marks' and living receptacles of historical facts of periods every year growing more obscure and less understood. . . . There are now living in Lowell men who came about the time cotton manufacturing was begun and who have since resided here, who are thoroughly informed relative to the early history of Lowell, or cer-

tainly with certain features of it. What they know, if it could in some way be put upon record, would be of great value for future use. But their numbers are every year growing less, and opportunities for collecting information through such sources are gradually slipping away, never again to be presented. . . . It has been thought that our veteran residents ought to form an association, to be composed of those who have lived here a certain number of years, and that the relation of facts based on their personal experience and observation be made the principal feature of their meetings. Their records, made up of their experiences, would be more esteemed years hence than when written or delivered. Such an association would finally become a historical association, such as ought now to be in existence in this city. We can see how such meetings might be made of especial value, and know that good would grow out of them. It will afford us much satisfaction to chronicle a movement inclining in that direction." The preceding is the spirit of the first article on the subject rather than the letter, it being altogether too lengthy for repetition here. In it was given a list of one hundred and fifty-two names of gentlemen of prominence, then living in the city, which had been made up from the second directory of Lowell, published in 1833 — then thirty-five years previously, now sixty years ago. The list will be attractive to not a small number of people, although there are but few mentioned (less than a dozen and a half) in it who still live. It reads as follows:

Abbott, Ziba
 Adams, Jonathan
 Allen, Otis
 Andrews, Ephraim
 Atkinson, James V.
 Atherton, Thomas

Bailey, Manasseh
 Bancroft, Jefferson
 Bancroft, Selwyn
 Bascom, William
 Bedlow, Artemas
 Bedlow, Joseph

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| Bellows, Samuel M. | Foot, James L. |
| Bennett, Wm. S. | Fox, Jesse |
| Billings, S. D. | Francis, James B. |
| Blanchard, Amos | French, Josiah B. |
| Bowers, Jonathan | Gates, Josiah |
| Brabrook, Joseph A. | Gibly, Samuel J. |
| Bradt, Garritt A. | Gilman, Alfred |
| Bradt, David | Goodhue, Jason |
| Bragdon, George | Gotham, Henry |
| Brooks, Artemas L. | Gove, David |
| Brownell, George | Gray, William C. |
| Bullard, Otis | Green, John O. |
| Butcher, John | Greenleaf, Daniel G. |
| Carney, James G. | Hadley, John |
| Chambers, Cyrus | Hale, Bernice |
| Clement, Asa | Hedrick, George |
| Clough, Henry | Holland, John W. |
| Coburn, Charles B. | Hopkins, James |
| Coburn, T. J. | Horn, Samuel |
| Coburn, H. A. | Howe, Jeroboam |
| Coggin, Jacob | Howe, Lorenzo G. |
| Collins, Daniel M. | Hutchinson, Reuben M. |
| Corliss, H. G. F. | Hubbard, Josiah |
| Crane, Ebenezer | Jenkins, Joel |
| Crosby, Sylvester | Kendall, Jonathan |
| Cummisky, Hugh | Kimball, Gilman |
| Cushing, Stephen | Kittredge, Abner |
| Dane, George | Kittredge, William |
| Davis, Elisha | Lawson, Peter |
| Dean, Horace C. | Livingston, Daniel |
| Dillingham, Artemas | Livingston, Caleb |
| Douglas, Erastus | Lovejoy, Daniel |
| Dugdale, James | Lyman, Roland |
| Ed-on, Theodore | Manahan, Mark |
| Farrington, Daniel | Marshall, Avery |
| Favor, Nathaniel B. | Marvell, Caleb M. |
| Fellows, James K. | McFarlin, William |
| Filfield, Edward | Merrill, Joshua |
| Fisher, Samuel S. | Moar, Stephen |
| Flanders, Phanael | Motley, George |
| Flint, Oliver W. | Nesmith, John |

Nesmith, Thomas	Sprague, Levi
Nichols, N. G.	Stanley, George W.
Nichols, William	Stanton, H. B.
Nute, Andrew T.	Stearns, Erastus
Osgood, Charles	Stevens, Solon
Owen, Wm. N.	Tapley, Joseph
Page, Samuel	Thurston, Benjamin
Parkhurst, Matthias	Tilton, Abram
Parmenter, Horace	Tower, James
Patch, Ephraim B.	Tripp, John L.
Peabody, Josiah G.	Tuck, Edward
Pillsbury, Harlin	Tufts, Edward
Place, Isaac	Tyler, Jonathan
Pressey, Thomas W.	Tyler, Silas
Putnam, Adam	Watson, Edward F.
Raynes, Joseph	Whipple, Oliver M.
Read, Elisha M.	Whithed, Darius
Richardson, E. G.	Whiting, Phineas
Robbins, Jacob	Whittier, Moses
Robertson, A. H.	Wheeler, Albert
Roby, Augustus B.	Wright, James
Rodliff, Ferdinand	Wilder, Charles H.
Saunders, Alfred S.	Winchester, Samuel
Sawtell, Josiah	Wing, Alpheus G.
Scadding, Aaron	Wood, Samuel
Spalding, Weld	Wright, Hapgood

The article closed as follows: "The preceding list shows that there is material in abundance with which to construct an association such as has been suggested. There are several gentlemen named who, lacking the opportunity which an organization would give them for such labor, might profitably employ their leisure in committing to writing for the press their experiences and observations of events during their early years in Lowell; but we should much prefer to see the foundation for a local historical society laid by them."

A week later (September 11th) there was warrant for a second article on the same subject: "A number of

gentlemen have spoken to us concerning our suggestions last week, and all favor steps being taken to bring the old citizens together, that something may be done toward effecting an organization. We are pleased at this evidence of interest. There are a large number of gentlemen in the city, in addition to those whose names have been given, who were intimately identified with many of the early interests of Lowell; and the recollections of such gentlemen are precisely what are wanted and what would go to make the meetings of an organization of special and peculiar interest, while through them would be brought out many valuable facts which should properly have a place in our local history. We have been requested to urge some half-a-dozen or more of the men of the early days of our city to arrange for an informal meeting of old residents, that the proposition for an organization may be in proper form brought up and discussed. This we gladly do. Such a meeting may be brought about without expense; in it the whole matter could be reviewed, and if deemed expedient to go forward, steps might then be taken for a formal meeting, when the work could be done systematically. Who will move in the matter? Remember, what is everybody's business nobody looks after. It will require but little labor to bring together the few necessary to put this ball in motion, and those few will have the whole question in their own hands and can dispose of it as circumstances and their inclinations seem to warrant."

On the 9th of October a third article appeared in which the writer stated that "as yet no one has started in on the work; one seems to be waiting for another, and so the matter rests. It is not for us to say more or do anything further. We are far from being one of 'the oldest inhabitants,' although we have been here quite a

number of years. We hope, however, that the suggestion (for an organization) is not to be dropped. It can be discussed by a dozen gentlemen who can be easily brought together, and then its practicability may be determined. We want in Lowell a local historical society, and there is no better way to begin one than to form an association which shall put on record all that it is possible to collect now concerning the early days of our city; but we shall never have it if the prominent men who desire it delay, hold back, wait, simply because they do not wish to be the first to appear in the movement."

By this time the matter had attracted the attention of some of the former residents of Lowell. From a business letter from a gentleman at the time residing in Cincinnati, the following very encouraging extract was taken:

"You will permit me to congratulate you on your efforts to secure the establishment of a local historical society, whose objects shall be to preserve all legends, traditions, facts and reminiscences connected with one of the most interesting cities on this continent. It has always seemed to me after having enjoyed the privilege of contrasting the careful, painstaking fidelity of the people of England and France with the American indifference to records and local manuscripts, that the province of the antiquarian is most terribly undervalued.

