

CONTRIBUTIONS
TO THE
OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSO.
OF LOWELL



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CONTRIBUTIONS
TO
THE OLD RESIDENTS'
Historical Association,
LOWELL, MASS.

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

VOL. VI.

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"It is greatly wise to talk with one's past."—YOUNG.

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*I. Annual Address and Report. By Benjamin Walker,
President. Read May 15, 1894.*

During the last twelve months the Old Residents' Historical Association has completed the first quarter of a century of its existence. That the purposes for which it was organized and the objects which it has attained in placing upon permanent record a great amount and variety of valuable historical information relating to the city of Lowell, together with its early founders and many of the leading spirits who have encouraged its enterprises and shaped its destinies, the five volumes of its published papers very fully attest. The Lowell of 1822, with its single system of cotton mills (the Merrimack Manufacturing Company), and its sparsely settled surroundings, with flourishing forest trees, where are now located its principal business streets and finest buildings, both public and private, and the Lowell of 1894, with its 80,000 or more inhabitants, and its wonderful development of so much in art and science that pertains to the production of what may be regarded as human requirements and human necessities, is in most marked contrast.

These great business enterprises thus centered in Lowell, as all will admit, have attracted to it, from the beginning, men of rare and eminent talents, in the varied walks of business and professional life, and many who continue to be identified with it, notwithstanding they have long since "gone to their reward." Its system of public education deservedly ranks among the highest in the scale of national excellence, and for which indeed the whole country is noted; its newspaperial variety and excellence in the dissemination of the current literature

and events of the day, seem to be unrivalled, and we now really are, in the truest sense, a great city. To keep pace with it, in perpetuating its history, in maintaining the dignity and importance which it has acquired, is, I take it, in no small degree, the business and province of this Association. To do this properly and successfully, each member should not only esteem it a duty but a privilege to contribute something to the general good, either directly or otherwise, and not depend wholly upon the officers and the comparatively few by whom this labor, in the past, has been performed. It is not altogether the great events which should be inscribed, but it is the minor matters and the little incidents which will continue to enliven the pages of its history, and give force and character in the future to that which has seemed so commonplace and perhaps almost trivial in the past. I, therefore, desire, more than ever, if possible, to emphasize this fact, for the reason that a quarter of a century has greatly depleted our ranks, so far as the original membership is concerned, and with each succeeding death are taken some interesting facts and reminiscences never to be regained, but forever lost. Who of us is there who will not acknowledge the interest attached and pleasure derived, upon hearing, as we all often have, some slight reference to the incidents and perhaps the pleasantries of fifty years ago, bringing before us, as they have, the well remembered form and characteristics of perhaps some old and well-tried friend, and how such events warm our hearts and renew our interest in the happiness of those early days? Think of these things, my friends, and let not your own opportunities pass unimproved.

While for twenty-five years there has been no want of contributions for our quarterly meetings, yet with the reflection that a generation has now passed away since they were commenced, there would seem to be a necessity, while the opportunities and the subjects are by no

means exhausted, for new contributors from whom papers will be gratefully and gladly accepted.

Two years ago a suggestion was made, and a vote passed, admitting ladies to membership of this Association, in the hope that, as in every other place where admitted, they would infuse a zeal into its ranks, as well as strengthen its literary excellence. That this would be the outcome of their natural activity there can be no doubt, but with so much innate modesty, and perhaps an insufficient gallantry, on the part of us "Lords of creation," we have not yet gathered the harvest so fondly anticipated. That this state of things is all our own fault, there cannot be the slightest doubt. I can therefore only renew the hope that some steps may be taken, and some methods devised, whereby a goodly number of ladies may be added to our ranks, and also to our list of literary contributors, upon subjects which will not fail to be as interesting as the source from which they may emanate.

The present headquarters of the Association are, in many respects, exceedingly pleasant and desirable. For its quarterly meetings and business purposes, the Board of Trade rooms are centrally situated, making the same easy of access, well arranged, and in every way enjoyable. Whether its library, now so isolated, would not prove more valuable in nearer proximity to our public library, or that of the Middlesex Mechanics Association, and thus within access and easy reach of all desiring to consult its volumes, is a matter which may possibly be worth future consideration. The Memorial Building naturally suggests itself as the proper place for the belongings of the Old Residents' Historical Association and one which would readily afford the facilities which the library is intended to provide. In the present anomalous condition of that building and its hall, however, with regard to occupancy, the general mission of its managers would

seem to be to place all possible obstacles in the way of its use by the public, by whom and for whom it was built, or by any society or organization devoted so nearly as is ours to public purposes, and intended, almost wholly, to promote the public good and general welfare of our city. In this connection allow me to suggest the propriety of having the library properly arranged and catalogued, as this will materially add to its value, in the facility afforded for consulting its volumes.

That the future success, prosperity, and financial strength of this Association must depend upon the active consideration of the several topics to which allusion has been herein made, there can be no reasonable doubt, and that it still has an important mission in carrying forward a work so auspiciously begun, and which gives promise of so much in the future, is equally certain. Let us see to it, therefore, that no opportunity be lost for its increased and permanent advancement.

During the last year this Association has lost six members by death, as follows :--

1. JABEZ EDWARDS was born February 14th, 1815, in Weare, N. H., came to Lowell November 23rd, 1834, and died October 19th, 1893, aged 78 years. Two days after his arrival in Lowell he entered the repair shop of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, where he remained about three years, when he accepted the position of second-hand in No. 2 carding room. Some three years later he was promoted to the position of overseer, which he held until August, 1881, when he retired from active business. During the forty-seven years of his continuous service, Mr. Edwards was entirely conversant with all the changes, remodellings, and improvements made in this great corporation, in regard to its buildings, machinery, etc.; saw the changes in its operatives from 1834, then almost exclusively New England men and women, but nearly all

since supplanted by foreigners. He was employed under the following distinguished agents of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, viz. :— Kirk Boott (at that time treasurer), John Clark, Emory Washburn, Edward Le Bretton, Isaac Hinckley, John C. Palfrey, and its present efficient manager, Joseph S. Ludlam. This includes all except Ezra Worthen and Warren Colburn, who died previous to 1834. Mr. Edwards was also one of the only four persons who had been employed by this company as long as himself when he retired from active service. The names of the other three are Willard Welch, David M. Collins, and Phineas Stanley. On the retirement of Mr. Edwards he was presented by Mr. Charles H. Dalton, treasurer, through Mr. Ludlam, agent, a very valuable gold watch and chain, accompanied with a letter highly appreciative of the services he had rendered the company, and in return Mr. Edwards expressed his profound gratification for the kind words and expressions of regard with which he had been so honored.

Mr. Edwards was married October 22nd, 1839, to Elizabeth H. Bean, of Lowell, by the late Rev. Theodore Edson, D. D., and both have always been faithful and devoted members of St. Anne's Church. In 1889 this worthy couple celebrated their golden wedding, which was an occasion of much pleasure to the great number of his relatives and friends who participated therein.

Although modest and retiring in his character, even to diffidence, Mr. Edwards was the very embodiment of manliness and integrity in all his business affairs. In private life his virtues were those of uniform kindness, gentleness, and consideration for the feelings of others, and he died, as he had lived his long and useful life, universally respected and beloved. Mr. Edwards never held public office.

2. SAMUEL B. SIMONDS was born March 7th,

1806, in Lincoln, came to Lowell April 1st, 1831, and died November 20th, 1893, aged 87 years and 8 months.

Mr. Simonds first engaged in the crockery business on Merrimack Street, with his brother John, in which he continued for several years. He afterwards located on Central Street, where he pursued the occupation of book-binder for more than thirty years. From July 4th, 1858, to February 16th, 1883, he was enrolled as a member of High Street Church, and within the same period served many years as sexton, which office he filled with marked acceptance and ability. Mr. Simonds removed to Pawtucketville in 1873, and ten years later transferred his membership to the Pawtucket Church, where he continued during the remainder of his life, holding the offices of deacon and clerk. The records of both High Street and Pawtucket churches show him to have been of a historical turn of mind, leaving much of value, as he did, relative to both the above named churches. Mr. Simonds never married.

3. LEONARD WORCESTER was born November 5th, 1813, in Salem, came to Lowell in March, 1846, and died December 23rd, 1893, aged 80 years. Upon first coming to Lowell Mr. Worcester was employed by John Putney, a tailor on Merrimack Street, where he remained about two years. From 1848 to 1856 he was in the employ of Hugh McEvoy, a well known tailor on Central Street, at which latter date he became associated with Alfred Gilman, under the firm name of Gilman & Worcester, continuing in the same line of business until 1860. He was then employed for a short time by Edwin C. Leslie. Early in 1861 he took charge of the business of Capt. Benj. F. Warren, manufacturer of clothing at Industrial Hall (formerly the Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church), Prescott Street, subsequently purchasing the same, where he remained until 1873, when he removed to Stott's Block, Middlesex Street. Here he

remained until 1878, when he retired from active business.

The earlier years of Mr. Worcester's life were passed in Montpelier, Vt., Bedford, Hanover and Concord, N. H., at which latter place he was an associate employe of the Hon. Levi P. Morton, afterwards Vice President of the United States. He was also cousin of Joseph E. Worcester, author of Worcester's English Dictionary.

On the 17th of June, 1835, Mr. Worcester married Minerva A., daughter of Ebenezer Carpenter, of Sharon, Vermont, by whom he had seven children, of whom four are still living. Upon coming to Lowell he located at what is now known as No. 92 Bartlett Street, where he continued to reside until the day of his death, and where his family still remain. He celebrated his golden wedding on the 17th of June, 1885.

Mr. Worcester was singularly gentle and agreeable in his manners, a most exemplary citizen, an earnest Christian, and a very highly esteemed member of High Street Church, of which he was treasurer about twenty years. He never sought nor held public office. He was, however, a member of Oberlin Lodge, I. O. O. F., Wampanoet Encampment, and for fifty years was prominently identified with its benevolent and charitable works.

4. SAMUEL KIDDER was born August 3rd, 1821, in Charlestown, came to Lowell December 5th, 1843, and died February 15th, 1894, aged 72 years and 6 months. In company with a partner he purchased of Christopher Skelton the apothecary store at the corner of Merrimack and John streets, his partner soon after retiring, where he continued in business until 1865. At this time he was succeeded by Messrs. F. & E. Bailey, and became a partner in the firm of Page, Kidder & Co., dealers in flour and grain on Thorndike Street, the firm subsequently being changed to Coggin & Kidder. From this firm he retired several years ago, and also at the

same time from active business. At the time of his death Mr. Kidder was a vice president of the Lowell Institution for Savings and a director of the Wamesit National Bank. He was a man of the strictest integrity, quiet and unobtrusive in his disposition, and never held public office.

5. GEORGE S. CUSHING was born June 6th, 1825, at Stanstead Plain, P. Q., came to Lowell in April, 1845, and died February 23rd, 1894, aged 68 years and 8 months. Mr. Cushing first found employment at Lowell in the dressing department of the Massachusetts Mills. Two or three years later (in 1849), and during the early history of the gold excitement, he left for California, where he remained about two years, when he returned to this city and began the manufacture of soda and other temperance beverages at Pentucket Springs, then a celebrated source for pure water. After leaving this business he engaged in several enterprises, at one time being interested in the sale of clothing and furnishing goods on Merrimack Street, and afterwards in the Thordike Manufacturing Company. In 1865 he was connected with a hat manufacturing establishment at Methuen, Mass., later in Vermont copper mines, the Monson slate quarries, and mica mines in Maine. In 1881 he was a paper manufacturer, at West Derby, Vermont. While in Monson he superintended the construction of a railroad, eight miles in length. At one time, date not ascertained, he manufactured soda fountains in Boston, subsequently engaging in the soda business at Manchester, England.

Mr. Cushing was a member of the Common Council in 1877-78, and of the Board of Aldermen in 1882. He was seven years a member of the Board of Overseers of the Poor. In 1893 he was appointed a member of the Board of Assistant Assessors for two years. He was a prominent member of Ancient York Lodge of Free

Masons, of Mechanics Lodge of Odd Fellows, and at the time of his death was collector for the First Universalist Church. In private life Mr. Cushing was universally esteemed for his marked social qualities and genial disposition, having a pleasant smile and kind word for all with whom he came in contact.

6. BICKFORD LANG was born April 23rd, 1823, in Limerick, Maine, came to Lowell October 1st, 1852, and died April 11th, 1894, aged 70 years, 11 months and 18 days. Upon arriving in Lowell Mr. Lang was made superintendent of the City Farm, to which place he had been previously elected, where he remained for eight years. He then became a member of the police department, serving from 1860 to 1862 as deputy, and from 1862 to 1871 as city marshal. Since 1873, and up to the date of his death, Mr. Lang held the office of truant commissioner, having been in constant service of the city of Lowell for the period of forty-two years. In all these public positions Mr. Lang, always kind, gentle and humane, was at the same time faithful and efficient, and when occasion required he displayed an energy and firmness which wielded great power and influence over the many wayward characters with whom he had to deal, and was in fact, as such an officer should be, a "terror to evil-doers." In private life his character was irreproachable. Mr. Lang was a member of the Ancient York Lodge of Free Masons, Mount Horeb Royal Arch Chapter, and Pilgrim Commandery, and was connected with the Faith Chapel Church, on Chelmsford Street.

JONATHAN P. FOLSOM, whose name was inadvertently omitted in last year's annual report, was born October 9th, 1820, at Tamworth, N. H., came to Lowell in May, 1840, and died February 23rd, 1893, aged 72 years and 4 months. Mr. Folsom was long and prominently identified with the dry goods trade in our city, having for many years a store on Merrimack Street, during which

period he was several times a member of the City Government, serving as councilman, alderman, and twice as mayor. In an article published in the first volume of Contributions to the Old Residents' Historical Association, entitled "The Mayors of Lowell," which originally appeared in the columns of the *Vox Populi*, Mr. Z. E. Stone being then editor, may be found a biographical sketch of Mr. Folsom, which it would seem unnecessary here to reproduce.

The contributions to the library of the Old Residents' Historical Association, since the last annual report, have been as follows :--

Transactions and Report Nebraska State Historical Society, Vol. 5, 1893.

Bulletin No. 101, University of California.

Massachusetts Farm Laws, 1893, Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture.

Chicago Historical Society, quarterly meeting, January, 1894.

Annual Report, 1894, Buffalo Historical Society.

The *Lawrencian*, Lawrence Academy, Groton. Centennial number, June, 1893.

Tyngsborough (Mass.) Men in the War of the Rebellion, by the editor, J. Frank Bancroft.

Unveiling of the Bronze Memorial Group of the Chicago Massacre of 1812. Chicago Historical Society, 1893.

Proceedings of the State Historical Society, of Wisconsin, December, 1893.

Annual Report, University of California, for 1893.

Publications Rhode Island Historical Society, April, 1894.

Records and Papers of the New London (Conn.) Historical Society, Part 5, Vol. 1, 1894.

Dedham Historical Registers, April, July, and October, 1893.

University of New York State Library Bulletin, 1894.

University of New York, 75th Annual Report of the New York State Library, 1892.

Report of the President of Yale University, December, 1893.

Catalogue of Yale University.

An Essay on the Preservation of Roadside Trees, Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, by James Draper of the Worcester Parks Commission.

Oration by Elisha Bartlett before the municipal authorities and the citizens of Lowell, July 4, 1848. Presented by Miss Lydia Bedlow of Lowell.

Translations and Reprints from original sources of European History. No. 1, Vol. 1, relating to the Early Reformation Period. Edited by Edward P. Cheyney, A. M., Philadelphia, 1894.

Lowell City Documents, 1892 and 1893. City Clerk, Lowell.

A memoir of John Montgomery Batchelder, by John Trowbridge. Contributed by Miss Batchelder.

Papers by Dr. Samuel Green, secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Contributed by him, as follows :

Remarks before the Massachusetts Historical Society, in contributing a diary by William Nutting of Groton, Mass. (1752 to 1832), from 1777 to 1804.

Remarks on Nonacoicus, 1893.

Papers relating to Capt. Thomas Lawrence's Company of Groton, Mass., during the French and Indian Wars of 1758. Published 1890.

Early Land Grants of Groton, Mass.

Groton and the Witchcraft Times.

The foregoing books and pamphlets, like the many which have been received in previous years, form a most interesting feature of our library, treating, as they do, of a great range and variety of subjects, very closely allied to those which give to our association its special historical interest and importance.

*II. Concord and Lexington, April 19, 1775. The Crisis,
the Dates, the Bridge, the Men. By Ephraim
Brown. Read May 15, 1894.*

The recent Lowell Old Residents' Historical Association records read as follows :

Whereas, a direct and forcible resistance to the authority of James the Second was the seizure and imprisonment of Governor Andross in Boston, the capture of the fort on Beacon Hill, and the capture of the British frigate in Boston Bay -- all on the 19th day of April, 1689 ;

And whereas, the British troops were resisted, repulsed, routed and sent flying from the North Bridge in Concord, on the 19th day of April, 1775 ;

And whereas, the sons of liberty and union successfully passed through Baltimore, amid storm, riot, bloodshed and murder, April 19, 1861 ;

Resolved, that the Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell, Mass., do by its committee, appointed for that purpose, emphatically recommend the enactment for a legal holiday, in the place of the annual Fast Day, for all the future, the 19th day of April, from and after the year 1894.

The enactment has passed, the fact has been accomplished, and April 19th is now and hereafter is to be a legal holiday forever. The 19th of April is the most remarkable and memorable of any day in the history of this nation. It is a greater day than the 4th of July, because the inception is greater than the consummation and precedes it. No other day in the year has coinci-

dence so remarkable either in times or events. The most important movements in the history of America met on this date.

It was on the 19th day of April, 1603, that the first house was built by the English, on a small island in Buzzards Bay. It was on the 19th day of April, 1689, that the liberty of this nation was conceived by the capture of Andross, the fort and the frigate. It was on the 19th day of April, 1775, that American liberty was born, at the North Bridge. It was on the 19th day of April, 1861, that American liberty was redeemed, in Baltimore. And April 19, 1894, American liberty was glorified in the celebration in Concord. Wonderful events! wonderful date! But there is a greater wonder still.

If there were only these coincidences, they are enough to make April 19th the most notable day in the history of this republic. But look at these figures again. From April 19, 1603, to April 19, 1689, is eighty-six years. From April 19, 1689, to April 19, 1775, is eighty-six years. Again: from April 19, 1775, to April 19, 1861, is eighty-six years. Here are six remarkable coincidences, all relating to April 19th. Again: since April 19, 1775, to this date, is 119 years. The figures 3, 6 and 9 thus enter many times into the dates of this republic, and seem quite as significant and comprehensive as Daniel's vision of "Time, times and half a time."

The nation will never forget the crises, the places, nor the actors. James G. Blaine declared: "Sentiment has its place. We stimulate the ardor of patriotism by the mere display of a flag which has no material force, but which is emblematic of all material force and typifies the glory of the nation. We stir the ambition of the living by securing costly monuments to the heroic dead. The road from Concord to Lexington is a monument all the way." Solomon declared that "the glory of children

are the fathers." Disraeli wrote, "It is the personal that interests." Our late President, Dr. John O. Green, when I objected to him that personals were all I could write, exclaimed: "Personals are just what we want." These are my model and my authority for the presentation of this paper.

My ancestral family did much April 19, 1775. The histories of the conspicuous leaders of that day have been published. But they could have done nothing without other leaders and the workers. The hull of the ship is mostly out of sight; the sails are in sight and attract most attention. What is below the sails is of most importance; but each supplements the other. Other people's ancestors did much, held conspicuous positions, and their personal history ought to be collectively written --- especially family work.

The work of the descendants of Thomas Brown, on that day, has never been collectively written. He came to Concord in 1638, and in 1775 his branches had "overrun the wall," and in numbers exceeded any other family in Concord, and they were on the ground April 19, 1775.

King James the Second enacted laws which were very oppressive to the colonies, and appointed governors who were severe and arbitrary in their administration, and the colonies made the successful resistance of April 19, 1689, in the capture of Gov. Andross, the frigate in Boston harbor, and the fort on Beacon Hill.

More than two hundred years having elapsed, and we are so far removed therefrom, we do not at first realize the importance, the spirit, nor the outcome of this resistance. It was but the counterpart of that spirit which led the Pilgrims and Puritans to seek a new country, some seventy years before, whose religious and political liberty could be secured and which now seemed likely to be lost. This resistance was the germ, the seed, the root of that great liberty-tree whose branches reach

all over our land, whose roots penetrate every inch of our soil, and whose shadows cover all our waters.

The first American crisis was the building of the first American house, April 19, 1603, in Buzzards Bay. After eighty-six years the second crisis came, April 19, 1689; and the people showed themselves equal to the emergency and struck for civil and religious liberty in the capture of Andross, the frigate and the fort. Eighty-six years again rolled around, when the third great crisis came at the Bridge, in successful resistance to British oppression, April 19, 1775. Eighty-six years again rolled around and the fourth great crisis was precipitated in the Rebellion, indexed as the passage through Baltimore. Many of us remember that event; some of us perhaps were there; others had relatives or neighbors participating in the passage. The brother-in-law of your reader, Dr. Norman Smith of Groton, was the surgeon of the Sixth Regiment, and some thirty-six wearied, sick and wounded soldiers were thrown upon his surgical skill and care by the violence of that passage, while eighty-six years before his wife's grandfather, Jonas Brown, was wounded at the Bridge, and, bleeding, chased the enemy nine miles.

Paul Revere's alarm reverberated through the town of Concord; and the militia-men and many citizens gathered for the issue, many of the family of my father (descendants of Thomas Brown of 1638) being among them, a few of whom I name in this brief sketch, and wish I could name them all. Reuben Brown, on the instant of the alarm, sprang upon his horse and went flying down the Lexington road, as a scout, to discover where the British were, fire flying from the steel of his horse. He reached the border of Lexington village at 4 o'clock, and with amazement saw eight hundred British, with deadly arms, advancing upon the devoted town, and, electrified with horror, he saw the unprovoked massacre of the people on Lexington Green. Then he swept back

over the six miles of the way with the frantic leaps of his steed and told the Concord leaders what he had seen. The country was to be alarmed, and, turning his foaming, panting horse, he rushed along the road toward Hopkinton, thirty miles to the south, crying along the way : " To arms ! -- to arms ! The British fired upon the Lexington people while I was watching them, and they will be in Concord soon massacring everywhere ! To arms ! -- to arms ! "

While he was on this patriotic errand the British arrived in Concord village. Before they left Boston the British officers had previously raided the town, been in conference with the Tories, sent about their spies, and had learned that Reuben Brown was making canteens, belts, knapsacks, saddles and holsters, and other military supplies; and what maddened them still more, the defiant, patriotic flag floated from a high staff -- a liberty pole -- erected by the people on Reuben's land, just north of his house, on the next prominent and conspicuous bluff in the centre of the village. This flag and pole were the first things in Concord that the British struck. A squad of soldiers was detailed to destroy them. Reuben's family fled at their approach and he was on the way to Hopkinton, and there were no organized forces to resist the British raid. They trod the sacred flag into the dust under their feet; they cut down the staff, reduced it to splinters, piled it high and set it on fire, gratified to see it burn, but little dreaming that every tongue of flame and every puff of curling smoke that ascended to heaven would increase and multiply until America was completely involved and the land ablaze with other flags and other staffs, to become the glory of this republic and the admiration and wonder of the world.

The gathering militia-men and the other people of the town and region became more and more determined

as they beheld the flames and smoke ; for in them were foretold the rising destinies of a nation, as the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night had foretold the rising and the destinies of the children of Israel. Sentiment here had force. It became a material, powerful force, for it was sentiment that filled the people with patriotism and endowed them with strength and endurance to overbear every obstacle.

The next British step was to reach Reuben's house. Here they failed to find munitions of war ; for, as soon as made, these had been carried to remote parts of the town and carefully secreted with other, though less exposed, patriots. They went through his house, barn and shop ; and, disappointed that all were empty, except his chaise-house, they turned their destructive course to other places, little realizing the pressing need of that chaise ere night to convey their wounded and bleeding officer to Boston. In their desperate, hurried and harried flight they took it and at Cambridge were obliged to abandon it, in order to come under the protection of the British troops, sent from Boston for their relief from annihilation. Afterwards Joseph Hayward of Concord took the chaise back to Concord, bloody and filthy as it was with British gore, and restored it to its owner. Several British soldiers who were captured that day were confined for months by Reuben, at his house, as prisoners of war, a striking example of the reverses of war.

His age was forty-five years. He was born in Littleton, but his father and family had returned to Concord, where Reuben became a saddler, established his home and made himself independent in property, as indicated by his homestead, horse and chaise, and other possessions, all of which he devoted that morning, and gave himself, to serve more freely in the cause of his country and freedom -- the first, full, free, voluntary sacrifice for his country of self and home !

It is thus to be seen that Reuben Brown was one of the prominent and patriotic men of Concord. His house is there now, adjacent to and next south of that ancient hillside graveyard that lies but a few rods south of the court-house; and Reuben himself and many of his kin are buried there, and his epitaph today shows the precious spot.

David Brown was captain of a company of Minutemen which he led to the defence of the bridge. His house stands now on the road from the bridge to Acton, at the northwest corner formed where the road from Jonas Buttrick's place joined the Acton road, and about fifty rods westerly from the bridge. Early in the morning he sounded the alarm and the call to arms, and soon some forty men were at his side and more came later. The time came to move to the defence of the bridge. He marched his company toward the right from the field on the hill to take position under the hill, behind the stone wall that skirted its base, was near to and commanded the bridge. The Acton heroes, just arriving in sight, seeing Captain Brown's intention to place his men under the wall, sprang forward with their leader to file in next to the wall, and Captain Brown's men took position just behind the Acton men.

It is deemed a glorious thing to be first in danger, and the Acton men were a little nearer to the bridge than Captain Brown's men; and it may be said that it is deemed a glorious thing to be first in safety, and the Acton company got the position of first in safety by the celerity of their action, with Captain Brown's men close up behind their backs. The Acton men had the best position, being more closely under the wall. Possibly the Concord men accorded the place to the Acton men either out of chivalry or policy. Some hint seems to impute the Acton host to a desire for the safest place, and that was patriotic and to their honor. Both the

companies came into position on the same instant and both were nearly in the same danger.

My grandfather, Jonas Brown, was a Minute-man (23 years old) in his uncle David Brown's company. The British were manoeuvring at the bridge and began to tear up the bridge plank and throw them into the river. The American commander, John Buttrick, ordered them in a loud voice to desist. Either in indignation or defiance, or to intimidate, or to test the Americans, a single shot was fired by the British, the ball wounding Luther Blanchard of Acton and piercing the shoulder of Jonas Brown. Some sixty years ago my father told me that his father, Jonas Brown, was on one knee priming his gun. The next instant his ball was in the air, and who can tell if it struck the officer that rode in Reuben's chaise? or more fatally, one of the British soldiers lying by the wall, east, and so near to the bridge?

Capt. Davis being killed, Capt. Brown and the two companies, including the wounded Jonas, leaped the wall, rushed to the bridge and crossed on the narrow stringers, and the British, stricken in panic, fled for life toward the Lexington road.

David and his men with the Acton men and others poured in volley after volley and were soon chasing the flying British army miles away on the road toward Boston. I rode from Arlington to Concord April 19, 1894, and inspected the several tablets which tell of deadly strife, and saw the well where James Hayward and the British soldier shot each other; and at Concord an Acton man displayed Hayward's powder horn, pierced both sides by the British ball. Edward Everett, years ago, exalted this horn by a silver band and placed around its neck a silver chain.

David Brown was a leading man in Concord, and in all the region, being a most prominent and influential man. He was the son of Ephraim, son of Thomas, son

of Thomas, the original immigrant, who came to Concord in 1638. He was 43 years old. He was my father's great-uncle, and a captain of the Minute-men. He was, in November, 1774, appointed one of a Committee of Inspection to see to the punctual and particular observance of Concord's Association agreement. In March, 1776, he was appointed a member of the Committee of Correspondence and held that position seven years. He was selectman four years. In 1778 and '79 he was a member of the committee of the town to hire soldiers for the campaign to Rhode Island and for the continental draft. He was delegate to the state convention which met in Concord, July 14, 1779. He was delegate to the county convention and also delegate to the state convention which met in Concord in October, 1779. He was delegate to the county of Middlesex convention held in Concord, August 23, 1776. He was a member of a committee of five to address the people of Middlesex by a circular, September 9, 1786. He was one of the six captains on the Jonas Buttrick hill watching the British troops in their destructive raid through the town, and on Davis' fall, as the one Concord captain, he led from the wall to the bridge and along the heights towards Merriam's Corner, fighting all the way. Sundry of his descendants live in Lowell today. He died in 1802, aged 72 years. His widow died in 1832, aged 99 years. He was the fourth generation from the first Thomas.

Jacob Brown was the oldest son of Abishai Brown of Concord. He was 39 years old in 1775, and was captain of a company in 1776.

Zachariah, his brother, was 32 years old, and Abishai, his other brother, was 29 years, and thus three of his family, cousins to Captain David, were on duty in 1775.

After the retreat of the British from the bridge, one Briton was found lying where he fell, near the bridge, on the south side of the road, and another in the middle of

the road, a few rods east of the bridge, shot in the neck, both dead.

Zachariah Brown's house was on the northeast corner, at the junction of the avenue and the village road and near the bridge. It is understood to be there now.

Just at night Zachariah and a neighbor buried the two soldiers beside the wall, where you may see the monument today.

On the first day of labor on the monument to Jonas Brown, Mrs. Powers of Chestnut Street, Lowell, said : "As the British troops were coming to the bridge, Mrs. Brown seized her infant daughter and rushed across the bridge to go to the house of David Brown, crying, 'The British are coming. My baby! O, my baby!'" Presumably it was Mrs. Zachariah Brown, living at the corner.

Capt. Abishai Brown, before mentioned, was one of the fourth generation from the original Thomas, cousin to David, and lived on the westerly road to Carlisle, about two and one-half miles northwesterly from the bridge.

Colonel Jeremiah Lee of Marblehead, in March, 1775, among other stores, sent to Concord a quantity of tents, poles, axes and hatchets, and they were stored at Abishai Brown's farm, some two and one-half miles toward Carlisle. He was of decidedly military tastes, captain of a company of 103 Minute-men, who marched to Cambridge, with Jonas Brown as corporal.

In April, 1776, companies were enlisted from Middlesex County for the purpose of fortifying and defending Boston and vicinity, and Abishai Brown was captain. In the campaign of 1777 he was captain of a Middlesex company, in which were 29 Concord men. During this campaign he was commissioned major of the regiment. In the campaign of 1778 the Concord troops went to the defence of Rhode Island with Abishai as commander. He was a zealous patriot, a trusted and influential citizen

of good education, good judgment, literary, and a ready writer; a member of Concord's committee of 1777. He was a studious, observing, practical man. In his military life, in the need of surgeons, he took upon himself the duty of caring for the wounded and sick under his command, and with so much devotion and success as to endear him to his soldiers, and acquired so much skill and ability that after the war he had many calls and much practice in Concord, his surgical skill being often preferred before that of the other Concord doctors. He was selectman two years and lived till April 13, 1799, when, at the age of 65, he was buried in that side hill cemetery, where one can now read his epitaph. The Sons of the American Revolution, just before this last 19th of April, placed markers, similar to "perpetual care" of Lowell's Cemetery, at each known patriot's grave.

In the declaration of Jonas Brown he says, "I enlisted as ensign for an expedition to Canada in the regiment of Lieut. Col. Brown." Your reader has not learned whether Lieut. Col. Brown was of the family of the Concord Browns, or of kin. The family blood was widely scattered in adjacent towns. Perhaps he was descended from the original Thomas of 1638.

The History of Temple, N. H., was published in 1859. Your reader procured for its pages the statement of Jonas Brown, which follows: Ensign Jonas Brown was born in Concord, Mass., 1752; removed to Temple, N. H., 1780, and married August 10, 1784, Hannah Heald. She was the daughter of Maj. Ephraim Heald, and the first female child born in Temple. Maj. Heald was a direct descendant in the fourth generation from John Heald, who settled in Concord, Mass., 1635 to 1638. The History of Temple says: "Jonas Brown was a very patriotic man, and the statement which he was obliged to make in order to secure his pension, under act of Congress of January

7, 1832, concerning his services in the Revolution we present in full, and it is as follows :”

The annual pension here granted was \$117.33, rated from March 4, 1831, and was paid till his death, July 31, 1834. He was aged 82 when he died. He waited long before he was paid. From his entering service and receiving his first pension was fifty-six years and two months. Patriots of our last war have had pensions from their discharge. How much better our day! In its distribution he gave to his third son, Ephraim, the father of your reader, one silver dollar, the only silver he ever received from his father, and here it is.

In grateful remembrance of his patriotic service and in admiration for his noble nature, his descendants in 1887 erected a massive granite monument on the spot in Concord where he was born, eleven miles from Lowell on the river road to Concord. The Lowell Courier of April 18 contains the following :

“Mr. Ephraim Brown, who resides on Chestnut Street, has shown us a precious relic of Revolutionary times, which is of special interest today, on the eve of the 19th of April. It is a silver piece about the size of a dollar, coined probably in some South American country, but what country does not appear. It is somewhat defaced by age, and is considerably worn on one side, although the milling is distinct, and the inscriptions are clear.

“This coin was paid to Mr. Brown’s grandfather, Jonas Brown, in 1831, by the U. S. Government as a part of his pension. The piece was evidently coined in 1824. The grandfather was Jonas Brown, who was born in Concord, December 15, 1752. He was the first Concord man wounded on the American side, himself and an Acton man being hit by the first shot fired by the British at the bridge. The shot hit him on the upper part of the shoulder near the neck, inflicting a considerable flesh

wound, which only served to rouse his Yankee blood, and he followed the retreating British nine miles, with the blood streaming from his wound, and he fighting all the way. He used to say to his boys: 'I had hot chocolate for my breakfast, cold lead for dinner, and tired feet for supper.' Jonas Brown was at the battle of Bunker Hill, and served about two years and a half during the war. He afterwards moved to Temple, N. H., where he married, raised a family and died.

"Mr. Ephraim Brown is a member of the Sons of the Revolution, and will go to Somerville tonight, and tomorrow will ride over the same route taken by his Revolutionary grandfather, as nearly as possible. He is naturally very proud of this pension piece of his grandfather, as he is of his ancestor's record. He has caused to be erected at Jonas Brown's birthplace, in Concord, a fine granite monument, costing \$400, the amount being subscribed by the descendants, and on the monument he proposes soon to place an enlarged reproduction of the pension piece referred to, either in granite relief or bronze, or some other suitable form. The monument stands between two magnificent elm trees, which were planted by Jonas Brown at some date previous to his leaving Concord, and which must now be between 130 and 140 years old, and are apparently good for another century."

No man of Concord was killed that day, and Jonas Brown was the only Concord man that was wounded.

Contribution No. 20 of this Association, read May, 1877, contains other matter of interest relative to Jonas Brown, to which reference may be had by inquirers.

Thus I have named six men of this Brown family who did good, prominent work in Concord that day, Reuben, David, Jacob, Zachariah, Abishai and Jonas, and it is probable there were several others who do not appear

in the accounts, for the lists of the military companies have been lost.

George Tolman of Concord, genealogist and historian, told me that in 1775 the descendants of the first Thomas Brown exceeded in numbers any other family in town.

David Brown's sister Mary, Jonas' aunt, was the wife of Jonathan Buttrick, and his sister Sarah was the wife of Joseph Buttrick, both of whom were prominent men in Concord, and did good service that day, being kin to John Buttrick, who gave that thrilling order "to fire," and that shot has been reverberating around the world and is rolling on and on, for human freedom, until time shall be no more.

*III. Our Local Geology. By Harriette Rea. Read
December 18. 1894.*

When I was invited, in the spring, to prepare a paper upon our local geology for the Old Residents' Association, it seemed a pleasant suggestion, for summer was at hand and I wanted very much to study the rocks within the precincts of Lowell. But sickness at home prevented the geological excursions. There was no time for walks, and I shall only be able to-night to speak of the little I have seen in a general way.

The first question we might naturally ask is, whereabouts in the long ages of time into which historical geology has been divided do the rock foundations of our city take their place? This question has not been settled. Professor Crosby of the Boston Technology replied to it, "As to the age of the Lowell rocks, I think the less we have of positive statements the better. They are evidently old. The slates are very likely Cambrian, and the granite younger, since it cuts the slate, but then again the entire series may be simply Archaean."

Professor Emerson of Amherst College, who has been engaged in the state survey, and has prepared a series of topographical maps, answered: "I am quite sure that the mica schists and slates in your region are Silurian, and the granite as it cuts through is newer, probably as late as carboniferous in time of eruption."

In the geological map of the United States compiled by Professor Hitchcock of Dartmouth College for the American Institute of Mining Engineers, the best of its size, and which we use in our classes of teachers, Eastern Massachusetts for the most part is placed in the Archaean time, or what was once called the Azoic age.

Geology is in a state of transition, and scientists are very careful about making positive statements. But our rocks have not been studied as they will be during the progress of the state survey. So far the earliest investigations claim that there are only two places in Massachusetts strictly Archaean, one is in the neighborhood of Palmer -- a large area.

I am sure of your sympathy here tonight in noting the change of terms that modern geology has brought to pass. Of course it is inevitable, and found everywhere; a scientific work ten years old may become obsolete. President Hitchcock of Amherst, one of the pioneers in geology, declared to his son Charles one day that certain views which he was enforcing in regard to the structure of the earth, would never be contradicted, and he prepared for him a list of these statements to which he might refer, "and every one of these," said the younger professor before a class at Mt. Holyoke College, "has now been overthrown." Take the old idea of the fluidity of the interior of the earth -- today we read: "In the present state of science we are justified in thinking of the earth as possibly a ball of iron some 7000 miles in diameter." Take Cuvier's classification and one of his sub-kingdoms of the animal world -- the Radiata -- what a comprehensive term it served for us, and how easy to slip certain types into it. Biology has passed it over. Syenite, as applied to hornblende granite, has gone by. Mica slate is now metamorphic slate. But let us be cheerful about it, for we like to keep step with the multitude; only now and then, as we quote from Dana's geology, it brings a pang to be told that "it is of no use to linger over that old-fashioned text book any longer." We are glad that his mineralogy still holds the highest rank. In an old North American Journal of Science and Arts there is an article by Professor Silliman entitled "Geological Facts." This

was written sixty years ago, in 1834, and it is worth glancing for a moment at the aspect of our city at that time. He states that Lowell is a flourishing manufacturing town, situated upon the Merrimack River, twenty-four miles north of Boston. Although it has grown up within twelve or thirteen years, it contains as many thousand inhabitants, and is constantly increasing. He speaks of the large number of intelligent and liberal minded mechanics and other citizens who have united their efforts to sustain a high intellectual, moral and religious standard, and that a vigilant and efficient magistracy watch over the quiet and security of the citizens. "A large hall," he adds, "is now in the course of being erected by the associated mechanics of Lowell, who intend there to furnish ample accommodations for public lectures, for a public library, and for collections in natural history." He affirms that Massachusetts affords great encouragement to hope that manufactures may be sustained consistently with pure morals and enlightened intelligence.

The remarkably interesting geological features of which he writes are our dikes of granite and of trap. But the high places which he saw have been leveled; streets have been cut through the ledges and only one spot remains that I can clearly identify. He says that the great railroad from Boston, just before its termination, passes through the solid rocks in a cut which is a quarter of a mile in length, and in some parts appears to be forty feet deep.

On the east side of what was known as the French Mansion, we can look down through the fence at this embankment. It is composed of mica schist, and bears traces of a force that has turned and twisted the strata out of their original position. I do not find the greenstone and basalt of which he speaks.

Three belts of rock formation pass through

Lowell. They are mica schist, mica slate and gneiss. These were at first laid down horizontally, and have been uplifted by some internal force to their present position. The central portion is mica slate. The dip is northerly, and the strike runs easterly and westerly. On the southern side extends the coarse mica schist. On the north we find micaceous gneiss. These belts vary in width, but extend in a southwesterly course toward Worcester.

Of course, in the neighborhood of our Northern depot, we find the rocks are mostly of mica schist. We can trace this formation through Westford Street, where it is still exposed. Workmen strike it in this part of the city when digging for sewers. It is coarsely crystalline and so full of iron, as shown in its coloring, that Professor Burbank, formerly of Lowell, used to say it would pay to work it up, if that metal could not be obtained elsewhere. Mica schist is, next to gneiss, the most abundant rock in New England. In this locality we find it is exposed in various hues, from a deep red, through a darkish green up to the silvery gray of Muscovite.

On the west side of the Armory, two years ago, a fine opportunity was afforded for seeing in what way the internal heat and pressure had contorted the strata. Here also we find nearly pure hornblende, and masses of diorite, a name now given to layers of orthoclase and hornblende. To me this locality has been most perplexing, and it was the first spot last summer that I wished Professor Barton of the Boston Institute of Technology to visit, to see if he could find any of the so-called trap. But he could not. The question is an interesting one to be decided. Is this diorite a stratified rock, or is it eruptive, with a flow structure?