"I cannot assume the attitude of a 'prominent man,' but can lay some claim to be regarded as an 'old resident' of Lowell, having mingled in its affairs—religious, educational, industrial, social, political and military—during a period of nineteen years. The happiest hours I ever passed have been among my friends in Lowell; and an absence of nearly ten years has not caused the recollections of former associations to fade or grow dim. Many of our friends have passed to their final rest, and with their departure volumes and volumes of interesting intelligence, never committed to the keeping of a society, have been irretrievably scattered and lost to future generations.

"In the confident expectation of becoming a member of your proposed organization, I remain respectfully your friend and servant."

Among those in Lowell who manifested much interest in the proposition was Mr. Edward B. Howe, who came to this place in 1826, or when he was about ten years of age. He has seen the city grow from a population of about fifteen thousand to its present fair proportions, its souls numbering eighty-five thousand. As a youth every highway leading from the city and every street within its limits; every manufactory, mill, public building or conspicuous private residence; every man at all distinguished in the manufactories, the trades and the professions (from observation if in no other way) were familiar to him and were clearly impressed upon his memory; and twenty-five years ago there were few men living in Lowell who had a keener recollection of the early days and early residents of our city than he. No one expressed more interest in the movement which had been advocated than Mr. Howe, and no one exhibited more readiness than did he to help inaugurate it. After occasional conferences with him, he was willing and ready to join with the writer in the responsibility, and bear a portion of the expense of calling a public meeting to consider and dispose of the proposition. It was then agreed, after consultation with Messrs. Samuel Fay, Charles Hovey, Elisha M. Read, Joshua Merrill and perhaps others, to issue a notice of a proposed meeting. A copy of that notice has been preserved, and is here presented:

EARLY RESIDENTS OF LOWELL.

SIR: It is proposed to hold a preliminary meeting of Early Residents of Lowell, to consider the question of organizing a society, one object of which shall be to collect and preserve, as far as practicable, the Local History of this city — (especially that which relates to its origin and to its progress up to a period within the memory of a numerous class of our present population) — which is in the possession of those now in our midst, but which, without

the organization suggested, must inevitably cease to exist when this class of our community (every year growing smaller) has passed away.

You are respectfully invited to a meeting of a few long-time resident citizens, at the book-store of Joshua Merrill, Esq., No. 37 Merrimack Street, on Saturday evening, November 21st, at 8 o'clock, in which the propriety of this movement will be fully discussed. It is hoped your personal interest in the matter will prompt you to be present at the hour named.

This call is sanctioned and encouraged by several well known and responsible gentlemen of Lowell.

November 18, 1868.

This call, it will be observed, bears no signatures; no one individual took the responsibility of fathering it; but it had the approval, as stated, of reliable and well-known gentlemen. A list of one hundred names of citizens who, it was thought, might be interested in the project, was next made up, to be reached through the post office; and Mr. Howe voluntarily attended to mailing the circulars, and is entitled to the credit of having made the first cash investment on behalf of the contemplated and finally consummated organization. The result of this movement was quite as encouraging as could have been expected, for more than one-half of those to whom the circular was sent attended the meeting. Fifty-five is not a very large congregation, but in a small, one-room book-store they seemed to be a good many. Mr. Merrill's store was in a portion of what was originally the Freewill Baptist Church's edifice, erected in 1836 by Rev. Nathaniel Thurston, familiarly known as "Elder Thurston," whose enterprise, being a financial failure, was the cause of his downfall in Lowell. It eventually passed into other hands, and became a museum and theatre. It was twice nearly ruined by fire; once it was struck by lightning. Hildreth Block, opposite the head of Central Street, now

covers the church-site. The society afterward built on Paige Street, where it still exists. Many of the gentlemen at this meeting received their first information concerning the scheme in the notification that had been sent to them. Only a few of the number could be seated; the majority, reaching from the outside front entrance down to the rear end of the store, were obliged to stand during the proceedings.

Hon. E. B. Patch called the meeting to order. George Brownell was chosen chairman and Z. F. Stone secretary. The chairman, a rather large, portly gentleman, was not conspicuous enough on the floor among those who had conferred on him the honors of office; he was, therefore, requested to go behind the counter, and there, standing upon a box, "dressed in a little brief authority," he governed and directed the first meeting of the Old Residents of Lowell. The secretary, appropriately enough, was assigned to a position near the chairman, and, with the show-case for a table, made true and just record of their interesting and important proceedings.

Hon. J. G. Peabody made a motion, which was approved, that the secretary record the names of the gentlemen present, and the years in which they came to Lowell. The chairman commenced the work by calling the years at 1821. There was but one gentleman present who dated previous to that year—William Wood, born in Dracut in 1820. The following are the dates and responses:

1821—Jeroboam Howe.

1822—Albert Wheeler.

“ S. K. Hutchinson.

“ Wm. Kittredge.

“ John O. Green.

1823—Charles Morrill.

1824—Jas. V. Atkinson.

“ Josiah G. Peabody.

“ Jefferson Bancroft.

“ Sam. M. Williams.

“ John F. Kimball.

“ George Brownell.

1826—Joseph Bedlow.	1832—Edw. F. Watson.
“ James Tower.	“ Horace Parmenter.
“ Edward B. Howe.	“ Ephraim Crosby.
“ Selwin Bancroft.	“ A. L. Brooks.
1827—Erastus Douglas.	“ Wilder Bennett.
“ Thomas Paul.	1833—Charles Hovey.
“ Thomas Atherton.	“ Samuel Fay.
“ Joshua Merrill.	1834—Jacob Nichols.
“ Benjamin Walker.	“ George S. Hatch.
1828—William Fiske.	1835—Thomas P. Woodman.
“ Elisha M. Read.	“ James S. Russell.
“ D. G. Greenleaf.	“ Wm. F. Sanborn.
1829—Chas. C. Nichols.	1836—Luke C. Dodge.
1830—Wm. S. Bennett.	1837—Jos. J. Judkins.
“ Durell Kimball.	“ Wm. H. Parker.
“ Sam. M. Bellows.	1839—John A. Buttrick.
“ Erastus Stearns.	“ Jonathan Rice.
1831—Horace C. Dean.	“ Geo. W. Varnum.
“ George Hedrick.	1840—Frederick Holton.
“ H. G. F. Corliss.	1842—Zina E. Stone.
“ Ephraim B. Patch.	1845—Daniel Holt.

When the names had been recorded, on Joshua Merrill's motion, it was voted that measures be adopted to ensure a permanent organization of old residents of Lowell. The next advance was made by Mr. Peabody, who proposed that a committee of eleven be nominated from the floor, whose duty it should be to report a form of organization, also a list of officers to be voted upon. The following-named gentlemen (voted upon separately) were selected for this committee: John O. Green, Josiah G. Peabody, Charles Morrill, George Brownell, Ephraim B. Patch, Elijah M. Read, Samuel Fay, Artemas L. Brooks, Charles Hovey, Z. E. Stone, Edward B. Howe.

This seemed to be about as far as the meeting could proceed, and it was soon adjourned, to the call of the officers. There were no formal speeches made during the evening, but as the business was transacted, those who

took part in it expressed themselves, generally with enthusiasm, in support of the proposed society, and a warm feeling in its favor was expressed in the general conversation of those who were not active participants in the proceedings.