Passing up Chelmsford Street, you are confronted with another wall of mica schist. Mr. Bowers, our City

Engineer, told me that he had tried in vain to utilize this substance but he believed it was good for nothing. The workmen call it "rotten stone." Once having examined this schist, you would recognize it again in any part of the globe.

If you climb up that hill, you notice upon the top a line of rocks -- in its nature a coarse granite. This was evidently a dike that crystallized at a great depth, and under high pressure; perhaps the same force that made the fissure, also forced up the melted matter. The mica schist that enclosed it has been worn away by erosion. On the other side we come to Bellevue Street, where our teachers have found excellent specimens of feldspar for study. Here, some one tells you that a hill has been removed, and we find an exposure of coarse granite, containing a profusion of cinnamon garnets. Geologists affirm that the whole of New England is slowly rising, so there may be some compensation for all of this leveling process. Passing up Fletcher Street, we soon come to an outcropping of mica slate, which continues in a straight line across the river and forms the bed of the Merrimack. Everybody in Lowell is familiar with this rock. In the early days of our city it must have been useful in the erection of buildings; St. Anne's Church may be called one of its monuments.

We all remember the high ledge that passed through Fletcher Street, near the residence of Dr. Sullivan Ward, and which we used to call the Pass of Thermopylae. The eastern portion has been hewn away. On the west side the cliff rises some thirty feet, and is nearly perpendicular. Here is enclosed our first genuine dike, or we might call it a double dike of trap rock if we use the good old-fashioned generic term. How well some of us remember one afternoon when Dr. Street led a class up to this place, and placing his hand upon the dike said: "Here is your true fire rock." It cuts across the mica

slate, passes under the street, and re-appears farther down on the opposite side. Here are also pockets of this trap, showing that the melted substance filled up and neatly cemented all the apertures. Perhaps in Prof. Silliman's day he could follow this ledge and trace the dikes all the way through. These upheavals were not made quickly, but probably required ages for their work. So slowly it may have been accomplished, that we, during our short lives, would never have been aware of what was going on, only rested as we do now, on the stability of the earth.

East of the Connecticut valley there is only one area of mica slate. It is irregular in outline, seems to enter the state on the northeast, in Amesbury and Haverhill, with a breadth of seven or eight miles. In Lowell we trace it across the Merrimack, which it soon leaves, and, varying from one to two miles in breadth, passes south-westerly through Westford.

An interesting belt of granite is said to extend from Worcester to Dracut. The question of the origin of granite has long been under discussion. Formerly it was considered a metamorphic rock akin to gneiss, and that the planes of stratification had been obliterated by internal heat. Now the structure is supposed to indicate that the whole substance took its position at once and by a single process. It is therefore an eruptive rock, and called plutonic, a name now given to express the idea of the great depth and pressure under which such masses were formed. The only granite we notice about Lowell is the coarse crystalline variety. Granitic outbursts must have been of great magnitude all along the coast of New England. The immense quarries at Rockport, indeed the whole of Cape Ann is of this nature. So granite may be looked upon as a late visitor, when compared with its neighbors. It must have come from some molten mass deep in the earth, and have

overcome the resistance of ages. One of these irregular dikes that defies the crust above it, is twelve miles long and seven wide. Think of such a huge mass on its way up from the fiery depths, slowly settling into position, and growing cold and rigid at last.

Towards the northeast end of our granite belt, noticeable perhaps at Ayer, the granite passes into gneiss. This is the most abundant rock in Massachusetts, forming, it is said, nearly one-half of our state. We find it in all grades of condition. Sometimes the bedding is obscure, and it is difficult anyway to find the line where it merges into granite. The gneiss in this region is always micaceous, and passes into mica slate. About half a mile from the end of the Pawtucket car route we reach the so-called granite quarry. It is evidently abandoned, although it must have done good service in days gone by. Its decayed appearance, due to the decomposing feldspar, suggests the thought of some old house that has been deserted. We have found it an interesting spot for a class in geology to visit. It consists of gneiss, and the lines of stratification are clearly shown. There are veins of granular quartz, and the largest dike within walking distance cuts through the gneiss. Professor Burbank gave to this trap the name of Lowellite, claiming that it differed in its constitution from the ordinary diorite and diabase, and deserved a distinction. I do not find this claim recognized elsewhere, but our classes have enjoyed preserving the legend, and we have named our specimens in his honor. The chlorite which appears in a smooth, shining surface, where the trap unites with the gneiss, gives the appearance of slickensides, but this is probably due only to the expansion of a hydrate mineral.

What relation does this dike sustain to the one which we find at the edge of Tyngsborough, crossing the

road, from the north, near the foot of a long hill, leading out from Draeut?

On the banks of the Merrimack just above the canal walk at Pawtucket Falls, the Lowellite re-appears in a porphyritic state--mottled with crystals of feldspar. The nickel mine in Draeut, on the Lawrence road, about three miles from Lowell, has been frequently visited by geologists, and is, perhaps to them, the most noted spot in this region. The ore is pyrohotite, enclosed in a section of trap. This is a wild, beautiful place, and if the road could be repaired it would make a most attractive driveway.

Everybody has heard about the successive failures in this mine. The ore is often valuable, containing three to five per cent. of nickel. Pyrite is generally distributed among rocks of all ages, and it frequently occurs in our gneiss and mica schist. Some workmen, in digging for a sewer in Lowell, a few months ago, struck a mass of metal and brought a fragment to Mr. A. K. Whitcomb, our school superintendent. It has proved to be arsenopyrite--a pyrite containing arsenic. This ore is worked for its arsenic, and sometimes for its gold, so it might be well to look out for a buried treasure. Stray minerals are noticed here and there. An out-cropping of gneiss can be seen on Broadway, opposite the Locks and Canals. In that field, when the canal was deepened and the stones thrown up, our classes found both limestone and chlorite. The limestone may have been deposited in pockets and not in regular layers.

Mr. Cheney, superintendent of the Locks and Canals Company, has recently discovered particles of graphite near one of the canals. Beds of graphite are mostly found in very ancient formations and are probably relics of the first sea-weeds that floated to the primitive shore, but small bits of this mineral, that used to be known as plumbago or black lead, are frequently distributed during later periods.

But, after all, the most interesting points of Lowell and its adjoining districts, are connected with the glacial period. We used to hear that Lowell was once a lake. Certainly this can be said of a large part of Tewksbury, for all the features of a lake formation can be clearly traced. A sheet of ice such as now holds sway in Greenland, only twice as large, moved down and took possession of our land. It came from the frozen north; it wore away our ledges, and deepened our valleys; it brought down boulders, both great and small, to cover our fields; it blocked up the old channel of the Merrimack at Tyngsborough, so that a sheet of ice acted like a dam, and the river was forced to turn aside, and cut its way through the solid rock, down to its present bed. Professor Shaler, of Cambridge, thinks the line of the old Middlesex Canal was about the same as that the river took when it emptied into the ocean at Boston, instead of Newburyport. We can imagine the glacier creeping slowly onward to the sea, and that huge icebergs floated southward along our coast.

In Gloucester, an area called the Dog Town Commons marks a terminal marine. Hundreds of boulders cover the ground, and stretch on and on as far as the eye can see. This moving ice sheet passed on its way slowly, but not gently. It tore, and rasped, and scarred, and left its traces wherever there was a surface broad and smooth enough for it to score. How far this mountain of ice rose above us, who can tell? Perhaps 6000 feet. By and by the world's spring time came again; the ice melted away; the rushing streams from the foot of the glaciers brought down quantities of sand and gravel, raising long and winding ridges, which are called eskers, or collected together masses for glacial hills. To these the Irish name of Drumlins has been given. Not unfrequently depressions were left to be occupied by ponds. A line of eskers extend through the

town of Andover. A part of the same net-work crosses the Andover road, about a mile below the Lowell line, follows in a southwesterly course from the river, disappears at Long Meadow and emerges again opposite the farm-house owned by Mr. Jason Fuller, and probably goes on to Acton. A fine opportunity is offered for a study of this ridge, as the farmers have either left it untouched, or kindly built their walls upon the top. In order to straighten the town road a cut was made through the esker a few years ago near the school-house. A ledge of quartz is exposed, showing a smooth and rounded surface, and also fine lines or striae.

In some places the modified drift is clearly seen. That these ridges were made by the action of water is plain, but how, is a question still unsolved. Haggett's Pond, like that of Walden in Concord and also at Willow Dale, undoubtedly marks a depression where a glacier or mass of ice lingered. Afterwards it melted away, and the pond was left for a record of its abiding place. Drumlins are not rocks like ordinary hills, but are just vast heaps of unstratified material, containing boulders and gravel. How they came to be piled into heaps is a problem. The structure is so hard that engineers have said that it was as easy to cut through solid rock as through some of these. There are 1500 of these drumlins in Massachusetts. They are numerous in the vicinity of Boston, and many of these well known hills, like Beacon, Cox, Bunker and others, belong to this order. We have two in Lowell, Fort Hill and Belvidere Hill. These are well known and were examined by Professor Barton last summer. The trend of these hills is from northwest to southeast. This is always a marked feature, viz: a long, gradual slope on the east side. The outline is oval, and the surface smooth and round. The glacier left at our very doors traces of its footsteps. In the rear of the Highland Church is a

ledge deeply furrowed. A boulder on Fort Hill Park bears the well-known grooves.

A fragment of the rock which interested Dr. Street so much and which Agassiz pronounced the best specimen of glacial furrows in New England, is still to be seen in its old place, on the bank of the Merrimack, but more than half of it has been taken away.

On the cross road leading from North Tewksbury to the centre of the town we find another water-worn ledge. Often the ridges in our rocks that are mistaken for glacial striae are simply due to weathering. They are only lines of quartz that have been left by the erosion of the feldspar. In the bed of the Merrimack River, where it can be crossed near the Pawtucket Falls, in the summer time, are fine specimens of such work. Sometimes the ridges cover the entire boulder, crossing and re-crossing like a netting of lace. This gives a peculiarly hoary appearance and suggests Egyptian antiquities. In the yards of the Locks and Canals Co. is a monument of erosion well preserved. There is a high cliff at the end of Varnum Avenue, where the gravel has been removed for use in the Boulevard and the boulders left behind. They are worth stopping to see what a generous supply a small neighborhood can furnish, and also for their variety and polished surfaces.

We must not omit a mention of the rocks on the farm belonging to Mr. Jason Fuller, on Clark Street, in Tewksbury. Everybody in Lowell who keeps an interest in geology has noticed them in passing. This tract of land was covered with boulders, and their pathway from the North could easily be traced. They consist mainly of coarse gneiss, passing into mica schist.

In clearing up the fields Mr. Fuller had many of these boulders broken up and built into walls. The wavy structure is so marked that an anticline and syncline can be readily traced, and the formation of a whole range of

mountains studied in a small compass. Some of the large blocks are worthy of a museum.

It is now claimed that although ledges were scraped, valleys deepened, and hills lowered, our great erosions are not due to glacial action. Massachusetts, for instance, rises gently from the ocean to the Berkshire hills. An area of level upland is so noticeably a feature of inner New England, that it has received a newly-coined word, "pene plain." A long cycle of denudation took place before the glacial period came, and the land of our own state was reduced from a former height, so that only hills remain where once were ancient mountains. The great dynamical forces of the earth are never still.

Have we any fossils in this region? None have yet been found. Both Professor Burbank and Professor Perry of Cambridge claimed the discovery of the *Cozoon Canadense* in the serpentinic limestones of Chelmsford. There is still doubt as to the animal origin of this substance. Many years ago Professor Hitchcock of Dartmouth College "imagined," he says, "that he found traces of carboniferous fossils in our slates," and the same has been thought of those at Worcester. Professor Barton of Boston claims that there is no reason why signs of ancient life should not be found here. But they require the keen eyes of the fossil hunter. In the rocks of the Boston basin only one locality has afforded any. This is in Braintree, in a slate quarry on the south shore of Hayward's Creek. It contains a species of trilobite known as the *Paradoxides Harlani*. This animal was three-lobed in structure, remarkable for its wonderful eyes, which disclose the secret of sunlight during that early period. But the moment we touch the life of the Silurian age a new world of interest opens, for the sea is full, and only a lost interval of time can account for such numbers and variety.

Our local geology has its own value. There are not

striking features to draw students from other fields, but wise secrets may be hidden away in unattractive places. Our rocks were probably thousands of feet higher than at present. We are living far below what was once the surface. One can enjoy the sensation of an explorer in finding out how and why such a state of things came to be.

The dear old dame Nature, who told Agassiz such wonderful stories, holds in reserve many a simple tale for those who will only listen. The interest of out-door life is enhanced a thousand times, when the language of rocks and trees and flowers has once been interpreted to us.

IV. *Before the Power-Loom. The Earliest Cotton and Woollen Industries at East Chelmsford and Vicinity, and their Promoters; by Z. E. Stone. Read before the Old Residents' Historical Association Dec. 18, 1894.*

It is known to those familiar with the early history of this region that largely through the intervention of John Eliot, the far-famed apostle of the Pawtucket Indians, a tract of land was reserved for their exclusive ownership and use when the town of Chelmsford was settled and its boundaries defined. This reservation was marked by a ditch or trench, beginning on the Merrimack River at a point which many years later became known as Middlesex Village, extending thence in a southerly direction to the Concord River, south of the Lawrence Street bridge, thence through land now of the Lowell Cemetery and on the right of Fort Hill Park to the Merrimack River, below Hunt's Falls. The course of this trench for much of the distance was easily traced long after Lowell became a large city, but it is doubtful if any part of it can be identified at the present time. The territory and streams enclosed (bounded on the north by the Merrimack) gave the Indians sufficient land for cultivation and the most desirable advantages for fishing that could have been selected on the two rivers. Within the boundaries of this reservation, after more than one hundred years had elapsed, were begun the earliest manufactories of woollen and cotton fabrics in the northeastern part of Massachusetts, and the territory thus set apart constitutes nearly all that is embraced in the limits of Lowell at the present time, excepting those portions lying on the opposite sides of the Merrimack and Concord rivers.

Chelmsford was settled in 1653---thirty-three years after the Pilgrims settled Plymouth. It is to be presumed that carding, spinning and weaving were among the regular legitimate employments of the women, at certain seasons of the year, in nearly all families of the first settlers, as was the case in the other settlements in New England. These accomplishments are still practised to some extent in the Province of New Brunswick, within a day's ride east of us. It is a matter of record that three years after the incorporation of the town (1656) at a public meeting "William How was admitted an inhabitant and granted twelve acres of meadow and eighteen of upland, provided he set up his trade of weaving and perform the town's work." As there were no paupers or people requiring public assistance in the town for about one hundred years after its settlement, the conditions on which Mr. How was admitted an inhabitant must have been that he should do the weaving for such as had no looms or preferred to hire the work done to doing it themselves. The town authorities had a custom of imposing on settlers certain conditions, as in the case of the weaver, and also of Daniel Waldo, who had "leave to set up a grist-mill at the mouth of Stoney Brook," provided that he "grind the corn and malt of the inhabitants of Chelmsford, except on the fourth day of each week, which was appropriated to the use of Dunstable." He was also required "to grind the town's corn and malt for half-toll, except a small quantity, as a bushel or the like, and according to turn as much as may be." Samuel Adams was granted four hundred and fifty acres of land in consideration of setting up a saw-mill, "provided he supply the town with boards at three shillings per hundred or saw one log for the providing and bringing of another," etc.

There may have been a fulling or clothier's mill in the town earlier than 1691, but if so we have failed to

discover the fact. It is probable that the women had processes by which they converted the wool into cloth without subjecting it to the manipulations of a fulling-mill proper. In the year above named (1691) Lieut. John Barret erected a clothier's mill on Mill Brook, which drains Heart Pond. The stream was later known as River Meadow Brook and still later as Hale's Brook. It ends in the Concord River, near the American Bolt Company's plant. Heart Pond takes its name from its peculiar form. It has long been more generally known as Baptist Pond. It is in the south part of the town, on the right hand side, going south, of the Lowell and Framingham Railroad. We know nothing of the fate of Lieut. Barret's enterprise. Both Mr. How and Lieut. Barret seem not to have been conspicuous figures in the town's history in later years.

It must not be understood that all the people were entirely dependent on the spinning-wheels and looms of their respective towns for the wherewithal with which to clothe themselves. The spinning of woollen and cotton fabrics was an industry, on a small scale, in certain localities. For instance, previous to 1638 weaving and spinning was begun by a few families who came from Yorkshire and settled the town of Rowley, Essex County (not a long distance from Chelmsford), fourteen years earlier than was settled the mother-town of Lowell. From the first coming of the Pilgrims, spinning and weaving was one of the household duties of women generally; and in some families the production was larger than the consumption, while in others the demand was greater than the supply; and this opened the way for traffic between neighbors and towns. It would not be a difficult matter, we conjecture, to find now in some of the old farm-houses in any one of the New England states the flax spinning-wheel or little foot-wheel, the large wheel on which the wool rolls were spun, and the ponderous

wooden frame of the loom, samples of those in general use and on which our vigorous foremothers wrought the fabrics which went toward clothing themselves, their husbands and their sons and daughters. In numerous instances the "little wheel" has followed from the same rooftree in the country the tall, old-fashioned clock, into elegant city homes, where, bedecked with a bit of yellow or blue ribbon, it stands a mute reminder of the times when all toiled and none were accounted wealthy, as wealth is held today.

We have made no attempt to give in chronological order the ventures in manufacturing. Progress in this direction was slow, and spinning and weaving were household employments in the homes of very many New England families until within comparatively a recent date. In 1787 there was a small beginning in cotton manufacturing in Beverly, and the machinery employed was driven by horse-power, as are the threshing-machines in New England at the present time; but, notwithstanding this enterprise received some aid from the state, it did not succeed, the manufacturers being unable to compete with foreign-made goods. In each of the states there was about the same interest manifested in manufacturing as in Massachusetts, where in all the larger towns something was attempted from year to year. In 1811 at Dorchester, Taunton, Bridgewater, Waltham and other places, were carding and fulling mills, dye works, etc.; but spinning and weaving were yet done in the homes of the people.

Some time about 1775 Ezekiel Hale of West Newbury came to Dracut and engaged in business on Beaver Brook, upon or near the site of the present Merrimack Woollen Mill. This brook drains Corbett's Pond, in Windham, N. H., and discharges into the Merrimack River at about the middle of the great bend, where that stream sweeps out and changes to an almost southerly

course. His business was fulling, dyeing and dressing the homespun cloth made in the farmers' families. The women carded their wool into rolls, spun the rolls into yarn and wove the yarn into cloth. A grandson of Mr. Hale (Bernice S. Hale, long a well-known resident of Lowell) describing the process of completing the cloth, said that for men's wear it was "fulled" or thickened by a method of shrinking it. Next it was napped with teasels (a vegetable growth now but little known to the general public), then colored, sheared and pressed; for women's use it was but slightly napped and only colored and pressed. The outside garments of nearly all the men and women of the country towns were made of material manufactured as we have described. There were also at this location a grist-mill and a saw-mill, consequently it was the centre of quite a large business for those times.

In 1789 Mr. Hale sold to his sons, Ezekiel and Moses, a large portion of this mill property. Sales of land in the neighborhood were also made by him in 1793 and 1794---Jephtha Coburn and Isaac Bradley being purchasers. After the death of Mr. Hale, about 1798, the remainder of his estate soon went into other hands. Moses Hale (as mentioned later on) began similar enterprises at East Chelmsford. The Dracut property may have been owned and operated by several parties after the decease of the senior Hale and previous to 1814, but if so, we have failed to ascertain their names. January 15th of that year Emerson Briggs sold his interest in it to Aaron Hardy. April 13th, following, it passed into the hands of the Stanley brothers of Attleborough---Artemas, Jabez, Woodward and Sewell. They rebuilt and enlarged the principal mill and otherwise improved the place. The Stanleys, with occasionally co-partners of other names---John D. Clapp, Messrs. Bradley and Hamblet, and still another Stanley---Sylvan, the son of Artemas---held and operated the property until about 1828, when it was

turned over to John Sweatt, a Boston merchant, who had loaned money to his predecessors. He leased it to four Englishmen, viz: Charles Stott, James Fitten, Joseph Garnet and Samuel Whitaker -- all practical manufacturers. They made flannel goods, on hand-loom. Power-loom had not at this time been brought into general use. About 1831 or '32, the firm failed and lost everything, through the mismanagement of the selling agent in Boston. The commission house of Warren, Berry & Park, of Boston, furnished Mr. Stott and others money to begin again, under the firm name of Stott, Fitten & Garnet, Mr. Whitaker having withdrawn. The new firm was successful, and when their lease expired they each realized handsomely from the profits. They hesitated about taking another lease until too late to renew it.