The committee held its first meeting the Saturday morning following its appointment, at the office of its chairman, Dr. Green, where the later meetings were also held. Here the constitution, the first draft of which was written by the chairman, was completed for presentation to the second general meeting, and at least one of the committee well remembers how admirably the second article of the constitution stated the object of the proposed organization, viz: "to collect, arrange, preserve, and perhaps, from time to time, publish, any facts relating to the history of the city of Lowell, as also to gather and keep all printed or written documents, as well as traditional evidence of every description, relating to the city." These concise words were the key-note and inspiration that gave life and purpose to the movement so auspiciously begun. The work of the committee was quickly and harmoniously performed. Its secretary (Mr. Stone) was instructed to procure suitable books for the use of the association; and the books procured have served to the present time. The constitution had been adopted by the committee, a sub-committee had prepared a list of officers, and a list of names of citizens eligible for membership had been prepared by a second sub-committee. There was nothing more to be done except to submit the work to the higher body.

The second meeting, by instruction called by the officers of the first one, occurred on the 19th of December, in the Citizens' Committee Room, Huntington Hall. The notifying circular originated with the officers of the

committee of eleven. It is rather formal in character; but its re-production here is thought advisable.

LOWELL, Dec. 17, 1868.

DEAR SIR: On the 21st of November last, there was a meeting of some fifty "Early Residents" of Lowell, drawn together by a notice sent to such gentlemen as readily occurred to the minds of those who took the responsibility of issuing the call. The object was to discuss the propriety of forming an association, to be composed of men who may be, with propriety, properly regarded as "Old Residents." Those present gave their names and the years of their coming to Lowell [from which it appears that

One	came in	1819	Two	came in	1829
One	"	1821	Four	"	1830
Four	"	1822	Three	"	1831
One	"	1823	Seven	"	1832
Six	"	1824	One	"	1833
Four	"	1826	Two	"	1834
Five	"	1827	Three	"	1835
Two	"	1828	One	"	1836

This roll-call of itself was intensely interesting to all present, while it was directly suggestive of many absentees, some of whom are still active among us, or in other places, and of many more whose memories still meet us from their graves. With the living, beside the dates of their coming here, must rest a vast fund of facts relating to Early History of our city, in all its interests, general and particular — all valuable, if only *facts* — and authenticated by evidence which every year is becoming more difficult to secure.

A strong feeling was manifested in the meeting in favor of forming an organization designed to embrace all, within certain limits, who are willing to lend their aid to an attempt to collect, arrange, preserve, and perhaps from time to time to publish, any such facts, as also to gather and keep all printed or written documents relating to this history, as well as traditional evidence of every description, relating to the same.]

A large committee was formed to report at a future meeting, to be called by the Chairman and Secretary. Accordingly, there will be a meeting of Early Residents of Lowell, at the Citizens' Committee Room (Huntington Hall), on Saturday evening, December

19, 1868, to listen to the report of the committee, and take such action toward perfecting the organization as may be deemed advisable.

It has been thought best to make eligible to membership those who were in Lowell in 1836 (at the time of the organization of the City Government), or who have been here a third of a century (thirty-three years) and are forty-five years of age. It is hoped that every man entitled by these qualifications to a notice, will receive this circular, and be present at the meeting. Designing to omit no one, and to make the notice general in its character, those receiving this circular are requested to notify, and solicit the attendance of, any person likely to be interested in the movement who may properly be invited.

GEO. BROWNELL, *Chairman*.

Z. E. STONE, *Secretary*.

Undoubtedly this somewhat elaborate notice created increased interest in the movement; for the committee-room was altogether too small to accommodate those who responded to it. Mr. Brownell, discovering that the matter was assuming considerable importance, declined to longer serve as chairman, for the reason, as he said, that there were others more familiar with the duties of a presiding officer than he. Mr. Patch was therefore chosen to succeed Mr. Brownell. Shortly afterwards, without transacting any other business of moment, the meeting was adjourned to the following Monday evening, December 21st, in Jackson Hall. It had previously been announced that at the adjourned meeting there would be an opportunity, if the action of the committee were endorsed, for gentlemen to enroll themselves as members of the proposed organization.

When the adjourned meeting was called to order, there were about one hundred and fifty gentlemen present, showing that now there was widespread interest in the subject to be acted upon. Dr. Green, as chairman of the committee, presented his report, submitted the constitu-

tion, and the list of officers as reported by the sub-committee. Only a portion of his report is here given, for the reason that much of it may be found in the call for this (the second) meeting. The original manuscript of the report is still in existence; the portions omitted are enclosed in brackets in the preceding call. Dr. Green read as follows:

The committee of the Early Residents of Lowell, appointed at the preliminary meeting, November 21st, to report on a permanent organization and a list of officers respectfully submit.

The near approach of the completion of a half century since the origin of our city, and the sad consciousness that the actors and witnesses of that event are now rapidly passing away, would seem to have been the motives which prompted a few gentlemen to issue a call for a meeting of Early Residents on the evening of November 21st. An invitation was sent to such persons as readily occurred to them, and at the appointed time more than fifty responded to their names, and gave the date of their first coming to Lowell. [See preceding call—the portions included in brackets.] Your committee, consisting of John O. Green, J. G. Peabody, Charles Morrill, George Brownell, E. B. Patch, Elijah M. Read, Samuel Fay, A. L. Brooks, Charles Hovey, Z. E. Stone, and E. B. Howe, have, at repeated meetings, given full consideration to the subjects assigned them and herewith submit a form of constitution, with a list of two hundred and thirty-three persons who may be eligible under it, together with a list of officers.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN O. GREEN, *Chairman*.

LOWELL, December 19, 1868.

By assignment the chairman read the constitution, which is here appended and as it existed without change till 1871:

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. — *Name*.

SECTION 1. — The name of this organization shall be The Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell.

ARTICLE II. — *Objects.*

SECTION 1. — The objects of this Association shall be to collect, arrange, preserve, and perhaps from time to time publish, any facts relating to the history of the city of Lowell, as also to gather and keep all printed and written documents, as well as traditional evidence of every description, relating to the city.

ARTICLE III. — *Officers.*

SECTION 1. — The officers shall be a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer, who shall be elected annually.

SECT. 2. — There shall also be an executive committee consisting of two from each ward, whose duty it shall be to attend to the collection, arrangement, and transmission to a recording secretary (who may be selected by the committee) of all matters pertaining to the objects of the association, and to appoint such sub-committees as may be necessary to aid them in their duties. In this committee is vested the power to fill all vacancies that may occur during the year, and to direct the secretary to call special meetings. They shall also fix the compensation of the recording secretary.

ARTICLE IV. — *Membership.*

SECTION 1. — Any person shall be eligible to membership who was a resident of Lowell at the time of the organization of the city government (May 2, 1836), or prior to that date, or has resided in Lowell thirty-three years and attained the age of forty-five years.

SECT. 2. — It shall be necessary for the applicant for membership to sign the constitution and pay to the treasurer the sum of one dollar annually.

ARTICLE V. — *Meetings.*

SECTION 1. — The annual meeting of the association for the election of officers shall be held the first week in May or at such time and place as the president shall appoint, printed notices of which shall be given to members by the secretary.

ARTICLE VI. — *Honorary Members.*

SECTION 1. — Non-residents of Lowell or persons who formerly resided in this city may be made honorary members by a vote of the executive committee.

ARTICLE VII. — *Amendments.*

SECTION 1. — This constitution may be amended at any meeting, previous notice of the same having been given by the secretary in the call for such meetings.

There was some debate after the reading of the constitution, in which Messrs. W. P. Webster, E. F. Sherman, J. O. Green, C. C. Nichols, Peter Lawson, Samuel Fay, H. G. F. Corliss, E. B. Patch, M. G. Perkins, and others participated. Most of the speakers wanted information respecting certain articles and did not oppose any part of the document. The report was accepted and adopted. The list of officers reported was as follows: John O. Green, president; A. L. Brooks, vice-president; Z. E. Stone, secretary and treasurer; executive committee, Ward One—James B. Francis, Edward Tufts; Two—Joshua Merrill, J. P. Jewett; Three—Hapgood Wright, E. B. Patch; Four—E. F. Watson, Benj. Walker; Five—J. G. Peabody, Charles Morrill; Six—J. K. Chase, E. B. Howe. Mr. Read, at this stage of the proceedings, read a list of two hundred and thirty-three persons eligible for membership; but the list does not seem to have been preserved.

It will be noticed that the constitution provides for the employment of a recording secretary, whose duties are not stated but may be inferred, and there was a memorandum in Dr. Green's handwriting, suggesting Jacob Robbins for that office, but apparently the executive committee has never found any use for such a functionary, and consequently none has ever been appointed. Mr. Stone declined the office of secretary and treasurer, for the reason that by the provisions of the constitution he was not eligible for membership; but the position was assumed that the association could select for the office, if it chose to do so, a person outside of its organization. No action was taken and he entered upon the duties of the office.

Before this meeting was dismissed (at a rather late hour for elderly people to be abroad) thirty gentlemen had

signed the constitution and become members of the Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell, and as many more would have signed, but on account of the lateness of the hour they had left for their homes. Dr. Green's name stands at the head of the list, and well it may. The new organization was now one of the institutions of the city, to "sink or swim, survive or perish," as its members might thereafter elect. After a quarter of a century of life, we think no one fully knowing what it has accomplished will presume to deny that it has established a reputation worthy of a position with the foremost achievements of our well-known city.

The story of the Old Residents' Historical Association from the time of the meeting in Jackson Hall, December 21, 1868, may be told in few words. It has had a membership numbering five hundred and thirty; the number of deaths from May, 1868, to December, 1893, as far as known, has been two hundred and fifty-four, which seems large considering the number of members; but it was truly said a great while ago that "the young may die, the old must die." A large per cent. of the deceased members were far past middle age when they united with the association, and in the natural course of events their demise followed ere many years had elapsed. The list has been made as perfect as possible to date and is appended to this paper.

There have been held and recorded seventy-eight regular and special meetings, at which generally one or more contributions have been read. At first the plan was to call the roll of members, when those who would consent to prepare articles for the subsequent meeting would

respond to that effect. Committees have also been appointed, when there were no volunteers, to arrange for contributions, and sometimes by other means the officers have succeeded in having a satisfactory programme at each meeting. Not all the papers read have been published; not all have been given up to the association; but there has never been a lack of manuscripts when it has been deemed wise to compile for publication. The association, when so disposed, may publish articles of local value original with people outside of the organization; this has in a few instances been done. There is in existence, it may be mentioned here, matter enough of that character for an entire volume, which could easily be obtained, and perhaps it ought to have a place in our works, for its publication would be in accordance with the objects of this association.

Perhaps the credit of having made the first address exactly according with the purposes of this organization, is due to its first president, Dr. John O. Green, at the opening of the first annual meeting. This address is the initial article in the first volume of Contributions. The two striking things in it (both very briefly stated) are the scene which he witnessed of the planting of acorns of the white oak in Lowell (in 1833) with the expectation of raising timber for the use of the mills; and, secondly, his tribute to the memory of the late James G. Carney, then deceased but recently—February 10, 1869. Mr. Carney was not a member of the association, but there were few men in Lowell better known for many years than he, very largely through his connection with the Lowell Institution for Savings. At the same meeting addresses were also made by Hon. John A. Knowles and Edward F. Sherman, who was Mayor of Lowell in 1871.

The president called a meeting February 22, 1870—

the one hundred and thirty-eighth anniversary of the birth of Washington. Remarks were made by Messrs. Peabody, Green, Wright, Brooks, Gray, Fay, and Gates. A shorthand reporter was present by engagement, but it is not remembered that any of the remarks have been put upon the pages of the Contributions.

At the annual meeting in May, 1870, the executive committee, through Chairman Peabody, recommended that there be annual social gatherings of the members and their wives, when there should be entertainment in the form of addresses, refreshments, etc., and the recommendation was adopted. A measure was also adopted which required that a committee of twelve members of the association (under stated conditions) should be appointed to attend the funerals of deceased brother members. These measures do not seem to have met with general acceptance. In some instances committees may have attended funerals, but the practice has not been of frequent occurrence.

There seems to have been but one social event in the experience of the association, and that was not attended by ladies. It did not occur until more than three years had passed after the measure was adopted. August 27, 1874, by special invitation, the members, in considerable force, assembled at the residence of Mr. Peabody, to join him in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of his coming to Lowell. The late Jefferson Bancroft, who was among those present, came on the same day. The occasion was obviously a pleasant one. Dr. Green, with but little formality, introduced Mr. Peabody (although he was, probably, acquainted with every individual present), who made brief, appropriate remarks, to which the Doctor responded with equal felicity. Alfred Gilman read some rhymes, into which, in a pleasant way, he introduced the names of

certain of the old residents who were present. The ex-secretary of the association read a sketch which purported to be an incident in his own experience, entitled, "My Interview with Kirk Boott, and what came of it." It was, really, the experience of William Kittredge, while an apprentice to one of his brothers, and was a narration of facts, as told by himself. Mr. Kittredge, who was present, had not been informed that the sketch was to be read, and was, probably, at first, a little surprised, but in nowise offended. It was, really, a very good story, and there was nothing in it at all discreditable to Mr. Boott or the blacksmith's apprentice boy. It afterward, with his consent, appeared in print. No mention of this meeting appears upon the records of the association.

In 1871, it having been demonstrated that with only yearly meetings the contemplated work of the association would be unsatisfactory, it was voted to convene quarterly, beginning with May of that year, and the rule has prevailed to the present time.

At the meeting, November 11, 1875, the association took positive action in favor of publicly celebrating "the fiftieth anniversary of the municipal independence of the town (now city) of Lowell" by passing a resolution "earnestly desiring" it, which was sent to the city clerk, through whom it was communicated to the City Council, which was asked to take action on the subject. The anniversary occurred March 1, 1876. A sub-committee of the executive committee, in conference with a committee of its members appointed by the City Council, made the necessary arrangements for an elaborate celebration. The association offered a prize of \$25 for an ode to be sung on the occasion, for which several parties competed, but the winner was John F. Frye, Esq., the assistant justice of our municipal court. The proceedings of that celebra-

tion having been published in detail in book-form, more particulars concerning it are not warranted here. It was an exceedingly creditable affair, and the Old Residents were conspicuous in it. The records of the association, unfortunately, excepting mentioning the inauguration of the movement, are silent respecting the celebration.

May 7, 1885, the matter of canvassing for members was discussed and referred to the executive committee, which apparently authorized such a measure. There could not have been any good reason for opposing it, and it resulted in securing quite a number of new members; but they did not all "sign the constitution"—it was signed by the secretary for them. This method of obtaining signatures does not appear to some people as exactly the best. A very interesting feature of the records of the association is the signatures of the members as appended by themselves. The names there are a part of the treasures of our organization. Attached to the constitution should be the bona fide signature of each one, which no one could dispute. This list may possibly, in the progress of events, be appealed to, to prove the genuineness of some other signature, by the descendants of the signers or by courts of law. Again: what interest can one find in a page of names of our old residents, attached in the handwriting of one individual, however neatly enrolled, compared with the real autographs of each member? It may be doubted if that immortal scroll, the Declaration of Independence (is it comparing small things with great ones?), would have aroused the enthusiasm and inspired with patriotism the American people as it has, had all the signatures to it been recorded by the secretary of the convention. Who does not delight to look upon the bold, clear signature of John Hancock, who desired to write his name so distinctly that the enemies of

his country would find no difficulty in reading it! or the mercantile hand of Charles Carroll, who thoughtfully added "of Carrollton" to it, that he might not be mistaken for another of the same name, but not of the same town! or the name written by the trembling hand of "Steph. Hopkins," who quietly remarked, as he laid down his pen, that he would have the British know that if his hand shook his heart did not; or that of witty Ben. Franklin, who, when some one said that in their movement for independence they "must all hang together," replied, "Yes, certainly, or we shall all very likely hang separately!" Of how much value would be a fac-simile of that wonderful instrument, if in the handwriting of any one of its signers, compared with it as signed by each one of the bold patriots! It would have been proper, and altogether better for the association, had the canvasser, after obtaining a list of names of gentlemen willing to become members, gone to them a second time with the book for their autographs.