Capt. Artemas Young and his brother Darius succeeded Mr. Stott and others and operated the mill for a short time. Capt. Young, about 1835, built a small mill at Massie Falls, on the Concord River, site of the property of the heirs of P. O. Richmond, where he manufactured flannel goods. He was thus engaged in 1835-36. A short distance above the mill, on an island in the river, was a reed manufactory, reached by a foot-bridge from the western shore. Between this island and the shore was the canal which furnished the Youngs water-power. One Sunday, in the winter of 1836-37, the building on the island took fire and was consumed. Firemen and spectators assembled on the ice in the canal, which proved to be insecure, and, breaking, firemen, the fire-engine and spectators were submerged in the ice-cold water. Capt. Young was among the unlucky ones on the ice at the time. From his involuntary bath he is said to have taken a violent cold, which induced a disease that resulted in his demise, April 5, 1837, at the age of fifty-two years. He was a native of Worcester, but came to Lowell from Boston about the time East Chelmsford became the town

of Lowell, which was in 1826. He was a member of the Board of Selectmen of the new town from 1828 to 1831, inclusive. He was at one time a large owner of real estate lying between Central and Gorham Streets, beginning at what was long known as Tower's Corner. He was also for some time in the grocery business at the corner of Central and Church Streets, and was a man well known to the public during all his life in Lowell. Two sons, Charles H. and Artemas S. Young, are natives of Lowell and have always resided here.

About 1838 the Chelmsford Manufacturing Company was formed, which absorbed the mill at the Navy Yard and the Witney blanket mill in Belvidere. (The Witney mill was named in honor of a successful blanket manufactory in England, but whether originally spelled with an h -- Whitney -- or not we are unable to say.) The Witney mill was a stone building on Howe Street, still standing, opposite the Belvidere Woollen Mill. Fine blankets were its specialty. The manufactory at West Chelmsford also became a portion of the combine, the three concerns being operated under one management. (The Eagle Mill, at West Chelmsford, was destroyed by fire some years ago, and the site is at present marked by the grey stone walls which the fire left standing.) The principal stockholders of the Chelmsford Manufacturing Company were John and Thomas Nesmith, Royal Southworth and Harlin Pillsbury. Daniel Holden, now of West Concord, N. H., was the company's general manager at the Navy Yard, with Wesley Sawyer in charge of the weaving; both were also stockholders. Mr. Holden left the concern in 1847, and was succeeded by Gustavus D. Wackenfeldt. Robert Middleton, afterward a successful woollen manufacturer in Utica, N. Y., where he still resides, may have been his successor. James Waterhouse was at one time connected with the company, but afterward located in Rhode Island. At another time

Wesley Sawyer (already mentioned) was agent or superintendent of the mill.

Prior to 1860 the manufacturing property at the Navy Yard was given the name of the Merrimack Woollen Mill, and was owned by Thomas Barrows of Dedham, Walter Hastings of Boston and John Nesmith of Lowell. Joseph and Alfred Chase were, respectively, managers till 1862, when Edward Barrows took charge. In 1863 the property was bought by John Pearson of Boston. The small mill, higher up the stream, at Collinsville, was also bought by the same party, with the idea of running it to keep their goods on the market, and to store machinery and stock, while the Navy Yard mill was being rebuilt. In 1864 a stock company was formed, with a capital of \$500,000, the principal stockholders being Walter Hastings, John Nesmith, John Pearson, and Bauendahal & Co., the last named of New York City. In October, same year, the new mill was burned, but it was rebuilt and enlarged in 1865-'66. In 1873 the company failed. The property remained idle for three years. The upper mill was leased to Michael Collins, who afterward bought it. In 1877 Solomon Bachman of New York City leased the Merrimack Woollen Mill (the Navy Yard property) but bought it before his lease expired; and, with August Fels as agent, the property has been since in successful operation. There remains at this time, in the vicinity, little or nothing made use of by the Stanleys or their immediate successors.

In this connection it will not be out of place to state that we have been informed that Ezekiel Hale's son Ezekiel became the well-known and successful Groveland manufacturer, E. J. M. Hale, deceased a few years since.

A daughter of Artemas, the eldest of the Stanley brothers, who figured conspicuously in the early history of manufacturing in Draent, married Silas Tyler, a

native of this vicinity, and prominently before the public for many years. A. S. Tyler, a member of the Old Residents' Association and a well-known and esteemed citizen, is an issue of that union and bears the full name of his grandfather on his mother's side.

After the Stanleys began business in Dracut the place was known as Stanleys' Mills. It did not receive its present name -- the Navy Yard -- until some time since 1820, we think. About that time and later, during the winter and spring months, large quantities of oak ship-timber were brought there from a distance of six or eight miles around; and after the ice left the river, and the danger from great freshets was passed, the timber was rolled into the stream and directly was in the Merrimack and on the way to Newburyport, or possibly to other ship-building points -- perhaps Boston and Charlestown. It was a favorable location for this kind of business. On the east side of Beaver Brook, in the vicinity of the present bridge, was Bradley's Landing, and on the west side Varnum's Landing -- both good points from which to get the timber afloat. At certain times the ground, several acres in extent, about the landings, was thickly covered with logs of all sizes and shapes, and sometimes they encroached upon the highway. Some one saw in the appearance of the place the semblance of a veritable navy yard, and the suggestion gave it that name, which has clung to it to the present time. There were exciting scenes occasionally at these landings, when the timber was rolled over the banks and into the brook. The peculiar condition of things, which gave it the name, having long ceased to exist, might it not be well to re-christen the place, and give it a name not so much of a misnomer as that which it has long borne? But this is a subject of more importance to the residents of the place than to outsiders.

Not long after the death of Ezekiel Hale his son Moses moved to East Chelmsford, erected a building on River Meadow Brook (which later took his name) and began the business already described, which had been taught him by his father. The building was from fifteen to twenty rods below the present bridge on Gorham Street, which was known at that time as "the Boston road," which spans the aforementioned stream. He very soon required larger accommodations, and built another mill, this time above the bridge. Here, in 1801, he introduced the first carding-machine (a crude affair, it may be conjectured,) that was brought into this section of the state, and he was then able to card the wool of the farmers into rolls. The place early became known as Hale's Mills, and is so known today, although the property many years ago passed out of the hands of those bearing the name of Hale. His sons, Perley and Bernice S. Hale, carried on the business established by him, and managed the grist and saw mills for some years after his death; but, eventually, it passed from their control. Fire and the "noiseless foot of time" have had much to do with the effacement of the original buildings, but little of which is left. The property now, we are told, belongs to Mr. Josiah Butler, dealer in cotton waste.

But Mr. Hale engaged in other enterprises, the most important of which was powder-making, in the year 1818, in which he was the pioneer in this part of the state. The late Oliver M. Whipple came to East Chelmsford from another town in the state to which he had gone from Vermont, to enter the employ of Mr. Hale as superintendent of his powder-works, having elsewhere acquired a practical knowledge of the process of manufacturing powder. He, eventually, with others, succeeded to the whole business, and was its manager as long as powder was made here, or until about 1856, when the business was entirely abandoned.

When Mr. Hale's powder-works were completed (to go back a little) he invited Gov. John Brooks, who filled the chief magistrate's chair from 1816 to 1823, to visit East Chelmsford and inspect his enterprises. That he accepted the invitation and came is undoubtedly true, but that his council (as legend has it) also came, lacks confirmation. The official records of the council for 1818 are silent on the subject; the leading Boston newspapers made no mention of any such occurrence -- not even the governor's visit. It probably was not an official affair. Governor Brooks resided in Medford. His residence was on the most direct road from Boston to East Chelmsford, Moses Hale, the enterprising, public-spirited gentleman, or very nearly so. Undoubtedly he personally knew owner and manager of a fulling-mill, a carding-mill, a grist-mill, a saw-mill, and last, and most important of all, a set of powder-mills. He also may have been aware of the fact that Mr. Hale lived in the finest house in town, and that he was a citizen whose acquaintance and influence were worth courting. It was also a very natural thing, and withal a very proper one, for Mr. Hale to do, to invite his excellency to visit Hale's Mills, for many mills he surely had; and he could entertain in a manner worthy of one in such a high and important rank -- possibly in grander style than any other citizen within the town's limits. It would be for Governor Brooks only a pleasant day's outing to visit the place, and we presume he came, with a few personal friends and more or less "pomp and circumstance." Elisha Davis, a native of the place, born in 1799, is said to have stated that he was a member of a military company which did escort duty on the day of the visit. There are no records by which can be fixed the date; there is no one living able to name the month in which the visit was made; and still it was a famous occasion in the history of the place. Of course, after the powder-works

had been inspected, there was a banquet at the Hale mansion; very likely there were speeches by the governor and others after the repast had been served, and perhaps "music by the band." But there was no "chief among them takin' notes" to make record of the event for the entertainment of later generations. It was an honor then, as it is now, to have a visit from the governor of Massachusetts. Seventy-six years later a citizen of Lowell is the governor of the Commonwealth and carries the honors of his high office with becoming gravity in the presence of his appreciative neighbors and fellow-townsmen.

In 1809 or '10 Mr. Hale made the cloth for a suit of clothes for Gen. Joseph B. Varnum, of Dracont, who was representative in Congress from this section from 1795 to 1811, and Speaker of the House his last two terms. Mr. Hale selected sufficient wool of the finest quality procurable, carded it in his own machine and then sent it to women in the neighborhood noted for their skill as spinners and weavers. On being returned to him a web of cloth, it was put through the usual processes of fulling, napping, coloring (blue), shearing and pressing, all in the best manner. Of this cloth a full suit of clothing in the latest style (with bright buttons, of course,) was made for the distinguished Speaker of the National House of Representatives. Undoubtedly Gen. Varnum wore it with feelings of pleasure and pride as evidence of the skill and mechanical ability of his constituents. Although the preceding incident is not as interesting an illustration of the patriotic spirit, skill and indomitable perseverance of the mothers and daughters of our country in the days of the Revolution, who, it is said, had sheep sheared, carded and spun the wool, wove and dyed the cloth, and made of it a suit of clothing -- all in less than twenty-four hours' time -- that the eager youth of the family might take up arms with neighbors and

friends against the common enemy; still it serves to show the methods and means of doing business in this place at a date almost within the memory of men now living here.

About the time Mr. Hale seems to have been at the height of his success (in 1812 and '13) he built the large house which still crowns the eminence but a short distance back of the old mill. It was an elegant location and the house was regarded for many years as the finest that could be named for miles around. Mr. Hale occupied it many years. Business reverses, however, after a time compelled him to vacate it; and in 1830 it was bought at an auction sale by the late Joshua Swan, who was a prominent man in the public affairs of the town and city of Lowell for a number of years. Directly after it was purchased Mr. Swan rented one-half to the late Josiah B. French, who remained a tenant about two years. The old house still stands, but the glory of its early years has departed, never to return. Yes, it has changed, but not more than have its surroundings. It survives all who lived in the neighborhood at the time it was erected, and there are not many older houses within the limits of our city. Mr. Hale died in 1828. He was a man of much importance for many years in the business affairs of his part of the town. His name is perpetuated in Hale's Brook and Hale Street, each in the vicinity of his many enterprises.

Allen's History of Chelmsford, published in 1820, says that "during the restrictions upon commerce and the unhappy war with Great Britain the attention of the moneyed men was considerably directed to domestic manufactories. There being a very commodious seat for a manufactory on Concord River, about three hundred rods from its entrance into the Merrimack River, Capt. Phineas Whiting and Col. Josiah Fletcher erected a large

building thereon. It was sixty feet long by fifty feet wide and forty feet high. It was intended for a cotton manufactory and cost about \$2500."

This was in 1813. The building, we learn from other sources, was first occupied by John Goulding, who came to East Chelmsford the year previously. He says the mill was built for him and that he leased it for eight years at a rent of \$200 per annum. It stood on the eastern site of the present plant of the Middlesex Company. We quote his own words: "I carried on the business of spinning cotton yarn in a small way, as all our manufacturing was done at that time. Spun about 20 pounds of yarn per day. Also had a carding-machine for carding custom wool for spinning by hand, making what was called homespun cloth. Carried on a machine shop for making cotton and wool machinery; made looms for weaving suspender webbing and boot webbing, and a tape loom to weave 36 pieces at one time. I occupied the building some four years, when it was purchased by Thomas Hurd, who fitted it up for making satin t. . . . I built a small mill on the canal property and took water from the canal and made machinery there. Help fit up Hurd's mill. I moved from East Chelmsford just before the canal company sold out to the present owners, who came into possession and established Lowell. Mr. Nathan Tyler built a grist-mill just below me on the canal."

Mr. Goulding's mill or machine-shop was on the left or west side of Pawtucket (or Hamilton) Canal, about where it was later tapped for the Eastern Canal, which supplies power for the Prescott and Massachusetts mills, almost back of the store of O. A. Richardson, gunsmith, No. 108 Central Street. He went from East Chelmsford to Worcester, where he died a few years ago. During his life he made many improvements in machinery for cotton and wool manufacturing and won quite a repu-

tation as an inventor. He seems also to have given some attention to impractical schemes -- something of the "Colwell motor" character, we judge, from the manner in which he referred to it. In a letter to the late Col. J. B. French (from which we have already quoted), dated April 4, 1874, or about ten years before the Colwell motor craze in Lowell, he said he had "a device to stop explosions of boilers; save one-half the fuel now used in creating steam or vapor for power; to go on any river, no matter how muddy the water. I use no water to create power, but bisulphate of carbon instead; could drive the Great Eastern or supply power for any other purpose wanted." Mr. Goulding seems to have lived at East Chelmsford about ten years; but we have found no trace of him in any other place than that which we have already described.

The history to which we have referred makes no mention of Jonathan Knowles, who was associated with Mr. Goulding in manufacturing, nor does Mr. Goulding himself speak of him; but it is a fact that they together rented the mill which Whiting and Fletcher built, and they were associate partners until they failed and the building passed into the hands of Mr. Hurd, as elsewhere mentioned. This fact is confirmed by the late John A. Knowles and also by Joseph W. Mansur, both of whom have said that the firm was doing a good business when the war with England closed (in 1815); that then the letting in of cheap foreign fabrics put an end to their operations. According to Mr. Mansur, Mr. Knowles put in the machinery for manufacturing woollen goods -- putting his capital against Mr. Goulding's skill as a mechanic and manufacturer. John A. Knowles (who was not a relative of his namesake) says that the firm employed about twenty operatives (mostly women) and paid them seventy-five cents and board per week! They

manufactured cotton and woollen yarns "for country weaving" -- that is, their yarns were sold to go into families in Chelmsford, Dracut and Tewksbury, where they were woven into cloth by the mothers and daughters. The yarns were sold at the country stores and also by peddlers.

After the failure of Knowles and Goulding and the sale of the mill to Mr. Hurd, Mr. Knowles was advised to go to manufacturing cotton batting. He retained or bought certain parts of the machinery which the firm had used in the mill, rented the loft in Hale's saw-mill, on River Meadow Brook (now known as Hale's Brook), and began making cotton batting. He had experimented with the cotton-waste, which the mills turned into the river to get rid of it, and was the first man to convert it into merchandise. He went to the Merrimack Manufacturing Company and offered one cent a pound for all the waste they could supply him with. His offer was accepted and for several years he made use of it, having a monopoly in this vicinity in the manufacturing of cotton batting; but finally others engaged in the business and the price of the waste was largely increased.

There was little use for cotton batting in this part of the state at the time of which we speak. The women did not seem to realize the uses to which it could be put. Mr. Knowles is said to have suggested to his wife that in other places it was used for making bed-coverings, sewing the batting between sheets of cotton cloth; and that must have been the origin of the coverlet, generally spoken of in New England as "comforter." The idea was illustrated in the Knowles family and worked satisfactorily. Mrs. Knowles and other ladies took the hint from this use of cotton batting and made cushions for their pews in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, which was from 1827 to 1839 located in a building at the corner of Central and Elm Streets. Mr. Knowles continued in

the business of making cotton batting for many years; but moved his manufactory from Hale's mill to Chambers Street, lower down on the same stream, some years before he ceased to manufacture. He did something for a time with a small laundry; but eventually changed the building into tenements, which was the last use he made of it.

Mr. Knowles was born in Eastham, March 16, 1780; came to East Chelmsford in 1813, and died March 20, 1866.

Thomas Hurd, who succeeded Messrs. Goulding and Knowles, came to East Chelmsford from Charlestown (one account says from Stoneham) in 1818. The Chelmsford historian (Allen) speaks of him as "an enterprising gentleman," and says he repaired and fitted up the mill "for a woollen manufactory. Sixteen looms, worked by water, were employed in making satinets, of which about one hundred and twenty yards per day were manufactured. This estimate includes the coloring, carding and spinning of the wool, weaving and dressing of the cloth. He employed of both sexes about twenty persons. Machinery: 16 looms worked by water; 1 winder of 50 bobbins, 1 winder for warping 8 spindles, 1 Columbian spinner of 200 spindles, 3 coppers for dyeing -- one for blue of 400 gallons and smaller ones for other colors, 3 double carding-machines."

It will be seen that Mr. Hurd was well equipped for business for that period -- apparently very much better than had been the previous manufacturers of East Chelmsford. After his purchase of the Whiting and Fletcher mill, he seems to have built an additional one, a short distance away, in order to enlarge his resources; Mr. Goulding says he helped fit it up. He continued to manufacture without serious check, the six or seven succeeding years. But on the 30th of June, 1826, the original mill and most of the machinery were destroyed

by fire. It was the first fire that had occurred in the flourishing village. The mill was at the time in part occupied for spinning cotton warp for the satinets, that were woven in the second mill, which was unharmed. Mr. Hurd leased the building which Mr. Goulding had erected on the opposite (or western) side of the canal, and in a short time resumed work. This building he occupied while rebuilding, of brick and in a substantial manner, on the site of the one destroyed. The late Hon. Jefferson Bancroft was the superintendent of Mr. Hurd's mills, and from him we obtained most of the preceding particulars. Hon. J. G. Peabody, who still abides with us, was present at this fire and remembers also the presence of Kirk Boott and his personal appearance on the occasion. Mr. Hurd continued in the business till 1828, when he sold to the Middlesex Company or to parties who finally conveyed the property to that company. Previous to this, in 1826, he purchased a mill-site on the river below Pawtucket Falls, put in a foundation and erected thereon a small building intended for a mill. He also went so far as to construct and add to this enterprise a water-wheel, but the undertaking ceased at that point. Eventually he sold his interest in the site, presumably to the Locks and Canals Company. The building was taken down and conveyed piecemeal to the scene of his operations on Concord River. The water-wheel was floated down the Merrimack, towed up the Concord and put to service at the same point. The foundations at Pawtucket Falls were discernible, until within a few years, from the southern side of the Merrimack River, and possibly portions of them may yet be found, should one visit the spot.

Mr. Hurd must have had rather large ideas as to the advantages of Concord River for manufacturing purposes; for he bought land on both sides of it, perhaps with the idea of controlling the water-power, that he might select his neighbors or competitors. It was some-

time in 1818 that Winthrop Howe, who came from New Hampshire, bought a mill-site of him, nearly opposite of his first purchase. Mr. Howe tore down the old saw-mill which stood upon his purchase and put up a building suitable for manufacturing flannel by hand-loom and for carrying on the various branches of the business leading up to it. He sold to Harrison G. Howe, who added power-loom. Eventually it changed hands again and became known as the Belvidere Flannel Mill, the late Charles Stott agent. The building was burned early Thursday morning, November 15, 1852. The watchman, James Law, thirty-three years old, lost his life in the mill at the time of this fire. A number of the adjoining buildings were destroyed. The fire entirely removed the mill which had been erected by Winthrop Howe and occupied respectively by himself and Harrison G. Howe. It was the first woollen manufactory erected in Belvidere. It occupied in part the site of the present plant of the Belvidere Woollen Company, of which Hon. Charles A. Stott is agent, succeeding his father, Charles Stott.

The late Charles Stott, so often mentioned in this paper, was born in Lancashire, England, August 21, 1799. He came to this country in 1826, and located in Andover. In 1828 he went to Draent and with others (as already shown) engaged in manufacturing flannels, etc. After his marriage he lived on River Street (now Lakeview Avenue), near Bridge Street. There his son, Hon. Charles A. Stott, was born, August 18, 1835. After severing his connection with the Draent mill he was selected as agent of the Belvidere Flannel Mill, and came to Lowell to reside the same year, 1835. Centralville was not at that time a part of Lowell. In 1838 he was residing on Ash Street, in Belvidere. The Belvidere Flannel Mill failed, and later he went to manufacturing with Ezra Farnsworth as partner. Still later the Belvidere

Woollen Company came into existence as an organization, and Mr. Stott was chosen agent, and was holding that position at the time of his death, June 14, 1881. He was an active, energetic man, thoroughly understanding his calling and in love with it; square in his dealings and respected by all -- a valuable man in this city and vicinity, where he resided about fifty years.

There must have been a misapprehension of the facts in the minds of those who have written concerning the early days of East Chelmsford -- its population and industries. It was more of a place than represented to have been. Rev. H. A. Miles's work, "Lowell as it was and as it is," published in 1845, says that "East Chelmsford in 1820 had two hundred population." "A few scattered farm-houses, the store, the tavern, the humble wooden factory, the few small buildings for the powder-works, the two grist-mills -- this was nearly all the place possessed." Nathan Appleton, in the "Origin of Lowell," issued in 1858, says that the first visit to the spot of Patrick T. Jackson, Kirk Boott, Warren Dutton, Paul Moody, John W. Boott and himself, was "made in the month of November, 1821, and a slight snow covered the ground. . . . We perambulated the grounds and scanned the capabilities of the place, and the remark was made that some of us might live to see the place contain twenty thousand inhabitants. At that time there were, I think, less than a dozen houses on what now constitutes the city of Lowell or rather the thickly settled parts of it -- that of Nathan Tyler, near the corner of Merrimaek and Bridge Streets; that of Josiah Fletcher, near the Boott Mills; the house of Phineas Whiting, near Pawtucket Bridge; the house of Mrs. Warren, near what is now Warren Street; the house of Judge Livermore, east of Concord River, then called Belvidere, and a few others."

More than twenty years ago a gentleman "to the manner born"---Joseph W. Mansur--- wrote us and made the following enumeration concerning East Chelmsford: "In 1820 there were fifty-one houses, all occupied, in the original Lowell---three in Belvidere and eleven in Centralville. . . . There were, besides the dwelling-houses, four coopers' shops, a machine-shop, a blacksmith's shop, a fulling, dressing and carding-mill, woollen-mill, iron-works (Ames & Fisher's, on Concord River, between Andover and Rogers Streets), powder-mills, two grist-mills, three stores, two hotels, a cabinet-maker's shop, two school houses," and others. In all there must have been four hundred people in the place before a purchase had been made or a blow struck by the Boston capitalists in pursuit of a site for a great manufacturing centre. The estimate of our correspondent did not include the three houses in Belvidere and the eleven in Centralville, for they were not on territory included when East Chelmsford became the town of Lowell, in 1826. We have other reasons for believing the calculation to be correct. As early as 1803, beginning at a dwelling-house which stood on the site of one of the Gage ice-houses, on Pawtucket Street, and including those on a direct line on the right, south, and north and east to the Merrimack and Concord rivers, there were thirty dwelling-houses, each of which was mentioned and location described in a paper which appeared in the first volume of Old Residents' Contributions.

Thus have we attempted to enumerate and locate the manufactories that gradually struggled into existence in this vicinity previous to the advent of the power-loom. And including them all---that on Beaver Brook in Dra-cut, those on River Meadow Brook and Concord River in East Chelmsford---they were of great importance to this

section of Massachusetts. It will be noticed that up to this time there had been no attempt made to harness the voluminous waters of the Merrimack -- only its tributaries had been made the servants of the manufacturers. Saw-mills and grist-mills may have been built at different periods above and below the great falls. The smaller streams, which were more easily and cheaply controlled, furnished sufficient power for all who came to East Chelmsford up to 1821.

The story of the introduction of the power-loom is fully related by Nathan Appleton, in a pamphlet of thirty-six pages, already referred to, entitled "Introduction of the Power Loom and Origin of Lowell." It is quite unnecessary that we should refer to it further than to make plain a few simple facts. Francis C. Lowell, about 1811, while in England, obtained what information he could concerning the power-loom, then but recently invented and put in operation in that country. Mr. Lowell returned home in 1813 and at once undertook to make a loom. His experimental machine was built in Boston. A water-power had been purchased the year previously in Waltham and a charter for a cotton manufacturing company obtained; undoubtedly the first trial at weaving on a power-loom was made in that town. In the autumn of 1814 Mr. Lowell invited Mr. Appleton to go and see his loom in operation, and the latter says: "I recollect the state of admiration and satisfaction with which we sat by the hour watching the beautiful movement of this new and wonderful machine, destined, as it evidently was, to change the character of all textile industries."

The first real success at carding and spinning cotton by power in this country was accomplished at Pawtucket, R. I., Dec. 20, 1790, by Samuel Slater. He had made the machinery and he superintended all the details of putting

it in operation at that place. The weaving of the yarn which he turned out was for more than twenty years done on hand-loom. Only a year or two after Mr. Lowell had brought out his loom (in 1814) William Gilmore appeared in Rhode Island and secured a patent for a power-loom, radically unlike the Lowell loom. One was put in operation the same year in North Providence, and that kind of loom, improved, was in use at the time of the "Slater Cotton Centennial," in Pawtucket, in 1890.

When Mr. Lowell's power-loom was set up in Waltham, a complete cotton mill, with carding, spinning and weaving in one building, went into operation for the first time in this country. All the branches of manufacturing cotton and wool, which had previously been done in private residences, began to languish in 1790; and manufactories sprang into existence in all parts of the country. Previous to that date it surprises one not conversant with the facts to learn how universally the women were engaged in that occupation. We have been entertained by the records of exploits of the ladies of 1787 and later years, who gathered at "the parsonage-house" to spin for the minister's family and at other places for equally worthy objects. The day's labor generally closed with a religious service, with a sing or a dance, according to the propriety of the occasion. We quote from newspapers of the period referred to brief but interesting accounts of gatherings for the purpose of spinning for special purposes.

(Salem Mercury, April 28, 1787.) "Not long ago a number of ladies belonging to the Presbyterian society in Newbury-Port assembled at the parsonage-house, with their spinning-wheels and their utensils of industry, for the day, to the benefit of the minister's family. The assembly having first united in the solemn exercises of

social worship, the business of the day was begun. Every apartment in the house was opened. The music of the spinning-wheel resounded from every room. Benevolence was seen smiling in every countenance, and the harmony of hearts surpassed even the harmony of wheels. The labors of the day were concluded about 5 o'clock, when the fair laborers presented Mrs. Murray with cotton and linen yarn of the best quality amounting to 236 skeins. Necessary refreshments being past, public worship was attended and a discourse delivered by Rev. Mr. Murray to a large assembly, from Exodus xxxv: 25 -- 'And all the women that were wise-hearted did spin with their hands.'

(Cumberland Gazette, Portland, Me., May 8, 1788.)
 "On the 1st inst. assembled at the house of Rev. Samuel Deane of this town more than one hundred of the fair sex -- married and single ladies -- most of whom were skilled in the important art of spinning. An emulous industry was never more apparent than in this beautiful assembly. The majority of fair hands gave motion to not less than fifty wheels, beside those who attended to the entertainment of the rest -- provision for which was mostly presented by the guests themselves, or sent in by other generous promoters of the exhibition, as were also the materials for the work. Near the close of the day Mrs. Deane was presented by the company with two hundred and thirty-six seven-knotted skeins of excellent cotton and linen yarn, the work of the day, excepting about a dozen skeins which some of the company brought in ready spun. Some had spun six and many not less than five skeins apiece. . . . To conclude and crown the day, a numerous band of the best singers attended in the evening and performed an agreeable variety of excellent pieces in psalmody. 'The price of a virtuous woman is above rubies. . . . She lay-

eth her hands to the spindle and her hands hold the distaff.' ”

(1788.) In Gloucester, on a certain Thursday “ nearly 30 young ladies, inspired with the love of industry, assembled at the house of Capt. Philemon Haskell for the praiseworthy purpose of a Federal Spinning-Match, when to their honor their spirited exertion produced 99 skeins of excellent yarn -- practically declaring that they neither labored in vain nor spent their strength for naught. The day thus industriously concluded finished not the harmony of their federation; in the evening, to crown the pleasure of the day, with additional company, they regaled with an agreeable dance, and at a modest hour parted in love and friendship, with hearts convivial as they met, leaving others to admire their female patriotism and go and do likewise.”

The disappearance of the spinning-wheel was not regarded by all as a blessing unmingled with regret, although it took from the homes a great amount of hard, exacting labor that fell to the lot of the wives and daughters. In an agricultural address, the speaker took this rather despondent view of the departure of the spinning-wheel.

(Salem Observer, 1834.) “ The establishment of extensive manufactories and the introduction of power-looms and spinning-jennies has nearly destroyed the usual household manufactures and put other Jennies out of employment. Our ears are seldom greeted now-a-days in the farmer's cottage with the flying of the shuttle or the deep base of the spinning-wheel. We confess that we have looked upon their departure with a strong feeling of regret; and deem it no small abatement of the advantages which the establishment of extensive manufactures has obviously yielded to the country, that it removes the daughter from the shelter and security of the paternal roof and places her in a situation which certainly fur-

nishes no means of qualifying her for the proper department of woman -- to preside over our domestic establishments, to perform her part in the joint labors of the household, and to know how and where to use, prepare and to apply to the best advantage within doors the product of man's labor without doors."

And now a very few words concerning other matters relating to early manufacturing in this place.

The first piece of cotton cloth produced by the Merrimack Manufacturing Company was woven by Miss Deborah Skinner. She commenced work for the company on the 8th day of October, 1823, having come to East Chelmsford to instruct girls in weaving. Paul Moody, who came the same year, to superintend the company's machine-shop, brought Miss Skinner in his private carriage. Commencing on the 8th of the month she was under pay but apparently alone in the mill until the 19th of October. It is more than probable that other young women were at work, but allowed nothing for their labor previous to the 19th, or while learning to weave under Miss Skinner's instruction.

We have been told that Miss Skinner was born in Mansfield, this state, and that she had been for some time employed in the cotton mill at Waltham previous to coming to East Chelmsford. She worked for the Merrimack Company about five years, when she was married to Horace Barbour, an overseer in the employ of the same corporation. The marriage took place October 21, 1828. Quite a number of years later Mr. Barbour moved his family to Lewiston, Maine, and there Mrs. Barbour died, March 11, 1870, at the mature age of 71 years. These facts were communicated to us by Mr. Barbour, Sept. 12, 1874. The children of Mr. and Mrs. Barbour, at that time living, were Horace and Charles, traders, in Lewis-

ton, and a daughter, Helen, who married a Mr. Wood of Auburn, Maine.

While spending the winter of 1891 in Southern California, we several times met at Riverside and Los Angeles, Mr. W. W. Wilson, who was born in Lowell and here spent the most of the years of his minority. On one occasion he spoke of the connection of his uncle, William B. Wilson, with the very beginning of carpet-making by the Lowell Manufacturing Company, and gave us the following facts: William B. Wilson was one of the twenty and more who came back with Alexander Wright, who went to Scotland in 1825 to procure looms and workmen skilled in the business, with the idea of establishing an extensive carpet-manufactory at Medway, a small town in Norfolk County, ten or twelve miles from Boston. In 1826, with Mr. Wright at the head, work was begun; but carpet-weaving had an exceedingly brief existence in Medway, for the business, machinery and stock were soon bought by Boston capitalists, who also engaged those of whom they bought and their employees, to remove to East Chelmsford to engage in the same calling on a much larger scale. The manufacture of coach-lace had previously been carried on by Mr. Wright of Medway. Among those who came to Lowell in 1829 were Royal Southwick, Peter Lawson, Claudius and William B. Wilson, Joseph Exley and John Hughes. The work of building the first carpet-mill was begun in March, 1828, and it was completed the following year and ready for the "Medway Colony." Hand-loom only were used in carpet-weaving until 1846. Mr. Wright was agent from 1828 to 1852, or till the time of his death.

"My uncle, William B. Wilson," said our informant, "was a practical designer and weaver. He put the 'harness' into the loom, designed the first pattern, his wife cut and sewed the cards, and he wove the first three yards of carpeting made in Lowell. And on bright new-year's

morning, 1830, with sleigh-bells jingling merrily, Messrs. Wright and Wilson took this first fruit of their labor to Boston, to show what could be, and what had been, done in the new carpet company's mill. Mr. Wright remained in Lowell till his death. My uncle started factories in other parts of New England, but returned to Lowell, where he died July 5, 1862. His wife died in Lowell some eight or nine years later." *

* The following letter by the late Hon. Peter Lawson was addressed to the committee appointed by the City Council to make the necessary arrangements for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of the Town of Lowell, March 1, 1870, in reply to an invitation to be present. It, in a measure, confirms some of the statements concerning the removal of "The Medway Colony" to Lowell, and gives other interesting facts concerning the earliest steps toward establishing the Lowell (Carpet) Manufacturing Works.

"LOWELL, February 29, 1870.

"GENTLEMEN: I accept with pleasure your invitation of the 25th inst.; and as I am the only man now living of those who came from Medway to Lowell in 1829, I will give you my recollections of that Medway Colony.

"The manufacture of ingrain carpets was started in Medway in 1820 by Alexander Wright and Eben Burdett of Boston. They had ten ingrain looms, one Brussels loom and one finger-rug loom; and their establishment was the first of the kind in the United States. They were in successful operation in 1827, when a committee, consisting of Frederick Cabot, George W. Lyman and Patrick T. Jackson, visited the establishment, bought out all they had and took them into their own employ.

"The Lowell Manufacturing Company (organized in 1828) ordered them to build fifty more ingrain looms, eleven more Brussels looms and seven more finger-rug looms. All who had been employed in the carpet manufactory at Medway, excepting Mr. Burdett, removed to Lowell in 1829. They were Alexander Wright, agent; Peter Lawson, pattern designer; Claudius Wilson, foreman. Royal Southwick, overseer; John Urie, section hand on looms; Joseph Exley, overseer Brussels looms; John Robertson and John Hughes, first and second overseer dye-house; Daniel Thurston, John Turnbull, carpet clothroom; David Wilson, dyer; Henry Chandler, Benjamin Smith and George W. Hunt, wood workmen; William B. Wilson, finger-rug weaver; Samuel Townsend, Thomas Raiton, Job Plimpton, Gilmore Pond, Abel Brummett, Otis Bemis, Albert Adams, Hector McArthur and Benjamin Albee, weavers.

"Frederick Cabot was the first treasurer and Frederick Emmons the first clerk. Mr. Wright, the leader of the Medway Colony, remained agent of the Lowell Company till his death, June 8, 1852, at the age of fifty-two years. . . . The inventions of Claudius Wilson were fully described in the 'Glasgow Magazine' for 1826. He was one of the most ingenious mechanics whom Scotland has contributed to aid in the development of the mechanic arts.

"The brick buildings of the Company were erected by Elijah M. Reed, who came to Lowell from Waltham, and who had charge of all the building operations, under the late Mr. Sanger.

"The first railroad I ever saw (and it was probably the first one in America) extended from the Suffolk Canal through the woods of Lowell Street (then a dense forest) to the Lowell Company's grounds. The cars were drawn by horses, under direction of Hugh Cumminskey, contractor, who, with the excavations of the Suffolk Canal, made the land where the carpet mills now stand, much of the dump being twenty feet deep.

"One thing that surprised me was the novel manner of constructing the foundations. These were laid on the original surface and the earth filled in around them to the desired height. Wells were constructed in the same way, the stone curbing laid on the top of the old ground and new ground made around it till a well of the desired depth had been built up.

"The first building erected by the Carpet Company was the one-and-a-half story block now standing near the counting room. There for some time were my own headquarters, and many a

string of fine pickerel have I caught sitting on the front steps from the branch canal (which was built in the same way as were the wells), the waters of which washed the steps of my door. In later years, when the canal was constructed to the width originally designed, the present street was built between the block and the canal. These peculiarities arose from the fact that the land selected for the Carpet Company was originally a low swamp.

“Yours truly,

“PETER LAWSON.”

January 2, 1873, we received a note from the late James B. Francis, enclosing the following item, which he had copied from the diary of Kirk Boott. It fittingly ends our dealings with the past:

“January 3, 1824. 10 bales of goods sent off to Boston, being the first lot sent off from the Merrimack.”



Benj. Walker

V. *Annual Address and Report. By Benjamin Walker.*
President. Read May 21, 1895.

In reviewing the labors of the Old Residents' Historical Association, during the past year, there is not very much to report other than that it has continued to exist in its own quiet and unobtrusive way. Two new members have been added, and it has lost fifteen by death, some of whom were among the oldest and most respected of this association. These losses show that not many more years will elapse before all its original projectors will have passed away, leaving only their labors of love in collecting and preserving all that pertains to the historical interests of our city, and the consequent influences which go so far towards preserving an unbroken link between the Lowell of 1822 and the present great city of 1895. From a mere handful of sagacious and energetic men, the spirit of manufacturing enterprise was centered on this spot, and those of us who have lived the allotted age of three score years and ten have witnessed its steady growth, have felt its mercantile power, and enjoyed the natural pride of seeing Lowell as it now is, a great and prosperous city. Its manufacturing corporations and private business enterprises represent its financial strength, its schools and its churches are its bulwarks of mental improvement and moral influence, its newspapers and its literary societies and organizations are the keystones of its general culture, and its hospitals and charitable institutions show the degree of human sympathy and interest in the weak and unfortunate which gives to life its chiefest joys and affords its greatest opportunities. Surely, in all this our hearts may well

swell with pride, and we may all rejoice that our lines have fallen in such pleasant places.

Last year the plan of making some change in the headquarters of this Association was suggested, the idea being, first, that it naturally belongs to and should have a foothold or an abiding place in the new Memorial Hall building, and, secondly, that its library would more fully accomplish its purpose and prove much more accessible and valuable in connection with the City Library. While such an arrangement was believed to possess special advantages, and while the trustees of the City Library gave unofficial assurances of their approval of such a plan, and their readiness to promote such a scheme in any way not incompatible with their public duties, nothing was done. One more year's experience, however, has convinced the Executive Committee of this Association not only of the desirability but the necessity of taking such a step, which will directly connect and identify us with the acknowledged literary headquarters of our city, and give an additional value to our own library as one of reference, easily and always accessible, because it will then be in its proper place. I am therefore authorized, by a unanimous vote of the Executive Committee, to recommend that this change be made. In doing this it is desired, very gratefully, to acknowledge the favors extended to this Association by the Board of Trade, and the kindnesses so freely bestowed, which have made in many ways our stay so pleasant and agreeable.

The change made in the by-laws last year with a view of affording opportunity for an increase of membership has not yet reached its full fruition. In the hurry and bustle of life the advantages arising from belonging to such an association as this are not so fully appreciated as they should be, and I again suggest the propriety of adopting some special plan, by canvass or otherwise,

whereby a systematic and earnest effort may be made for enlarging our membership.

As it is well known, the question of preparing and publishing a new history of Lowell has recently attracted some attention, and a sentiment now prevails that the time has arrived when such a work should be undertaken. A public meeting was called at the Board of Trade rooms not long since, but not largely attended, to consider a proposition made by two New York gentlemen to perform this service. The result was the formation of a special committee to consider and report upon the feasibility of the plan submitted. After a somewhat careful and thorough investigation of the matter, and without here entering into detail in regard to it, this committee deemed it inexpedient to recommend its adoption, and at the same time expressed the belief that a history of Lowell which would come within reach and the means of all classes of our citizens, and one which would insure their approval and encouragement, would very properly emanate under the auspices of this Association. Without intending further to discuss this subject at this time, or to formulate any plan, I venture to call the attention of our Executive Committee to this subject, with the hope that so important a matter will receive their early and careful consideration.

The deaths during the year, including those not embraced in the last annual report, have been as follows:

ABEL E. CONANT was born in Hardwick, Vermont, September 20th, 1819, came to Lowell February 14th, 1834, and died February 5th, 1894, aged 74 years, 4 months and 16 days.

Mr. Conant, who was one of Lowell's best known citizens, was early identified with the express and trucking business in this city. My recollection of him (and I think he inaugurated the system of delivering local packages) is in commencing business as a freight handler

with a hand-cart, in which manner he pursued his calling for some years, being engaged at one time with David N. Gibb, under the firm name of Gibb & Conant. As Mr. Conant's patronage increased, a single horse and wagon was substituted for the hand-cart, and he became local agent of the U. S. and Canada Express. From this beginning his business extended until it became a large and thriving industry.

Mr. Conant was a quiet and unobtrusive citizen, thoroughly conscientious in all his dealings, and died highly respected by all who knew him.

BENJAMIN CONVERSE HILL was born at East Woburn, Mass., September 30th, 1820, came to Lowell December 24th, 1834, and died February 14th, 1894, aged 73 years, 4 months and 15 days.

Upon his arrival in Lowell, then only a lad of 14 years, he found employment in the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, where he remained twenty-two years, serving in various capacities, in the meantime marrying and gathering about him an interesting family, who have always been, and still are, held in deservedly high esteem. In 1856 Mr. Hill transferred his business relations to the Suffolk Manufacturing Company, where, most of the time for thirty-three years, he had charge of the motive power of this great corporation, retiring in 1889, in consequence of a severe injury received while in the performance of his duty, disabling him and rendering him an invalid during the remainder of his life. He was a charter member of the Veritas Lodge of Odd Fellows, and belonged to the Monomake Encampment, but never held public office.