December 23, 1885, in the death of Dr. Green, its president to that date, the association lost one of its earliest and truest friends and supporters. April 8, 1891, it once more sustained a severe loss in the death of Alfred Gilman, its secretary and treasurer. This is not the time nor place for eulogistic words; yet the writer feels that he can do no less than bear testimony to the great value of the services of Dr. Green and the senior Gilman on behalf of the association; they can scarcely be overestimated.

May 6, 1886, Charles C. Chase was elected to succeed Dr. Green as president. He filled the office most satisfactorily until May 3, 1892, when, in consequence of ill health, he resigned. The present worthy incumbent, Benjamin Walker, who has from its organization been prominent in the service of the association, was chosen

to succeed him. Alfred Gilman, Junior, was the successor of his father as secretary and treasurer, but unfortunately for only a year and a half; he died October 21, 1892. James T. Smith is the present incumbent of that office, having been chosen November 18, 1892. It may not be out of place to mention, in this connection, that the first secretary and treasurer of the association, in November, 1871, resigned in consequence of the pressure of business matters upon his time. At the following annual meeting he was again chosen, but once more declined to serve, and Mr. Gilman was then elected for the first time. The association kindly honored him with complimentary mention in its records.* A few years later he became eligible for membership, and stands enrolled as the one hundred and sixty-seventh signer of the constitution.

The seal or device now used officially for letter-headings, on envelopes, etc., was originated and obtained by the late John W. Smith. The indistinct figure of an Indian in a wilderness, is the upper portion of the design; and the cotton mill and appliances useful to his civilized successor, in the lower part, it would seem were intended to typify the condition of things in this locality at two periods not widely apart, considering the age of our country. Perhaps the seal might be improved by placing in the space below the name of the association the words which seem to have been chosen in recent years as a motto, and placed upon the title page of the Contributions, viz: "'Tis greatly wise to talk with our past hours."—Young.

The amendments to the constitution have not been many in twenty-five years. At the annual meeting, May,

* On motion of Alfred Gilman it was "unanimously voted that the thanks of this association be presented to Mr. Z. E. Stone, to whose efforts, in a great measure, is owing its origin and successful organization, and for his able and efficient services as secretary."—Records of meeting, November 10, 1871.

1871, article fourth, section two, was amended, and the applicant for membership was required to sign the constitution and "furnish a photograph of himself."
 . . . May 3, 1883, article sixth, section two, was amended by adding the words: Any person interested in the objects of the association may be made a corresponding member by a vote of the executive committee. . . .
 May 6, 1886, it was voted to admit ladies to all the rights and privileges of the association upon the terms and conditions of the constitution. . . . At the same meeting article three, section two, was amended by striking out the words "consisting of two from each ward," that the executive committee might be made up independently of ward lines. (The later action on the same proposition was unnecessary.) At the meeting in May, 1893, article four, section one, was amended by striking out "twenty-five" and inserting fifteen, and "forty-five" and inserting twenty-one, and by adding to the section: Any resident clergyman. . . . Article five, section one, was amended by striking out "in the first week," allowing the annual meeting to be held any time in May. The recommendation of the executive committee (May, 1870,) that there be annual social gatherings, etc., and also that there be a committee of twelve members appointed to attend funerals of deceased members, may or may not be regarded as amendments; they have certainly not been to a great extent observed. . . .
 February 16, 1892, it was voted that on the death of a member of the association the secretary notify at least five other members to attend the funeral.

And now, what has been accomplished in the twenty five years past by our association? The question must

be briefly answered. To many of its members it seems to have performed, in a large degree, the precise work for which it was founded. It has (and the importance of this work cannot, in a moment, be comprehended) published four volumes of contributions, or papers, embracing one thousand seven hundred and thirty pages, which, with few exceptions, relate to the early days of Lowell—to its founders, its industries, its growth and progress, its schools, its professional men, and those who impressed the influence of their minds and the work of their hands upon this city—the leading manufacturing district in New England. In the four volumes there are one hundred and fifteen separate articles and seventeen illustrations—mostly portraits of persons who have been in some respects prominent in the affairs of Lowell. November 12, 1873, the first number of volume one of the Contributions was authorized to be printed, and copies of it were distributed to members at the meeting February 4, 1874. The first volume was issued in 1879; second in 1883; third in 1887, and fourth in 1892. About one-half of the fifth volume is already published, the rule from the first being to issue the volumes in four parts each, as appropriate matter accumulated.

The list of authors and the number of contributions each one has made may be of interest in this connection.

Mrs. C. L. Abbott	1
Dr. Nathan Allen	2
Rev. W. R. Bagnall	3
Samuel Batchelder (letters)	1
James Bayles	1
Ephraim Brown	3
George J. Carney	1
Charles C. Chase	7
Charles Cowley	3
Rev. A. St. John Chambré	1

Lorin L. Dame	1
Miss E. M. Edson	1
Rev. Theodore Edson	3
Samuel Fay	1
Josiah B. French	2
James K. Fellows	3
James B. Francis	2
Alfred Gilman	12
Dr. John O. Green	7
Lewis Green	1
Rev. J. M. Greene	1
Dr. Samuel A. Green	1
George Hedrick	1
Daniel Knapp	1
John A. Knowles	2
Charles Hovey	6
Samuel Lawrence	1
Thomas B. Lawson	2
John A. Lowell	1
Joshua Merrill	3
Henry M. Ordway	2
Dr. D. N. Patterson	3
H. S. Perham	2
John P. Robinson	1
William A. Richardson	1
James S. Russell	8
John W. Smith	1
Gen. George Stark	1
Z. E. Stone	7
Rev. Owen Street	1
Solon W. Stevens	1
Grace Le B. Upham	1
Benjamin Walker	3
Horatio Wood	1
Horatio Wood, Jr.	1
A. Bliss Wright	1
Atkinson C. Varnum	1
George L. Vose	1

But not a little is due to the members who are not numbered among those who have written for or spoken in

the meetings of the association. As "they serve who only stand and wait," so, also, have they served who have stood by our organization, and, by their frequent presence at its meetings, encouraged the efforts of the officers, and whose yearly payments of dues contributed to its treasury the means with which the running expenses and the additional expense of publishing the four volumes—the best fruits of the association—have been met. There has been in the proceedings of the association nothing novel or sensational to attract them; no income or pecuniary gain in store for them; no hope of reward in any form—nothing has prompted their interest in the meetings excepting the satisfaction they derived from companionship with those of kindred tastes in the work which was taken up by the association. Surely they are entitled to these few words of recognition and commendation.

In addition to its literary work there have, in various ways, been collected manuscripts, books, pamphlets, volumes of newspapers, etc., of great value, and which will ever so remain, but which, except for the association, would not have been preserved for Lowell. Many city and town histories have been published in New England; but who can name a city or town that can boast the possession of the peculiar wealth which is attached to the four volumes of Contributions, not to mention the articles of a corresponding character and value which it has acquired? It may well be doubted if anything of like value elsewhere exists within the limits of our country.

The good work which this association has accomplished in twenty-five years, one may dare hope, is to be followed by vastly more, of wider scope and higher purpose. Is there not in this organization the germ of a historical society in Lowell which shall, eventually, have ownership in a substantial edifice bearing its name, with

halls for its meetings, and for public use, apartments for its library, and ample room for its historic, literary, and art accumulations, and which shall, likewise, be an honor and an ornament to our fair city! So grand a thing may not be consummated in the life-time of any inhabitant of Lowell to-day, for life is short, and time is fleeting; but may it not be among the possibilities now foreshadowed?

MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

JANUARY 1, 1894.

Adams, Charles E.	Burnham, Philetus
Allen, Allston	Burrows, William
Allen, Charles H.	Butler, Freeman H.
Allen, Otis	Butler, Josiah
Allen, Thomas O.	Buttrick, James G.
Anderson, William H.	Caldwell, Pliny W.
Bailey, John A.	Caldwell, Edwin B.
Bailey, S. G.	Carlton, Eli B.
Bancroft, John J.	Carney, George J.
Barker, Alfred D.	Chandler, Francis H.
Barnes, C. Oliver	Chandler, George H.
Barnes, Henry H.	Chapin, Sam
Bartlett, D. B.	Chase, Charles C.
Batchelder, John M.	Chase, Ira M.
(Honorary)	Chase, Samuel A.
Bean, Sylvester	Cheney, C. J.
Beck, Samuel	Cheney, George S.
Benner, B. C.	Church, Henry C.
Bennett, James W.	Clark, Jeremiah
Bennett, Wilder	Clough, Nathan
Berry, Charles R.	Coburn, Charles B.
Boyden, Erastus	Coburn, Charles H.
Brigham, Elizabeth S.	Coburn, Edward F.
Brigham, Oramel A.	Coburn, Franklin
Brock, Greenleaf C.	Collins, David M.
Brown, Charles W.	Conant, Abel E.
Brown, Ephraim	Cooper, Isaac
Brown, Joseph S.	Cooper, William H.
Brown, Willard A.	Corey, William M.
Burgess, Thomas F.	Cowley, Charles
Burnham, Albert W.	Crowell, Albert

- Crowley, Jeremiah
Cunnock, A. G.
Currier, Jacob B.
Cushing, George S.
Danforth, Solomon
Davis, Asabel
Davis, Sydney
Dobbins, Richard
Dodge, Luke C.
Dows, Amos W.
Dows, Azro M.
Drew, Charles W.
Dudley, George D.
Dugdale, James
Dumas, Levi
Dunlap, Harry
Eaton, Forrest
Ellingwood, Edward
Elliott, George M.
Emery, George
Emmott, James
Favor, Jacob G.
Fellows, James K.
Fielding, H. A.
Fiske, George W.
Flagg, William H.
Flanders, Henry R.
Fletcher, Edmond D.
Fletcher, Isaac A.
Francis, James
Frye, Frederick
Fuller, Jason
Furlong, John C.
Gage, Daniel
Gage, James U.
Garner, Edward
Goodale, William
Googin, Benjamin L.
Goulding, Robert
Gould, Sumner S.
Gray, Albert M.
Gray, Frank
Greenleaf, Nathan S.
Greeley, Pell M.
Griffin, Charles
Hadley, Samuel P.
Haggett, Albert A.
Harris, Arthur W.
Hartshorn, Edward
Hartwell, Ira D.
Hayes, Joseph R.
Haynes, Thomas G.
Hazen, Carlos
Healey, Henry
Hedrick, George
Hildreth, Charles L.
Hill, Benjamin C.
Hills, George D.
Hills, William F.
Holden, Frederick A.
Holt, Joseph S.
Holton, Frederic
Hopkins, James
Horne, D. W.
Horn, Samuel
Hovey, Cyrus
Hovey, William
Howe, Augustus J.
Howe, Edward B.
Howe, William G.
Howard, James
Huntoon, George L.
Huse, Hiram E.
Hutchinson, Charles C.
Jameson, Charles E.
Jaques, John S.
Jarvis, William J.
Johnson, Joseph B.
Johnson, Julius C.
Kershaw, Abraham

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|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Kidder, Samuel | Offutt, George F. |
| Kileski, Henry | Orange, Henry S. |
| Kimball, John F. | Ordway, Henry M. |
| Kirby, Stephen J. | Osgood, George C. |
| Knapp, Chancey L. | Owen, William Alonzo |
| Lambert, Henry A. | Page, J. Frank |
| Lang, Bickford | Parker, Moses G. |
| Langley, William | Patten, Charles A. |
| Lawrence, Benjamin | Patterson, George W. |
| Lawrence, Sam. | Peabody, Josiah G. |
| Lawton, Frederick | Pearson, George W. |
| Lawton, George F. | Pearson, James M. |
| Leonard, Ira | Pearson, John |
| Libbee, George F. | Pearl, F. F. |
| Lincoln, Varnum | Perkins, Francis S. |
| Livingston, William E. | Perkins, Major G. |
| Lord, Henry A. | Philbrick, Caleb |
| Lovejoy, Frederick | Pillsbury, G. H. |
| Mack, Sewall G. | Place, David |
| Manahan, John F. | Prescott, D. M. |
| Marston, Arthur | Prince, Edward |
| Maynard, C. I. W. | Puffer, A. D. |
| Maxfield, Rufus A. | Puffer, Freeman W. |
| McAlvin, John H. | Randlett, Newell A. |
| McArthur, William | Raymond, Samuel |
| McKissock, Robert | Richards, John |
| Merrill, B. C. | Richards, Luther |
| Moore, J. N. | Richardson, Lafayette |
| Morey, George F. | Richardson, Oliver A. |
| Morse, James M. | Rodliff, Ferdinand |
| Morse, W. W. | Rolfe, Abiel |
| Motley, George | Rollins, Pliny |
| Murphy, James | Rushworth, Benjamin |
| Murrh, James R. | Russell, C. K. |
| Nesmith, Robert D. | Russell, James S. |
| Nichols, Charles C. | Sanborn, E. A. |
| Norcross, N. W. | Sargent, E. M. |
| Norris, George W. | Sawyer, Alfred P. |
| Nowell, Foster | Scott, James |
| Noyes, Person | Scribner, George F. |

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|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Seaver, William | Vinall, G. A. W. |
| Seldry, Isaac H. | Walker, Benjamin |
| Shattuck, Horace B. | Wallace, Daniel R. |
| Sheldon, Abiel W. | Watson, James |
| Sherman, William W. | Ward, Sullivan L. |
| Smith, James T. | Webster, George |
| Snell, Orlando | Welch, Willard C. |
| Sprague, Levi | Whitney, George T. |
| Stevens, Solon W. | Whitney, Hiram |
| Stiles, Perry P. | Whiting, Thomas |
| Stone, Z. E. | White, William H. |
| Streeter, Holland | Whithed, Darius |
| Swan, Albert G. | Whittaker, David |
| Swan, Joseph C. | Wiggin, William H. |
| Swett, Daniel | Wilder, H. H. |
| Thompson, Joseph P. | Willey, George F. |
| Tinker, Henry W. | Williams, Charles M. |
| Tolman, John C. | Wills, Daniel M. |
| Trask, James T. | Wood, Charles |
| Trueworthy, James B. | Woods, E. P. |
| Tucke, Edward M. | Wood, Horatio, Jr. |
| Tyler, Artemas S. | Wood, Samuel N. |
| Tyler, Rinaldo H. | Worcester, Eben C. |
| Upton, Henry | Worcester, William H. |
| Upton, Joseph S. | Wright, Atwill F. |
| Varnum, Atkinson C. | Wright, Hapgood |
| Varnum, Charles F. | Wright, John F. |

PORTRAITS OF MEMBERS.