In social life Mr. Hill was distinguished for his genial and affable qualities of character, and was, for many years, prominent in church choirs and the musical circles of the city. Besides being possessed of a good tenor

voice, he had a remarkably keen perception of musical tones, and could correctly distinguish and name the "pitch" or "key" of any music within his hearing -- an accomplishment rarely attained even by the finest musicians. He was singularly free from those petty jealousies and animosities so common among musical people, always so sensitive, being ever ready to accord all honor and praise to superior talent. He also was of quite a poetic turn of mind, his effusions having an air of agreeable pleasantry, and occasionally appearing in the public prints. They were always regarded with much favor. Indeed, in a word:

"How much to be prized and esteemed was this friend,
On whom we could always with safety depend!
Our joys, when extended, would always increase,
And griefs, when divided, were hushed into peace."

DAVID M. COLLINS was born July 31st, 1816, in Brentwood, N. H., came to Lowell October 10th, 1829, and died June 20th, 1894, aged 77 years and 10 months.

On his arrival in Lowell he commenced work as a hobbin-boy on the Merrimack Corporation. He afterwards entered the machine repair shop of the same company, being in due time promoted to the position of overseer in the weaving department, where he continued fifty-five years, until the day of his death. Mr. Collins was one of the early employes of the Merrimack Company, and, as has been the case of several of his associates, was eminently loyal and true to its interests.

In 1856 Mr. Collins was a member of the City Council. He was one of the oldest members of Pentucket Lodge of Free Masons, was connected with three Odd Fellow organizations, the Knights of Pythias, and had been for several years a member of the Executive Committee of this Association. He was identified with the Shattuck Street Universalist Church from its organiza-

tion, and was one of its most constant worshippers, until overtaken by the infirmities of age.

In private life Mr. Collins was esteemed for his marked integrity and upright character, enjoying, as he did, the confidence and respect of all with whom he was associated.

JOSEPH R. HAYES was born in Barnstead, N. H., March 7th, 1818, came to Lowell September 1st, 1847, and died July 26th, 1894, at Methuen, Mass., aged 76 years.

For a period of nearly thirty years Dr. Hayes was a well-known and highly-respected druggist, at what was then known as No. 12 Central Street, where he manufactured several proprietary articles still bearing his name, which he administered for temporary ailments. Many were the deeds of kindness which the Doctor took pleasure in performing for the poor and afflicted, and in dispensing his charities in this quiet although most substantial way. He was a trustee of the Central Savings Bank, from the date of its incorporation in 1871 until within a short time of his death. He was also a keen observer of men and events, and was, withal, a most agreeable conversationalist.

Some ten years ago the Doctor's failing health compelled him to retire from the active duties of a business life, soon after which he removed from his residence on Stackpole Street to Methuen, where he passed the remainder of his life. His body was interred in the Lowell Cemetery.

CARLOS HAZEN was born at West Hartford, Vermont, February 20th, 1827, came to Lowell September 9th, 1859, and died at Concord, N. H., September 6th, 1894, aged 67 years, 6 months, and 17 days.

My first information relative to Mr. Hazen is that he entered the store of Person Noyes, furniture dealer, Mar-

ket Street, in 1868, where he remained several years. Subsequently he became clerk for Cushing & Mack, the well-known stove dealers, and still later for S. G. Mack at the same place. On the 1st of April, 1870, he became a partner in this establishment, under the firm name of S. G. Mack & Co., where he remained until 1886, when the firm was dissolved. From July 1st, 1889, to February 1st, 1892, Mr. Hazen was in the insurance business with George E. Metcalf, under the firm name of Metcalf & Hazen. During the latter year Mr. Hazen was thrown from a carriage on Merrimack Street and received injuries which finally resulted in his death. He was a member of the Masonic Order, Odd Fellows, and of the Lowell Lodge of Knights of Pythias.

CHARLES B. COBURN was born in Chelmsford, Mass. (now Lowell), June 16th, 1813, and died October 18th, 1894, aged 81 years and 4 months.

He was (with the exception of Elisha Davis, who was born in 1799,) the oldest native member of this Association, and, with his brother Franklin, still living, probably the only members of a family who have personally witnessed the rise and progress of Lowell from its incorporation as a town to its present magnificent proportions as a city. Mr. Coburn's early education was obtained in the district schools of Chelmsford, supplemented by a course in a New Hampshire academy, on the completion of which he was first employed in a country store kept by Capt. Phineas Whiting, located at the corner of Pawtucket and School Streets, where now stands the palatial residence of Mr. Frederick Ayer, and of which the writer has a perfectly vivid recollection. Subsequently he found employment at Isaac Scripture's bakery, and later carried on a similar business of his own on School Street.

Mr. Coburn's next business enterprise was that of a grocer, being located near the corner of Central and Hurd

Streets. In 1843 he again changed and entered the employ of Mixer & Whittemore, in the Middlesex Mechanics Association building, dealers in manufacturers' supplies. This firm was succeeded by Mixer & Pitman, and later by Mixer, Pitman & Co., at which time the subject of this sketch became a member of the firm. In 1850 the firm became Coburn & Mixer. In 1852 Mr. Coburn assumed the whole business, under the style of C. B. Coburn & Co. In 1860 Charles H. Coburn became a member of the firm, and in 1871 Edward F. Coburn, both sons of the deceased. On the 1st of January, 1876, the business was transferred to the Wier building on Market Street, and in 1880 to the present commodious quarters now owned by this firm, Mr. Coburn retiring from active business in 1886.

Mr. Coburn was a member of the Common Council in 1844 and '51, and of the Board of Aldermen in 1856, '67 and '68. He was paymaster in the militia in 1843, under Col. Timothy G. Tweed, and was prominent in the organization of the Sanitary Commission for the comfort of our soldiers in the Civil War of 1862.

Mr. Coburn was one of the first directors in the organization of the Prescott National Bank, which took place May 15th, 1850. He was elected its President November 28th, 1864, and held this office until January 12th, 1875, when he resigned. He was elected director of the Traders and Mechanics' Insurance Company, May 12th, 1849, this being the second year of its existence, and became its President December 10th, 1860, holding this office until February 9th, 1874, when he voluntarily retired. He also held other positions of trust. He was a member of the Unitarian Society and devotedly interested in the Ministry-at-Large.

In private life Mr. Coburn was singularly quiet and retiring, and yet of that genial nature which was both

magnetic and attractive. His business career was one of strict integrity and marked capacity, inspiring the utmost confidence of all with whom he had dealings. In his decease one of Lowell's oldest, most prominent, honored, and highly-esteemed citizens has been removed from our midst.

HENRY S. ORANGE was born February 14th, 1815, in Milton, N. H., came to Lowell in October, 1834, and died October 26th, 1894, in Gilmanton, N. H., aged 79 years and 8 months.

In or about the year 1837 Mr. Orange became and for many years was a popular dry goods merchant on Merrimack Street. In 1855 the firm name was (Daniel) Bradt & Orange and also Orange, Wright & Co. In 1858, and for several subsequent years, it was Orange & (Robert) Eastman; still later, when this partnership was dissolved, Mr. Orange again became sole proprietor, and so continued until he retired from business, when he was succeeded by Ira Clough. Mr. Orange was a member of the Common Council in 1861, '62, '63 and '65, also belonged to the Lowell Lodge of I. O. O. F., and was a member and constant attendant of the First Unitarian Society. In private life he was peculiarly genial and companionable, and justly held in high esteem by his numerous friends and acquaintances. He left Lowell about 1872 (twenty-three years ago) for Gilmanton, N. H., where he passed the remainder of his life.

WILLIAM R. CADY was born November 7th, 1826, in Woodstock, Vermont, came to Lowell in March, 1833, and died October 27th, 1894, aged 67 years and 11 months. Mr. Cady for many years acted as agent for J. W. Tufts & Co., soda fountain manufacturers, being regarded as a specially-expert salesman, and later had an interest in the business. In 1883 he retired from active pursuits,

after which he devoted his time to the care of his estate in this city. He never held public office.

ABRAHAM KERSHAW was born in Halifax, England, May 13th, 1804, came to Lowell July 12th, 1848, and died at Franklin Falls, N. H., November 28th, 1894, aged 90 years, 6 months, and 15 days.

During thirty-eight of the forty-six years of his residence in Lowell Mr. Kershaw was employed in the harness department of the Lowell Manufacturing Company, wherein he acquired an excellent reputation for his intelligence and skill in prosecuting this branch of its industry. In 1884 he retired from active business to enjoy the well-earned fruits of his labors, and on the 8th of July, 1892, he removed to Franklin Falls, N. H., where he subsequently resided with his daughter, Mrs. Mary L. Simpson, until he died, as above stated, when his remains were returned to this city for interment.

I do not find that Mr. Kershaw ever held public office in Lowell, but he was one of the prime movers in the original ten-hours agitation, which finally resulted so favorably to the mill operatives, in whom he always took a strong interest. Indeed, it is said that as a self-constituted representative he personally visited all the corporation agents of this city, as far back as in the "fifties," and impressed upon them the necessity for shorter mill hours. He also interviewed the treasurers in Boston, and argued his case before them. Here he was, without exception, kindly received, and was said to be the only prominent agitator among the working people who did not lose his place in consequence of this aggressive course. This movement was not of a political character, nor was there at that time any organized effort to achieve the result, which was subsequently accomplished under the skillful marshalship of the late General Butler. How true his instincts in the matter proved to be, and how

well his efforts were directed, was long ago fully and completely shown.

Mr. Kershaw was a man of great uprightness and integrity of character, and in private life his pleasant and genial disposition endeared him to all who came within his influence.

GEORGE HEDRICK was born May 2nd, 1809, in Boston, Mass., came to Lowell in July, 1831, and died December 2nd, 1894, aged 85 years and 7 months.

Mr. Hedrick was, originally, a sign and decorative painter, being also proficient in preparing and painting silk banners, etc., for the clubs and societies of those days, having a special genius and ability for that kind of work. Naturally musical, he early engaged in the piano and organ trade, which he added to his other business, providing additional rooms therefor. These he occupied for many years at what was then known as No. 36 Central Street. Mr. Hedrick was especially fond of the church organ, and was organist at the Free Chapel, on Middlesex Street, serving gratuitously for many years in thus promoting the charitable work of that institution. For years also he similarly assisted in carrying on the Sunday services at the Lowell jail when under the administration of Sheriff Kimball. He furthermore had much to do in introducing organs into the early churches of this city, and the surrounding towns, acting as agent for George Stevens, organ builder at Cambridge, Mass., for whom he had a strong and life-long personal friendship.

Among Mr. Hedrick's most notable achievements was the obtaining, by a series of subscriptions and contributions, the chime of eleven bells for the tower of St. Anne's Church, one of which he contributed. These bells, which were accepted and dedicated October 17th, 1857, will ever remain a proud monument of his public spirit and generosity. He was also largely instrumental in procuring and placing the clock now in the tower of the High Street

Church. At the close of the Civil War he was appointed assistant collector of revenue for the United States, under the late John Nesmith, which office he held for several years.

Mr. Hedrick was noted for his social qualities of character and for his love of nature and natural scenery. He also had a fondness for argument on theological as well as general subjects, and possessed a vast fund of information relative to the early history and growth of Lowell, together with the prominent citizens of his day; and, while naturally modest and retiring in manner, he was quick to interest those with whom he came in contact, and possessed the utmost confidence of all who knew him. Mr. Hedrick was one of the last few survivors of the earliest settlers of Lowell.

JAMES HOPKINS was born June 18th, 1806, in Montpelier, Vermont, came to Lowell in October, 1832, and died January 2nd, 1895, aged 88 years, 6 months, and 15 days.

Mr. Hopkins commenced his business career at Greenfield, N. H., where, at the age of 14 years, he was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker of that place. After serving his time (four years) he removed to Boston, where he worked at his trade for two years. He was then engaged by the Dover Manufacturing Company, at Dover, N. H., as wood machinist, being transferred, at the end of one year, to the manufacturing department, where he remained until coming to Lowell in 1832 under an engagement as overseer of weaving in the Tremont Mills. Subsequently he was employed in the Lawrence and Boott corporations, serving as expert in each of the above-named companies, as they severally commenced business.

In 1850 Mr. Hopkins was appointed deputy sheriff, under Fisher A. Hildreth, continuing to hold the office, under the several sheriffs subsequently appointed, until

1871. He also held the offices of justice of the peace, coroner of Middlesex County, constable of the city of Lowell, United States revenue gauger, assessor for the city and state, and enumerator for taking the decimal census and vital statistics of Massachusetts in 1875. He was also a member of the Common Council in 1842. The holding of such a record of varied and important offices is probably vouchsafed to scarcely any other old resident of Lowell, and goes far to show the public estimation in which Mr. Hopkins was held.

While unobtrusive, modest, and gentle in manner, Mr. Hopkins was a man of strong characteristics and much executive ability, inspiring the good will and confidence of all with whom he had either business or social relations. In his domestic life he was possessed of rare social qualities, always ready with a kind word and act for those requiring either, thus soothing and encouraging many an otherwise despondent and aching heart. This phase of his character was very beautifully illustrated on one occasion, when on the death of a prominent citizen and friend, in June, 1881, but whose name is not now recalled, Mr. Hopkins paid a touching tribute to his memory in the following words, still well remembered, viz.: "If every one for whom he has done some kindly act should bring a blossom to his grave, he would, tonight, sleep beneath a forest of flowers." Mr. Hopkins was a man of the most sterling integrity and irreproachable character.

LUKE C. DODGE was born in North Brookfield, Mass., April 23rd, 1822, came to Lowell in January, 1847, and died February 28th, aged 72 years and 10 months.

Mr. Dodge was originally and for many years employed by the Massachusetts Cotton Mills as carpenter, but later engaged in the junk and paper stock business,

in which he continued to the time of his death. In the early history of Lowell, and in the old hand-engine days, he was active in the Fire Department, being a member of Mazeppa No. 10 Company. He was connected with the Veteran Fireman's Association of the Pentucket Lodge of Masons, and of the Oberlin Lodge of the I. O. O. F. During the years 1865 and '66 he served in the Common Council of the city of Lowell. In his business career and private life Mr. Dodge was thoroughly upright and honest, and was universally respected.

LUTHER RICHARDS was born in Rumney, N. H., April 20th, 1817, came to Lowell in November, 1835, and died March 13th, 1895, aged 77 years and 11 months.

From the year 1845 until 1849 Mr. Richards had charge of repairs at the famous powder-mill works of Oliver M. Whipple, one of Lowell's most thriving industries of that day. In the spring of 1851 he visited California, working nine months in what was known as the Southern mines in the township of Merced River, when he returned to Lowell. In 1852 he again embarked from New York for the same place in the steamship Daniel Webster, but in consequence of the wreck of a connecting steamer on the Pacific coast, and after a delay of forty days at Panama, he once more returned to Lowell.

In the spring of 1853 Mr. Richards made one more venture to California, this time engaging in the lumbering business in the famous red-wood district, where he remained until 1856, when he again returned to this city.

In 1857 Mr. Richards erected the grist mill of the Wamesit Power Co. for Mr. S. N. Wood, and subsequently engaged in the business of contractor, mover of buildings, etc., being noted for his superior skill and excellent judgment in this line of business. From May 1st, 1866, to January 1st, 1873, he served the city to great acceptance as superintendent of streets.

Mr. Richards was a charter member of William North Lodge of Masons, a Knight Templar, and also belonged to Oberlin Lodge, I. O. O. F. In private life he was modest and unassuming, and in all his business affairs, competent, energetic, and reliable.

PAUL HILL was born in Billerica, Mass., November 23rd, 1815, came to Lowell in 1825, when only a lad, and died March 23rd, 1895, aged 79 years and four months.

Mr. Hill began his career in the Lowell mills, afterwards entering the employ of the Locks and Canals Company under Mr. Moses Shattuck, then its superintendent, the company being at that time under the general management and direction of Patrick T. Jackson one of the founders of the city of Lowell. At the death of Mr. Shattuck Mr. Hill was made superintendent of these works. It was in this position that he acquired special prominence, in connection with the late James B. Francis, and became known for his superior engineering skill, industry, and indefatigability of character. Among his most important achievements were the building of the Northern Canal, the Moody Street feeder, and the numerous penstocks and canals for the various Lowell mills. In giving directions to such work, and in the management of large forces of men, Mr Hill possessed a most remarkable tact and talent.

In October, 1863, on the completion of some of Lowell's earlier and most important enterprises in securing the necessary water-power for its manufacturing purposes, Mr. Hill left the Locks and Canals Company to engage in the state work at Hoosac Tunnel, where he was made superintendent, and was for several years employed on the gigantic engineering feat of tunneling the Hoosac Mountains for a distance of over four miles, thus opening a more direct line of railroad communication between the East and West. He also superintended the building

of the dam on Deerfield River, which supplied a great water-power, and the Cape Cod Dike to preserve Cape Cod Harbor, being appointed a commissioner, with Mr. James Gifford, by Governor Bullock, to prosecute this work. Mr. Hill afterwards went West and was engaged on the construction of the Missouri River Railroad, mostly in the line of building bridges over the Platte River. Later he made some extensive improvements on the river near Greenfield, Mass. In partnership with Mr. John Ellingwood he built the reservoir for Beverly and Lynn, and also the Billerica and Bedford branch of the Boston and Lowell Railroad, besides being connected with several other similar enterprises of lesser magnitude.

Mr. Hill was a member of the Lowell Common Council in 1852 and 1854, and of the Board of Aldermen in 1859. He was also representative to the State Legislature in 1862 and '63, but held no other political office.

In 1873 Mr. Hill retired from the more active service of his life, and settled on a large farm in Billerica, his native place, where he remained until 1893, when he returned to the city of his adoption, after which his services were sought and obtained in superintending the construction of various parts of the Metropolitan Sewer near Boston, and in the prosecution of which, he manifested all his old-time persistence and energy, although at so advanced an age.

As will be seen, the career of Mr. Hill was most remarkable from a business point of view, while socially he was everywhere held in the highest estimation. He left a record and a name imperishable in the annals of the history of Lowell.

• FREDERICK ARTEMAS HOLDEN was born in East Chelmsford, Mass., now Lowell, August 14th, 1812, and died March 27th, 1895, aged 82 years, 7 months and 13 days.

From this it will be observed that Mr. Holden's residence in what is now Lowell antedates its incorporation as a town by the period of fourteen years, making him undoubtedly its oldest native-born citizen at the time of his death. My own acquaintance with Mr. Holden, I may also add, extends over a period of nearly sixty-nine years, locating as I did, on my arrival in Lowell, in his immediate neighborhood. Mr. Holden received his early education at a district school situated at what is now the corner of Salem and Pawtucket streets (which I also attended), and later was a pupil at the Old Chelmsford Academy for two or three terms. After leaving the academy Mr. Holden was employed several years by James and Jonathan Bowers, proprietors of a saw-mill and lumber yard near the head of Pawtucket Falls. In 1836 he came into possession of a farm in Concord, Mass., where he removed and remained until 1849, when he returned to Lowell and entered the service of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals. Here he remained until Jan. 1st, 1891, when he retired from active service, having proved a most faithful, reliable, and efficient servant in the care and management of the locks of the company, and in regulating the heights of water in the various canals for the mills of the city. In private life Mr. Holden was modest and unassuming, and a model of all that pertains to a gentlemanly bearing and kindly instincts.

In this connection it may be interesting to note that the father of the subject of this sketch, Artemas Holden, an eminently respectable gentleman, who followed the trade of cooper on Pawtucket Street, in the beginning of Lowell, was at that time the owner of a farm which extended from the Merrimack River, adjoining what is now the Frederick Ayer estate, to the present line of Broadway, and embraced all the land between Bowers, Mt. Vernon, and School streets, and most of the territory bounded by Fletcher, Cross, Adams, Salem, and Bowers

streets, including the entire North Common and much of the territory north and east of it.

WILLARD C. WELCH was born in Canaan, N. H., February 26th, 1814, came to Lowell, March 17th, 1830, and died May 12th, 1895, aged 81 years, 2 months, and 14 days.

At the early age of 16 Mr. Welch entered the employ of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, where he remained until 1889, almost fifty years of that time holding the position of overseer, which he honored by his great faithfulness and business ability. With the exception of his service of two years, 1845, 1846, in the common council, we do not find that he ever held public office. Mr. Welch was a man of most exemplary character, was for fifty-five years a worthy member of the Worthen Street Baptist Church, and was held in the highest esteem by all. His death removes another and almost the last of those whose term of service dates from the beginning of the manufacturing era of Lowell, and shows how completely the population of our city has changed during his business career.