IN THE ALBUMS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| Herman Abbott. | Sydney Davis. |
| Nathan Allen, Dr. | Theodore Edson, Rev. |
| Stephen Ashton. | George M. Elliott. |
| James V. Atkinson. | Henry Emery. |
| Joseph Bedlow. | Jesse Fox, Dr. |
| D. P. Brigham. | Samuel Fay. |
| George Brownell. | S. J. Freeman. |
| Darius C. Brown. | J. B. French. |
| Ephraim Brown. | S. S. Fisher. |
| Leonard Brown. | James K. Fellows. |
| Willard Brown. | Edward Fifield. |
| J. A. Brabrook. | Isaac N. Fitts. |
| W. S. Bennett. | Daniel Farrington. |
| Wilder Bennett. | Horatio Fletcher. |
| George Bragdon. | John O. Green, Dr. |
| J. M. Bullens. | Amos Green. |
| Artemas L. Brooks. | Alfred Gilman. |
| Gerritt J. Bradt. | Samuel J. Gibby. |
| John A. Buttrick. | David Gove. |
| Dustin Clark. | John Griffith. |
| Charles B. Coburn. | John Hadley. |
| Nathan Clough. | Levi Hancock. |
| Stephen Cushing. | Charles Howe. |
| Samuel Convers. | James M. Howe. |
| Isaac Cooper. | Edward B. Howe. |
| John E. Crane. | James Hopkins. |
| Daniel Cushing. | Samuel P. Howes. |
| Warren E. Chase. | Samuel Horn. |
| Daniel Cutting. | Charles Hovey. |
| Isaac Deming. | J. P. Jewett, Dr. |
| Elisha Davis. | John A. Knowles. |
| Elisha L. Davis. | Daniel Knapp. |

C. W. Kimball.	Edward F. Sherman.
Sam Lawrence.	N. T. Staples.
A. P. Lesure.	Josiah E. Short.
John McAlvin.	John Smith.
Abraham Mathews.	Orlando Snell.
Stephen Moar.	Edward M. Sargent.
Bradley Marshall.	Erastus Stearns.
John W. Nash.	James Tower.
Jonathan Page.	Jonathan Tyler.
J. Frank Page.	John Tripp.
Matthias Parkhurst.	G. A. W. Vinal, Dr.
Harlin Pillsbury, Dr.	Albert Wheeler.
George Parks.	Hapgood Wright.
Edward Prince.	Nathan M. Wright.
Robert Prince (2).	John F. Wright.
M. G. Perkins.	J. P. Webber.
James H. Rand.	D. R. Wallace.
Ferdinand Rodliff.	Charles Wood.
Cyrus K. Russell.	Leonard Worcester.
James S. Russell.	Geo. W. Worthen.
Augustus B. Roby.	Edward F. Watson.
Elisha M. Read.	Darius Whithed.
John Richards.	Robert Wood, Dr.
Page Sanborn.	Benj. Walker.
Solon Stevens.	John Waugh.
John W. Smith.	

There are twelve or fifteen photographs of persons who are not members of the association; among them are those of

Ithamar A. Beard.	Benjamin Pierce.
Mrs. Beard.	John F. Rogers.
Ithamar W. Beard.	John P. Robinson.
Eli Cooper.	William S. Robinson.
Alfred Gilman, Jr.	Josiah Sawtell.
John A. Lowell.	John Wright.

DEATH RECORD.

FROM 1868 TO 1894.

	Date of Death.
Abbott, Herman	May 18, 1888
Abbott, Ziba	February 16, 1878
Adams, John	December 12, 1881
Adams, Jonathan	October 5, 1884
Adams, Smith	August 2, 1883
Allen, Nathan	January 1, 1889
Ames, Jacob	August 27, 1889
Atkinson, James V.	June 21, 1874
Ayer, James C.	July 4, 1878
Bailey, Mannasseh	May 2, 1872
Bancroft, Jefferson	January 3, 1890
Bancroft, Selwyn	November 14, 1871
Barnard, B. F.	May 15, 1881
Batchelder, Asabel G.	December 4, 1878
Batchelder, Samuel (hon.)	February 5, 1879
Baron, George	November 20, 1891
Battles, Frank F.	September 19, 1889
Battles, Charles F.	November 16, 1870
Bedlow, Joseph	February 17, 1889
Bellows, Samuel M.	November 9, 1887
Bennett, William S.	December 19, 1892
Billings, John	February 27, 1889
Boardman, Langley H.	July 24, 1889
Bowers, James	September 8, 1873
Brabrook, Joseph A.	April 2, 1883
Bradt, Gerritt J.	July 12, 1876
Bragdon, George	August 15, 1886
Brigham, D. P.	September 18, 1875
Brooks, Artemas L.	July 3, 1878
Brown, Darius C.	January 18, 1892

	Date of Death.
Brown, Leonard	May 4, 1891
Brown, Willard	February 28, 1878
Brown, William	April 1, 1882
Brown, William	October 18, 1875
Brownell, George	April 27, 1872
Bullard, Otis	September 20, 1891
Bullens, Joseph M.	June 16, 1878
Burnham, Norman	October 8, 1893
Butcher, John	April 18, 1881
Buttrick, John A.	March 31, 1879
Butterfield, Ralph	September 6, 1892
Carroll, Henry H.	June 24, 1893
Caverly, Robert B.	October 21, 1887
Chamberlin, Calvin T.	May 1, 1892
Chambers, Cyrus	November 13, 1875
Chase, John K.	March 4, 1879
Chase, Warren E.	May 22, 1882
Chesley, John T.	November 6, 1872
Clark, Dustin	October 2, 1886
Clifford, Weare	March 10, 1872
Conant, Abel	April 12, 1875
Convers, Samuel	June 8, 1882
Cook, James	April 10, 1884
Crane, John E.	April 9, 1876
Cressey, Samuel G.	June 5, 1883
Crosby, Nathan	February 10, 1885
Crosby, Sylvester	August 11, 1877
Currier, John	November 28, 1881
Cushing, Daniel	July 28, 1887
Cushing, Oliver E.	January 17, 1890
Cushing, Stephen	December 1, 1871
Davis, Elisha	January 4, 1886
Davis, Elisha L.	March 18, 1876
Deming, Charles W.	December 25, 1876
Deming, Isaac	August 3, 1890
Dillingham, Artemas	April 3, 1887
Eaton, Samuel C.	March 10, 1889
Eaton, Wyllis G.	September 29, 1891

	Date of Death.
Edson, Theodore	June 25, 1883
Emery, Henry	September 18, 1891
Edwards, Jabez	October 19, 1893
Farrington, Daniel	April 29, 1879
Favor, Nathaniel B.	July 3, 1883
Fay, Samuel	April 14, 1880
Fernald, Mark	April 27, 1873
Fifield, Edward	February 11, 1883
Fisher, Samuel S.	September 13, 1888
Fiske, William	January 15, 1887
Fitts, Isaac N.	August 21, 1890
Fletcher, Horatio	February 8, 1883
Fletcher, William	November 3, 1881
Fletcher, Warren	July 3, 1881
Flint, Oliver W.	September 6, 1889
Fox, Gustavus V.	October 29, 1883
Fox, Jesse	October 12, 1870
Folsom, Jonathan P.	February 23, 1893
Francis, James B.	September 18, 1892
Freeman, Samuel J.	May 4, 1889
French, Abram	April 11, 1879
French, Amos B.	March 23, 1890
French, Josiah B.	August 21, 1876
French, Thomas T.	January 23, 1892
Fullerton, George W.	October 12, 1890
Galloupe, Daniel P.	May 4, 1890
Garity, Thomas R.	February 26, 1889
Gates, Josiah	May 2, 1882
Gerry, Gustavus A.	October 24, 1890
Gibby, Samuel J.	February 13, 1884
Gilman, Alfred	April 8, 1891
Gove, David	October 7, 1882
Goodspeed, Calvin	February 23, 1892
Graves, John W.	November 28, 1873
Gray, William C.	April 3, 1886
Green, Amos	February 6, 1881
Green, John O.	December 23, 1885
Greenleaf, Daniel G.	January 12, 1888

	Date of Death.
Griffith, John	December 17, 1892
Guild, Henry C.	September 9, 1892
Hadley, John	April 12, 1876
Hale, Bernice S.	May 27, 1886
Hall, Hiram N.	January 23, 1892
Hancock, Levi	November 29, 1879
Hapgood, Ephraim	November 28, 1874
Hatch, George S.	May 9, 1892
Hazeltine, George W.	July 10, 1879
Hobson, George	April 3, 1878
Hodge, Joseph A.	(?) December 11, 1874
Hosmer, Stephen	June 11, 1889
Hovey, Charles	May 4, 1886
Howe, James M.	March 20, 1887
Howe, Jeroboam	February 25, 1885
Howe, Lorenzo G.	November 12, 1881
Howes, Samuel P.	February 25, 1881
Hulme, James	October 11, 1871
Hunt, Elihu S.	April 13, 1880
Hutchinson, Reuben M.	February 11, 1892
Huse, Jesse	September 27, 1885
Jewett, Jeremiah P.	June 3, 1870
Kent, James	April 26, 1876
Kidder, John	August 14, 1878
Kimball, Charles W.	February 28, 1883
Kimball, Durrell	September 13, 1885
Kimball, Gilman	July 27, 1892
Knapp, Daniel	May 27, 1876
Knowles, John A.	July 24, 1884
Kittredge, Abner	July 3, 1884
Kittredge, Daniel	July 18, 1880
Kittredge, Jednthian	March 16, 1875
Kittredge, William	November 28, 1886
Lancaster, Samuel T.	December 2, 1890
Latham, Cyrus H.	April 21, 1893
Lawson, Peter	April 13, 1881

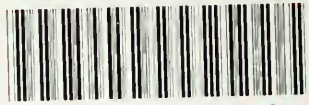
	Date of Death.
Lawson, Thomas B.	June 4, 1888
Lesure, Ansel P.	November 3, 1893
McAlvin, John B.	April 26, 1880
McEvoy, John F.	November 9, 1882
McEvoy, Hugh	May 19, 1889
McFarlin, Luke	October 18, 1889
Mallard, Albert	September 25, 1886
Manahan, Mark	February 20, 1887
Manahan, Samuel T.	January 3, 1892
Marshall, Bradley	July 29, 1891
Mathes, Abraham	August 1, 1881
Merrill, Joshua	November 9, 1889
Mitchell, Daniel F.	February 15, 1877
Moar, Stephen	November 24, 1876
Monroe, Charles	June 5, 1891
Morrill, Charles	April 2, 1884
Morrill, Nathaniel W.	August 4, 1892
Morrison, J. G.	February 2, 1888
Nash, James W.	October 21, 1892
Nesmith, Thomas	July 31, 1870
Nichols, Alanson	March 7, 1874
Nichols, G. N.	March 4, 1884
Nichols, Jacob	February 16, 1890
Nichols, William	March 30, 1890
Noyes, Benjamin A.	May 11, 1884
Nute, Andrew	September 24, 1889
Page, Jonathan	January 5, 1888
Parkhurst, Matthias	August 10, 1877
Parks, George	January 2, 1878
Parmenter, Horace	July 7, 1884
Patch, Ephraim B.	July 2, 1889
Paul, Thomas	May 11, 1876
Peabody, James M.	January 13, 1873
Pillsbury, Harlin	April 12, 1877
Piper, Isaac B.	November 16, 1884
Place, Isaac	August 12, 1872
Powers, Joel	January 1, 1879
Pratt, Thomas	November 19, 1887

	Date of Death.
Prince, Robert	March 24, 1891
Puffer, James F.	May 25, 1891
Rand, E. S.	October 18, 1892
Rand, James H.	September 6, 1883
Raynes, Joseph	February 17, 1879
Read, Elijah M.	December 31, 1878
Read, Henry	August 2, 1878
Rice, Henry M.	June 1, 1891
Rice, Jonathan	December 29, 1876
Richardson, Daniel L.	May 31, 1875
Richardson, Elbridge G.	November 30, 1885
Roby, Augustus B.	April 30, 1879
Roper, George W.	July 9, 1877
Rugg, S. S.	December 26, 1880
Sanborn, Page	January 22, 1886
Savory, Charles A.	February 2, 1892
Sawtell, Josiah A.	April 2, 1890
Scadding, Aaron	October 17, 1885
Shattuck, George W.	January 11, 1880
Sherman, Edward F.	February 10, 1872
Short, Josiah E.	January 19, 1886
Simonds, Samuel B.	November 20, 1893
Southwick, John R.	January 12, 1888
Spalding, Joel	January 30, 1888
Spalding, Weld	May 1, 1886
Spofford, Frederic A.	June 26, 1892
Smiley, John	September 5, 1890
Smith, John	June 11, 1877
Smith, John W.	May 6, 1889
Smith, William M.	July 2, 1881
Stacy, Lucian P.	November 5, 1883
Stanley, George W.	October 12, 1878
Staples, N. T.	October 30, 1892
Stearns, Erastus	December 4, 1881
Stevens, Levi B.	June 20, 1885
Stevens, Solon	May 20, 1878
Stott, Charles	June 14, 1881
Swett, John	April 14, 1886

	Date of Death.
Tapley, Joseph W.	November 1, 1883
Thompson, William K.	January 9, 1892
Tower, James	December 24, 1887
Tripp, John	June 7, 1888
Tuck, Edward	November 14, 1885
Tufts, Edward	March 26, 1875
Tyler, Jonathan	October 14, 1877
Tyler, Silas	May 20, 1875
Washburn, J. M.	October 31, 1875
Watson, Edward F.	March 15, 1883
Watson, Shepard	January 10, 1886
Waugh, John	September 5, 1882
Webber, Benjamin N.	January 8, 1892
Webber, Job P.	February 19, 1875
Webster, William P.	February 27, 1877
Welch, Charles A.	August 20, 1880
Wheeler, Albert	October 23, 1876
Wiggin, Andrew J.	August 29, 1890
Whipple, Oliver M.	April 26, 1872
Whithed, Darius	December 7, 1877
Whittier, Moses	March 14, 1884
Wilder, Charles H.	May 5, 1879
Wilkins, George	August 10, 1891
Willoughby, B. L.	November 9, 1881
Williams, Samuel M.	December 22, 1889
Wilson, Edward T.	October 16, 1891
Wilson, Joseph	April 26, 1892
Winslow, George	May 27, 1884
Wing, True	February 10, 1878
Winn, Parker	July 18, 1877
Wood, Horatio	May 12, 1891
Wood, Robert	February 2, 1892
Wood, Samuel	June 3, 1874
Wood, William	
Worcester, Leonard	December 23, 1893
Worthen, George W.	November 30, 1892
Wright, Andrew C.	January 8, 1879
Wright, Nathan M.	March 31, 1890



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



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