THOMAS F. BURGESS was born in Wayne, Maine, January 15th, 1821, came to Lowell in November, 1844, and died May 12th, 1895, aged 74 years and 4 months.

Soon after arriving in Lowell Mr. Burgess entered the employ of the Lowell Machine Shop Corporation and commenced the business of pattern-maker. In 1847 he went to Methuen, where the Essex Company had begun the preliminary work of founding the manufacturing centre now known as Lawrence, and went into the service of that company. Eventually he returned to the Lowell Machine Shop, where he remained until 1857, when he went to Three Rivers, Quebec, under an engagement of Norcross, Phillips & Co., for whom he built a large saw-mill and had charge of the same until 1859. At this time

he again returned to the Lowell Machine Shop, being made foreman of that establishment, and remained, with some interruption during the time of the southern rebellion, until 1865, when he embarked in business for himself. In 1871 Mr. Burgess was engaged by the J. C. Ayer Co., and went into the service of the Pensacola Lumber Co., at Molino, Florida, in which J. C. Ayer & Co. were the principal owners, where he remained three or four years, serving this company with signal ability and success. From this time until 1883 he was engaged in lumber manufacturing on his own account, in Pensacola. Mr. Burgess then again returned to Lowell, and was engaged in his own private business until 1891 and 1892, when he was once more employed at the Lowell Machine Shop, where he perfected an improved system for carrying melted iron in the foundry. During 1892, while yet connected with the Machine Shop, he superintended the work of taking out the old wheels of the Appleton Company and substituting the present turbine wheels.

In musical matters Mr Burgess was prominent and efficient. In 1849 he was a member of the Lowell Brass Band, led by D. C. Hall, of gold bugle fame, and was for a time connected with a regimental band during the Rebellion. To him, also, is given the credit of suggesting the formation of the Lowell Jubilee Chorus Society, organized and managed by Patrick S. Gilmore in the summer of 1869, and from which was organized the Lowell Choral Society, and of which he was president in 1870. He was, also, for many years a member and director of the Shattuck Street Universalist Church choir, as also of various other local musical organizations.

Mr. Burgess was for years an active worker for the Middlesex Mechanics' Association, being, for several years, one of its vice-presidents, and its secretary from 1866 to 1871. In 1866 and 1867 he was a member of the Lowell Common Council.

In a word Mr. Burgess was a good, active, and reliable member of society, a man of positive convictions, modest, yet firm and consistent in his views of the passing questions of the day, and eminently practical in his general character. He fully enjoyed the confidence and esteem of all who knew him, and his death removes from our midst a most sterling and useful citizen.

The following contributions to the library have been made during the year:--

Proceedings of New Hampshire Historical Society, 1891 to 1894.

The Manor of Philipsburg, published by Youkers Historical and Library Association.

Regents' Bulletins, University of State of New York: University Extension, March, 1894; Extension Teaching, July, 1894; Summer Schools, August, 1894.

State Legislation, 1894. State Library Bulletin, University of New York.

The University Extension Bulletin, Summer Meeting, Historical Pilgrimage, Philadelphia, 1894.

Annual Report of the University of California, 1894.

Proceedings of the Missouri Historical Society, 1894.

Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society, April, 1895.

Third Annual Report of the Trustees of Public Reservations of Massachusetts, 1894.

Copies of the Army Magazine containing articles by Captain Philip Reade (of Lowell), U. S. Army.

American Historical Register, Proceedings and Collections, 1894.

Publications of Nebraska Historical Society, 1894.

Annual Report of New York State Library, 1894. University of New York.

The Story of the City Hall Commission, Prentiss Webster, Editor.

Notes on the Development of a Child; University of California.

Exercises at the Dedication of a Memorial Tablet, Town Hall, Centre Sandwich, N. H., presented by George H. Marston.

Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of Milford, N. H., June 26, 1894. Presented by W. F. French of the town committee.

Catalogue of Yale University, 1894 and 1895.

An itemized exhibit of The Expenses of the Town of Lowell for the year ending February 28, 1835, presented by Col. J. W. Bennett.

Letters of Roger Williams to Winthrop, and also The Way of the Churches of New England, being the Preface of Thomas Hooker's Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline. Old South Leaflets. Old South Work, Edwin D. Mead.

The Original Indian Territory. It was in West Virginia. West Virginia Historical Society.

The Rise and Development of the Bicameral System in America by Thomas Francis Moran, A. B., Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.

The French in America. A translation by Edwin Swift Balch and Elise Willing Balch of *Les Français En Amérique pendant la Guerre de L'Indépendance des États-Unis*, par Thomas Balch. Presented by the translators. Two volumes, cloth. Published by Porter & Coates, Philadelphia, 1895.

VI. *Public Monuments of Lowell. By Charles Cowley,
I.L. D. Read May 21, 1895.**

The public monuments of Lowell are Memorial Hall, the Ladd and Whitney column, and the statue of Victory; all standing near the City Hall.

The modest shaft, which commemorates Luther C. Ladd and Addison O. Whitney, stands twenty-seven and a half feet high. It was intended to bear --- and it will bear --- favorable comparison with the monuments previously erected at Acton, Concord, and Lexington, to commemorate certain men and events of the Revolution.

As Rev. Dr. Clark said, in his funeral sermon on Ladd and Whitney, "Henceforth the heroes of Concord, Lexington, Bunker Hill, and Baltimore, shall blazon together on the pages of their country's history, like stars in the flag whose honor they died to uphold."

While many commissioned officers of the army and navy deserted to the enemy in 1861, the non-commissioned officers and privates, alike on land and sea, adhered to the Union with a steadfastness which ought not to be forgotten. Ladd and Whitney were private soldiers, typical volunteers; and the monument which bears their names may be regarded, in some sense, as commemorative of all the volunteers, among whom they were the first to fall.

This monument was built of Concord (N. H.) granite by Rumels, Clough & Company of Lowell, under the direction of a Joint State and City Commission, at a cost of about \$4500. The Commonwealth appropriated \$2000 for this purpose, and the city paid the residue. It was designed by Woodcock & Meecham of Boston.

* Previously read before B. F. Butler Post, G. A. R., in Memorial Hall, and subsequently read before the Dahlgren Association of Naval Veterans, and before the Farragut Camp of the Sons of Veterans.

It was not originally intended to bury the remains of Ladd and Whitney beneath this monument; they had already been interred in the Lowell Cemetery. According to the original plan the longer bars of the cross, or plinth, on which this column stands, were to have been placed across the lot, with the inscriptions facing east and west; but this was afterwards changed; and there can now be no doubt that the change was a wise one.

A crypt was built under the westerly end of the cross, and the body of Whitney was placed there. Another crypt was built under the easterly end of the cross, and the body of Ladd was placed there. The heads of the coffins lie towards Moody Street. The coats worn by Ladd and Whitney when they fell in Baltimore, are preserved in Memorial Hall.

The public appreciation of the private soldier was accentuated at the dedication of this monument, June 17, 1865, when the Governor and Commander-in-Chief appeared upon the scene and related in glowing words the story of the humble lives of these young men, and ennobled them as members of the "sublime Peerage of Virtue."*

The oration of Governor Andrew, though prepared when many other duties were pressing heavily upon him, was a noble contribution to the war literature of Lowell. Of many quotable passages I can here transcribe but one. Referring to that great week when Massachusetts rose up at the sound of the cannonade of Sumter, the War Governor said:

"It redeemed the meanness and the weariness of many a prosaic life. It was a revelation of profound sentiment, of manly faith, of glorious fidelity, and of a love stronger than death. Those were days of which none other in the history of the war became the parallel.

* Cowley's History of Lowell, pp. 177 and 178; Hanson's History of the Sixth Regiment, pp. 347-349.

And when on the evening of the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, there came the news along the wires that the Sixth Regiment had been cutting its way through the streets of Baltimore, whose pavements were reddened by the blood of Middlesex, it seemed as if there descended into our hearts a mysterious strength, and into our minds a supernal illumination."

The quotation on the monument, from the "Samson Agonistes" of John Milton, was selected by Governor Andrew: --

"Nothing is here for grief, nothing for tears, nothing to wail,
And knock the breast, no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise or blame, but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble."

The moral lesson symbolized by this monument is the duty and the beauty of self-sacrifice; it is the old lesson of the Cross of Calvary, -- old, indeed, yet forever new -- which has transfigured human history more and more for eighteen hundred years.

In this monument the cross appears, not erect, but recumbent, and in one of its less familiar forms. It is a Greek, and not a Latin cross. "The symbol of the intersecting bars was enough for the Greek,"* and surely the cross is not an inappropriate symbol for the graves of those whom Governor Andrew eulogized as having put on the crown of martyrdom, "more worthy than a hundred mortal diadems."

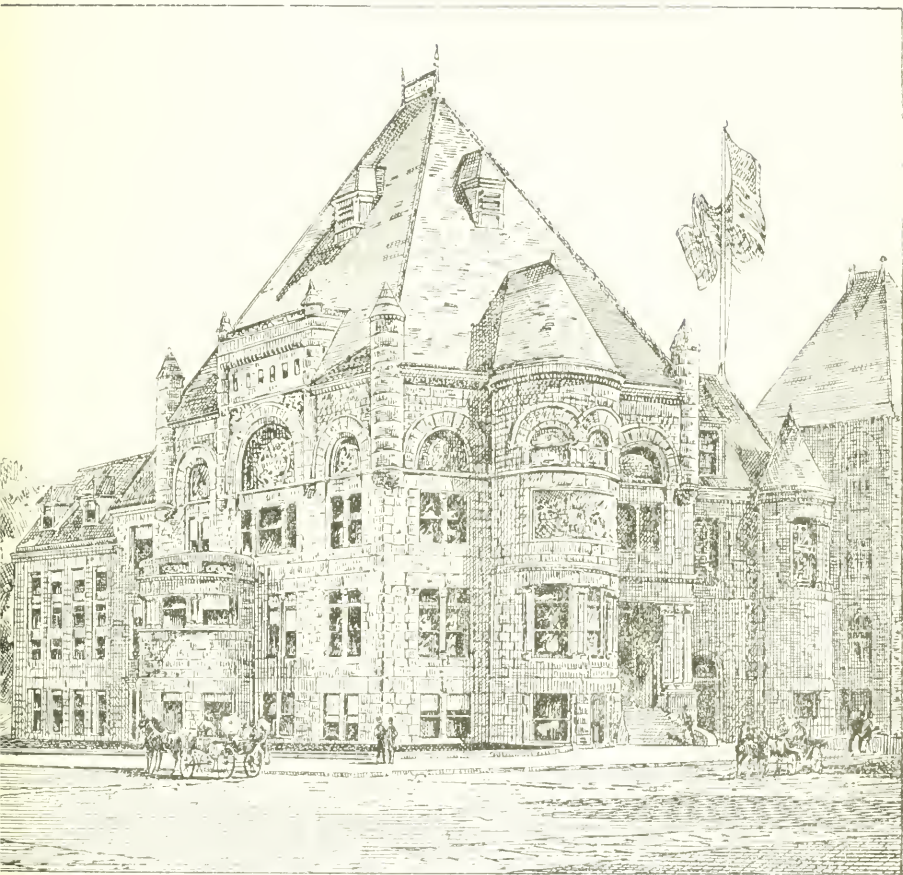
Oliver Wendell Holmes, writing on another occasion, expressed with fine felicity the sentiments which raised this monument: --

"Take them, O Father! in immortal trust,
Ashes to ashes, dust to kindred dust,
Till the last angel roll the stone away,
And a new morning bring immortal day." †

It has been the custom of the Grand Army of the Republic, commencing in 1868, to decorate this monu-

* Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, article "Cross."

† Dedication of Pittsfield Cemetery.



MEMORIAL BUILDING.

ment and to gather around it for special services on Memorial Day. The monition of the author of the Battle Hymn of the Republic is not likely to be forgotten so long as any veterans of the war survive in Lowell:—

“Remember ye the fateful gun which sounded
To Sumter’s walls from Charleston’s treacherous shore,
Remember ye how hearts indignant bounded
When our first dead came back from Baltimore.” *

In 1867 the Ladd and Whitney monument was supplemented by the statue of Victory, the gift of Dr. James C. Ayer.† The fitness of the combination of the two impressive symbols at once became apparent to every one who had learned the primary fact that in Art, as in Religion, the cross stands for self-sacrifice, and the crown for the great reward which self-sacrifice brings. But in 1894, strange to say, it was proposed by certain persons, unmindful of this primary fact, that the statue and crown of Victory should be separated from the cross of sacrifice, and removed to another place. It was suggested by “gardeners” that the Ladd and Whitney monument and the statue of Victory were “not architecturally sympathetic,” and that, “to feed the esthetic sense,” they should be separated. But this proposal provoked general opposition and failed.‡

The cross in the monument and the crown in the hand of the statue are complementary to each other. Or, as Mr. F. F. Ayer wrote, “Stone and statue together make the monument. Tear them apart, and the sullen ledge is robbed of its inspiration.”§

In ancient times, statues of gods and goddesses, representing the human form in its greatest beauty and perfection, were highly prized, and none more than the

* Julia Ward Howe’s “*Later Lyrics*,” p. 26.

† Cowley’s *History of Lowell*, pp. 209 and 210; Cowley’s *Reminiscences of James C. Ayer*, pp. 98 and 99.

‡ Webster’s Story of the City Hall Commission, including the Exercises at the Laying of the Corner Stones and the Dedication of the City Hall and Memorial Hall, p. 231. *Daily Courier of June 30, 1894*.

§ Letter of Frederick F. Ayer, Esq., and other letters in the *Courier of July 5, 1894*.

statue of the Greek goddess Nike or Victory. She was generally represented with wings, to denote the fickleness of fortune. Athens, however, had a temple of Nike showing this goddess without wings, to indicate that Victory had come to Athens to stay. She was also represented with a wreath or floral crown, and a palm branch. As herald of victory she also bore the wand of Hercules.*

It is worth remembering that these monuments stand for the Lowell that was, in the epoch of the civil war -- an epoch full of heroism, full of patriotism, full of pathos, and full of history. They deserve to be respected because they represent the Lowell of the past. They have gratified the taste of distinguished visitors whom we shall see no more. Grant, Farragut, Sheridan, and other generals and admirals of the Republic gazed with satisfaction on these monuments. So did Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, the Grand Duke Alexis, and other men of note from abroad. The Marquis of Lorne, visiting Lowell while Governor-General of Canada, saw in the Ladd and Whitney column a monument which will bear comparison with that which the Queen, his royal mother-in-law, erected at Constantinople to the memory of her soldiers and sailors who fell in the Crimea. Let us cherish those memorials of the past, and not disparage them because they are not of the passing hour. If my counsel could avail, I would remove the Liberty Pole which now disfigures Ladd and Whitney Place, and substitute for the fence which now surrounds it, an ornate military fence, with cannon for posts and rifle-barrels for pickets. Moreover the sidewalk around it should be reconstructed and made uniform with that around the City Hall and Memorial Hall. Nor should Ladd and Whitney Place be left in utter darkness while those halls are ablaze with electric light.

* Seyffert's Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, article "Nike," and Menard's "Mythologie" dans l'Art, p. 29.

The purpose to erect a suitable memorial of the soldiers and sailors of Lowell who fell in the war for the Union, was formed even before the war had closed; but more than twenty years elapsed before that purpose took definite shape. On the fifteenth of April, 1887, at a joint meeting of the committees appointed by the three Grand Army posts to make arrangements for Memorial Day, on motion of Lieutenant Edward W. Thompson, it was recommended that the three posts appoint a joint committee to take such steps as they might deem expedient to secure the erection of a soldiers' and sailors' monument. That recommendation was adopted, and such a committee was appointed. On May 9, 1887, Edward W. Thompson was chosen chairman, O. M. Cousens secretary and Charles H. Coburn treasurer of this Grand Army Committee.

On May 24, and again on July 5, 1887, meetings of this committee were held, and the kind of monument to be erected, as well as the ways and means whereby it should be erected, were discussed.*

The question whether the proposed monument should be an obelisk or a building was submitted by a circular to about six hundred representative men, and the answers were three to one in favor of a building.†

It was determined to invite the co-operation of those who had not personally participated in the war; and on November 29, 1887, a public meeting was held at the call of the Grand Army Committee, which was attended by soldiers, sailors and civilians, and which resulted in the appointment of Benjamin F. Butler, Frederic T. Greenhalge, Charles A. Stott, John J. Donovan, Josiah G. Peabody, James B. Francis, James C. Abbott, C. A. R. Dimon, Rev. A. St. John Chambre, D. D., Rev. Michael O'Brien,

* See Lowell newspapers of May 10, May 25, and July 6, 1887.

† Hon. George A. Marden stated at the first campfire of the G. A. R. held in Memorial Hall, that the first suggestion of a building rather than a shaft was made by the author of this paper.

Rev. Smith Baker, D. D., Rev. George N. Howard, Charles Cowley, John Welch, H. M. Jacobs, C. H. Richardson, Freeman B. Shedd, A. A. Davis and W. A. Stimson, as a Citizens' Committee. On December 4, 1887, this Citizens' Committee appointed a sub-committee consisting of James B. Francis, A. St. John Chambre, Josiah G. Peabody, Michael O'Brien, and Charles Cowley. Mr. Francis resigned; the other four gentlemen worked out a plan and reported it to the Citizens' Committee, which adopted it. On May 12, 1888, a public meeting in Jackson Hall, called by the chairman of the Grand Army Committee, unanimously adopted this report.

Finally, at a meeting held in Huntington Hall on the evening of Memorial Day, 1888, filling the hall to its utmost capacity, Rev. Dr. Chambre submitted resolutions for the adoption of this report, which passed unanimously.* The report was then presented to the City Council in the form of a petition, and the City Council referred it to the City Hall Commission with full power to proceed to erect a memorial hall, with the provision that a part of it should be used by the City Library.†

The fact that the City Library was in urgent need of ampler accommodations led to a popular agitation to supply that want. Naturally enough, the two movements were soon blended in one; and the result is that, like the native town of Phillips Brooks and several other New England towns, Lowell now has a Hall which, as that lamented prelate would say, is a Memorial Hall of the soldiers and sailors of Lowell who died for their country,

* See Lowell newspapers of Nov. 30, and Dec. 5, 1887, and May 13 and 31, 1888.

† This petition appears in full on pages 02 and 03 of Webster's Story of the City Hall Commission: but the date of it was 1888, and not 1883. In the first line of the petition, the sixth word, "at," is omitted, destroying the sense. In the second line of the third paragraph, the word, "regular," should be "irregular."

The estimate of the cost of the Memorial Building submitted in this petition, was based on an estimate of the amount of space required for the library, which the City Librarian, in behalf of the Trustees, submitted to the Citizens' Committee. As the latter estimate was afterwards greatly increased, the cost of the building was also greatly increased.

and also a means of culture and education for the city to which they belonged. The Hall is consecrated to their memory and to the city's best uses. It is a Memorial Hall and a Library Hall at once.*

The cost of this building was \$170,262.20. It was designed by F. W. Stickney, architect, of Lowell, and was opened on the third day of June, 1893. On that day many of the surviving veterans of Lowell met upon the South Common, marched to Memorial Hall, and dedicated it in Grand Army form. Then they separated, probably to meet no more as a body till they meet at the last reveille.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the procession was that presented by the survivors of the Abbott Grays, led by Colonel Francis; almost every one of whom had been wounded in battle once or twice, and some of them three or four times. Efforts were made to catch upon the camera the passing forms; but, except in the case of the Naval Battalion, all these efforts failed.

The dimensions of the particular apartment which, in a special sense, is called Memorial Hall, are as follows: length, 63 feet; breadth, 53 feet; height, 40 feet.

The City Hall was designed by Merrill & Cutler, architects, of Lowell, and cost \$374,290.67. It measures but a fraction less than 133 feet on Worthen Street, and 128 feet on Merrimack Street. Both these buildings are four stories high, and the people are well pleased with them.

There is no part of Lowell so rich in historical associations as that where these monuments and the new City Hall present themselves to view. Every street in this vicinity recalls some local historic name -- Dutton, named from Warren Dutton; Worthen, named from Ezra Worthen; Colburn, named from Warren Colburn; Moody, named from Paul Moody; Prince, named from John D. Prince; and Merrimack, named from the noble river which

* See Bishop Brooks' Address at the Dedication of Memorial Hall, Andover, Mass., May 3^d, 1873, in his "Essays and Addresses," pp. 283-299.

rolls by the mills of Lowell. All these men except Dutton once had homes near here.

The Green Grammar School, on the opposite side of Merrimack Street, marks the site of the first place of worship of several different congregations. The edifice adjoining this school is of post-bellum origin; but the First Congregational Church, which worships there, has noble names for the tablets in Memorial Hall.



On the site of the Merrimack House once stood the dwelling-house of Ezra Worthen, afterwards occupied for a time by Warren Colburn. At the southwesterly corner of Merrimack and Dutton streets Kirk Boott dropped dead from his chaise. The impress of his hand may still

be traced upon Lowell, although for nearly sixty years he has been sleeping the long sleep amid the shades of Mount Auburn. At the northeasterly corner of the same streets, where the Gate House now stands, stood the platform from which Josiah G. Abbott, Linus Child, William S. Southworth and Tappan Wentworth addressed the great mass meeting of May 11, 1861. The chairman of that meeting was Isaac Hinckley, agent of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, and father of Captain Wallace Hinckley, a name for the tablets in Memorial Hall.

Judge Abbott, among other things, said: "Now is the last time in the world for us to feel in the slightest degree gloomy or despondent. Why, gentlemen, we may spend money -- what of it? We may spend millions of money -- what of it? Our good men and our true men may lay down their lives upon the altar; and let me say that all who lay down their lives, sell their lives most truly and most gloriously. If we do spend our treasure, are all better than we were four weeks ago; we have been educated within three weeks, more than in the piping times of prosperity and peace. We needed this thing to show us that we had a country, to make us believe in that country, to make us believe that it was our duty to die for it; if we do spend our blood, today the people are better; we love that country; to lay down our lives, if our country demanded the sacrifice."*

These were burning words, and they were accentuated by the fact that three of Judge Abbott's sons -- all that were old enough for military service -- had already volunteered for the war, and two of these, a few days later, in St. Anne's Church, knelt with their mother at their last communion! What a subject for a painting for Memorial Hall! Such a picture would touch the hearts of visitors for ages to come, and prolong the memory of

* Lowell Daily Courier, May 11, 1861.

the high consecration with which the fathers and mothers of our heroic age sent forth their sons for the defence of the Union.

Standing on the bridge below the Gate House, looking north, you behold the combination of a running stream, grassy banks, beautiful shade-trees and a street on either side, and an ivy-clad cotton mill with a belfry in the background -- a view of which I know not where to find a parallel, except, perhaps, in Rotterdam or Venice.

Crossing Merrimack Street from the Gate House, you enter Huntington Hall, which so often resounded with the eloquence of the orators of the war; and the dingy depot below, where many a departing soldier and sailor received from those whom he loved best, a tender, a tearful, and, as it too often proved, an eternal farewell.

A little further down, you pass the old City Hall, where the City Council sat during those four terrible years; standing vis-a-vis with St. Anne's Church and its storied chime of bells, which so often sounded notes of gladness or of sorrow, from the bombardment of Fort Sumter to the return of the Southern Bishops to the National Convention of the Church.

Merrimack Street itself, with the lofty trees that once stood at intervals on either side of it, is rich in associations with the war. But only those who spent the war-time here, can tell you how often those trees, like the elms of Ardennes, have "dropped their tears in dew-drops over the unreturning brave;" or how often, along that street, amid draperies of sable, muffled drums have beaten --

"Funeral marches to the grave."

The use of the lower part of Memorial Hall for the purposes of the City Library during the two last years, has shown a growing appreciation among the people of the great value of this collection of books. There is also a growing feeling that Memorial Hall should contain more than books. Choice specimens of Painting, Sculp-

ture, and particularly of Photography, have already enriched the library, and more are to come.

If my counsel could avail, I would gather and preserve here specimens of the rocks underlying the city for the benefit of any future Silliman, Agassiz, Hitchcock or other geological student who might pursue his researches here; also a cabinet of local mineralogy, and illustrations of local natural history. Whatever has value as illustrating the past history of this place, should find quarters here. Only in a public institution, under permanent managers, can such vestiges of the past be long preserved.

Forty years ago, Oliver M. Whipple showed me at his house a remarkable collection of curiosities, many of which have been scattered since his death, though, perhaps, some of them might even now be recovered. Besides arrow-heads, tomahawk-heads, knives, human bones, and other relics, such as are commonly found in an Indian museum, Mr. Whipple showed me some very rare proofs that if the Indians of this region were themselves ignorant of the use of copper, they were in communication with others elsewhere who were not. For he showed me copper beads which he had found, consisting of small pieces of plate copper, bent over a string, which had, doubtless, adorned the neck of some dusky beauty of the forest; the copper itself having probably been brought from the mines in the region of Lake Superior, which, as we now know, were worked long before the discovery of America. The Indians of the Merrimack were in communication with those of the St. Lawrence and the Indians of the St. Lawrence with the Indians of Lake Superior.

But in Memorial Hall pre-eminence should be given to relics of the war -- pictures of battles and battlefields, of ships and sea-fights, of officers who led, and men who fell in the bloody struggle. Some of the clothes they wore, some of the arms they carried, should also find a place in this Valhalla. The time is coming when Memo-

rial Hall will be found to serve all these uses, and perhaps other uses also.* Beyond the name, Memorial Hall, this edifice is, as yet, without an inscription. The proper place for an inscription is occupied by a plate containing the names of the commissioners under whose direction it was erected. That inscription should be removed to the inside, and in its place should be inscribed some such words as these, spoken by Henry Ward Beecher in Fort Sumter, April 14, 1865:—

“To the officers and men of the Army and Navy, who have so faithfully, skilfully and gloriously, upheld their country’s authority by suffering, labor and sublime courage, we offer a heart-tribute beyond the compass of words.”

The flag upon Memorial Hall has not yet been applied to its fittest use. As often as one of our war veterans passes away— and they are dying almost daily— that flag should be set at half-mast, announcing the event, and reminding us that in a few years the last veteran will pass over to the majority, and that flag be thus half-masted for the last time.

“To pass through Memorial Hall day after day, to read the names upon the tablets, to look upon the portraits of the heroes, is a perpetual call to patriotism.” These words of Bishop Lawrence will soon, I hope, be as applicable to our Memorial Hall as to that of Harvard College, of which they were spoken. In the same sermon from which they are quoted, the Bishop states that he keeps the Harvard Memorial Biographies always standing on the shelf at his right hand, next to the Bible; so that in any hour of discouragement, he may dip into them, and catch some of their noble resolve.†

“The sons of Harvard, falling ere their prime,
Leave their proud memory to the coming time.”

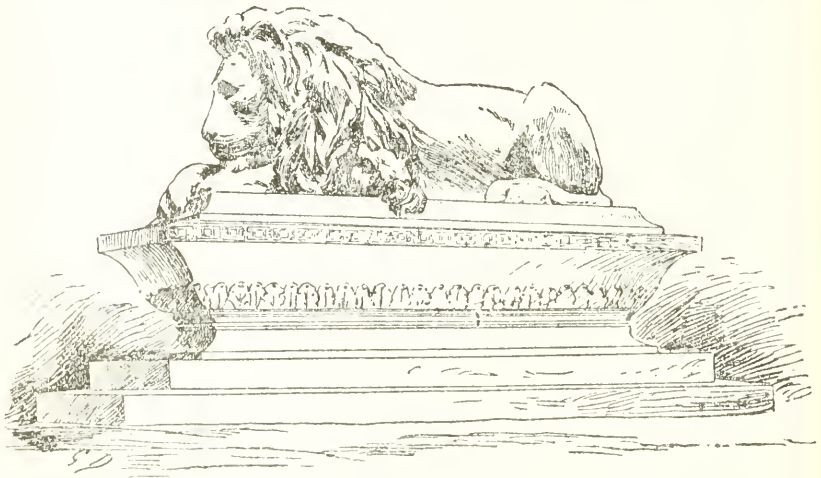
* See a paper on the Uses of Memorial Hall, in the Morning Mail of Nov. 30, 1887.

† Baccalaureate sermon at Appleton Chapel, Harvard University, June 17, 1854.

Some of these "sons of Harvard" were also sons of Lowell, and whosoever reads their Memorial Biographies will find in them, as in Memorial Hall, a perpetual inspiration and a perpetual *Sursum Corda*.

My topic being public monuments only, I do not now speak of public benefactions having no monumental character, such as the Lowell General Hospital and the Ayer Home for Young Women and Children; nor of the memorial windows in our churches; nor of private monuments, of which there are some very fine ones in our cemeteries. But it is not always easy to draw the line between private and public monuments. The Talbot Memorial Chapel in the Lowell Cemetery partakes largely of a public character, and its use on funeral occasions will, doubtless, increase more and more as its fitness for such functions becomes better appreciated.

In close contiguity to this beautiful chapel are the



marble monuments erected by Judge Abbott to the memory of his lamented sons, one of whom fell at Cedar Mountain, the other in the Wilderness. These and other

sons of Lowell were in the mind of B. W. Ball, when, in 1876, he sang the song of her Jubilee:—

“Beneath her Campo Santo’s shade,
Lulled by its gentle river,
Her youthful braves are sleeping well
After life’s fitful fever.”

The intelligent visitor to our Necropolis cannot fail to be impressed by the rugged boulder, with the symbol of Salvation on either side of it, which marks the lot of Colonel B. F. Watson of the historic Sixth Regiment, with the Cross of Constantine (a rare symbol now) lying at the grave of his wife. Another striking boulder, brought from the seashore at Gloucester to the grave of Dr. Street, recalls his fondness for geological inquiries, while the open Bible lying thereon recalls that which was his guide in life and his consolation in death.

Governor Talbot has a noble monument of Westerly granite, surmounted by a marble statue of Memory mourning. Another statue of Memory occupies an imperial position upon a towering shaft on the lot of Mr. Frederic Ayer. But where shall anything be found comparable, from a sculptural view-point, with the noble lion, chiselled in Carrara marble by Mr. A. Bruce Joy, which guards the grave of James C. Ayer? His face wears an expression of profound gravity, approaching even to sadness; and some have called him the weeping lion. He is, apparently, absorbed in mournful meditation befitting the “City of the Dead;” but there is no anguish in his kingly face, such as seems to wring the heart of his sculptural progenitor, the famous Lion of Lucerne.

POSTSCRIPT.

At the time of reading the foregoing paper I had not visited the new Public Library of Boston, which contains two monuments eminently worthy of honorable mention here. I refer, of course, to the noble lions, carved in

Siennese marble, mounted, one on the right, the other on the left, of the Grand Stairs. These monuments were erected in honor of the Second and Twentieth Regiments of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, and in remembrance of the gallant officers and men who fell in their ranks, among whom were the two Abbotts and others whose names will one day be inscribed on the tablets in Memorial Hall. They were presented to the city of Boston by the survivors and friends of those regiments, both of which displayed in the field such leonine qualities that perhaps no fitter figure than those marble lions could have been selected to typify their character. To me they recalled at once the famous epitaph which I had read, thirty years before, over the grave of Ponce de Leon in Cuba, and which may be Englished thus:--

“Here lies one who was a lion by name and a lion by nature.”

Since this paper was read petitions have been presented to the Legislature for the erection of a bronze equestrian statue of General Butler in Boston, and it is said the General's children will soon place a statue of him over his grave in the Hildreth Cemetery in Lowell.



CLEVELAND J. CHENEY.

VII. *Biographical Sketch of the Life of Cleveland J. Cheney, by James Francis. Read at the Annual Meeting, May 26, 1896.*

CLEVELAND JEFFERSON CHENEY was born in Deering, N. H., February 20th, 1823, and died August 11th, 1895, at the age of 72 years, 5 months and 22 days. He was one of a large family of children, singularly healthy, of good physical development, and commenced life as a farmer. His means of education were those afforded by the country school, and he was as well educated as the average youth of his time. He was fond of mechanics, and devoted himself to all sorts of devices requiring skill and genius in this direction, and was the son selected to mend the plough, the rake, and all the farming implements with which he had to do, in this respect showing himself to be an uncommonly bright and promising lad. At the age of 19 years he came to Lowell and obtained employment in one of the card rooms of the Massachusetts Cotton Mills, where he remained about five months. Not finding this occupation to his taste, he left for Boston, where he began the trade of a carpenter, working on the docks and wharves, repairing and constructing them, driving piles, etc., etc. For six months he remained at this work, serving under good and skillful men, this experience and training proving of the greatest value to him in all his subsequent business life.

While in Boston young Cheney joined one of the fire companies which handled a tub with brakes worked by man power, and during this time built for himself a very respectable sail boat. He was an active participant in all sorts of manly sports.

In the spring of 1844, at the age of 21, young Cheney returned to Lowell, continuing his trade of carpenter, in the construction of dwelling houses, and pursuing other similar work. May 31st, 1847, he entered the employment of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River, where he remained until December 1st, 1894, faithfully serving this company for a period of 47 years and 6 months.

From May 31st, 1847, to September 26th, 1863, Mr. Cheney was under the immediate supervision of Paul Hill, then the superintendent of the Locks and Canals Company. During that period Mr. Cheney was employed on many important jobs of work, his skill and industry, as a carpenter and mechanic, placing him at the head of his co-laborers. He was invariably found where the work was the hardest and most difficult to perform. In 1847 he worked on the framing for the new bridges over the Northern Canal, which were being constructed. He assisted in putting in the sheet piling in the banks of the same canal, for the protection of the Tremont & Suffolk foundations. In 1848 he built the house now occupied by the gate keeper, situated on School Street, near the head of the Northern Canal. He was engaged on the construction of the Moody Street Feeder in 1848, and in the general work of the company up to September 26th, 1863, when he succeeded Paul Hill as superintendent.

Mr. Cheney was well qualified for this new position. He was physically very strong. He was about 5 feet 10 inches tall, broad shouldered, with prominent and well-proportioned features.

During winter months, the handling of the ice which accumulates in the canals involves much labor. Mr. Cheney was always attentive to this work, and at the post of duty, clearing the canals of ice, oftentimes in the dead of night, with the temperature below zero. During the

warm season he would be found with his force of men, in the canals on Sundays and holidays, at times when the water could be drawn off, making necessary repairs, enlargements, etc. In 1871 he superintended the reconstruction of the guard gates of the Pawtucket Canal, and fitted on the hydraulic lifts. This was massive and difficult work, especially so as the foundation had to be constructed at night and on Sundays, in a way that would permit the flow of water through the work during mill hours. The temporary gates, which were placed up stream above the permanent gates, to admit and regulate the water, were well arranged. The gates, masonry, and hydraulic lifts were designed by the chief engineer, Mr. James B. Francis, but Mr. Cheney had immediate charge, and showed great skill in his arrangements for the execution of the whole work.

In 1875 and 1876 Mr. Cheney had charge of the work of reconstructing a large portion of Pawtucket Dam, from the Great Rock, so-called, to the Dracut shore, in which over 400 men were employed, during a large part of the time. Mr. Cheney received, and was entitled to, much praise for his services in handling and in the execution of this work. The structure is 20 feet thick at the bottom, and built of solid rubble masonry, with a substantial facing of ashlar work, the beds and joints of which were grouted, course by course, with Portland cement without sand. James B. Francis' record of this work says, "With the exception of one place, called the 'Deep Place,' the ashlar work on the face of the dam rests on rock ledge, which was cut in steps to receive it. In the 'Deep Place,' for about 100 feet in length, the bottom of the dam was prepared for the ashlar work by leveling up with rubble masonry laid in cement to the height of 20 feet and 6 inches below the top of the dam." The "Deep Place" in the dam is situated about 23 feet northeasterly

from "The Corner," so-called, on the side towards the Gate House. This "Deep Place" was an unlooked-for obstacle in the construction of the dam. It was expected that the ledge would be found about 15 feet below the top of the dam, but instead of that, the ledge was no less than 36.7 feet below at the face, and at a point 10 feet back from the face it was 38.3 feet below the top of the dam. Mr. Cheney, at this time, was in the prime of life, 52 years of age. For five days and nights forces of about 30 men each worked in the deep trench, in shifts of ten hours, and excavated the last 8 to 10 feet in depth of earth under the most difficult and trying conditions. The chief engineer was quick to observe Mr. Cheney's untiring energy and faithful supervision, which resulted in a successful accomplishment of the task without accident of any kind, and for generations to come the present dam will stand as a grand specimen of a thoroughly well-built structure.

Another very excellent work performed under Mr. Cheney's supervision was the reconstruction of the canal walls above the guard gates of the Pawtucket Canal, and that portion of the lock chamber and lock gates which are situated above what is known as the "Big Gate," which was dropped at the time of the great freshet of April, 1852. The old walls were laid without cement, a great many years ago, probably in 1822 or 1823, and had become insecure, and in some places the top courses had fallen in. In times of extraordinary freshets the old walls were completely covered with water, and the possible chance of a serious washout made it necessary for the Locks and Canals to reconstruct them. The work was done in 1881, and the well-constructed walls are evidence of the solid stability that can easily withstand the action of great freshets, such as Lowell has contended with in the past.

In 1886 Mr. Cheney spent a few months in California

with his wife, daughter and invalid son. This trip gave him opportunities to examine many places of interest, and especially works of construction designed for the irrigation of lands, and for other purposes. He was a careful observer, and his mind was stored with ideas gathered up from his travels, and from many sources, which he subsequently used as occasion required.

In 1889 the extension of the Boott Penstock was made, an elaborate work on the southerly side of the Boott or Eastern Canal, its purpose being to provide a convenient passage for water entering from the Merrimack Canal, especially in the winter months, when ice is running. This was done under Mr. Cheney's direction.

A very large amount of labor was performed under Mr. Cheney's direction in removing obstructions at the head of Hunt's Falls for the purpose of lowering the water in the basin above, giving more head of water at the turbines in the mills situated on the river front. His labors there extended from the year 1877 to 1893, and were performed during the summer months, on Sundays and holidays, when the stage of the river was low enough to permit the work to be done. It has been determined that the effect of the removal of obstructions was to lower the water in the basin back of mills about two feet in the ordinary stage of the river.

These specimens of Mr. Cheney's achievements are quite sufficient to indicate the character of work done by him. There are others quite as important and imposing which might be mentioned.

Mr. Cheney served in the City Council of Lowell in 1862, and again in 1864, and was a member of the special committee who had charge of the reconstruction of the wooden bridge across Merrimack River at Bridge Street in 1862, which was burned in 1882.

In politics Mr. Cheney's preferences, like those of his

father and grandfather, were for the Democratic party. He had no taste nor inclination to enter actively into the political arena, so-called, preferring to keep aloof from that feeling and strife so often engendered in securing party measures. He was closely identified with the Free-will Baptist Church, but his opportunities for attending services were mostly confined to the winter months, when he could be spared from his work.

At the age of 71 years, on December 1, 1894, Mr. Cheney retired from the service of the Locks and Canals, after 47½ years of almost unremitting toil. The company recognized his long and faithful stewardship with an appropriate present, and he retired to a very attractive and comfortable home, which he had recently built in Centralville. At this time he was much broken in health, and was not in condition to enjoy, with any degree of comfort, the quiet and peace of a home life, to which he was entitled after so many years of hard labor. He gradually failed in health, died in the following year, and was buried in the family lot in the Lowell Cemetery.

Mr. Cheney was endowed with a fund of humor, and could throw off the cares of work long enough to relate a funny story or to crack a joke.

In the management and control of help Mr. Cheney was quick, firm, and decided. With entire confidence in his own judgment, his word became a law, and although, at times, perhaps, savoring of a severity which might be supposed to interfere with his popularity, in the general acceptance of that term, he was always found serving the interests of those for whom he labored, and could not, therefore, be otherwise than encouraged in the spirit which governed his actions. Among the many good qualities which he possessed may be mentioned several which deserve to be placed upon record. He was skillful in laying out and preparing for any new enterprise, giving the

most careful attention to every detail, and providing for every contingency that could be thought of, and having everything in the way of materials, tools, and men in readiness before the work commenced. In its execution he was master and monarch of all he surveyed. His judgment was good, and he was always prepared to meet any contingency in the event of unexpected interruptions or obstructions, such as quick-sands, springs of water, caving in of banks, and many other difficulties that would puzzle and discourage an ordinary man. He had the power and patience and courage to master such troubles, and above all he was never known to neglect or allow a job to be completed except in a thorough and workman-like manner. He would stick to it, regardless of himself, his meals, or his sleep, and when done he would go home tired out and exhausted.

Mr. Cheney was married at the age of 23, on May 3, 1846, to Catherine J. Bean, of Gilmanston, N. H. His home life was a happy one. He was fortunate in having a wife who was ever ready and anxious to care for him. The family of wife, three daughters and two sons, now reduced to the widow, one daughter and one son, received nothing but kindness from him. He was a devoted husband and a considerate father. He left a host of friends who will long cherish his memory, and the many excellent qualities as a friend and citizen with which he was so fully possessed.

I. Biographical Sketch of the Life of Benjamin Walker. By Solon W. Stevens. Read before the Association Feb. 16, 1897.

MR. BENJAMIN WALKER was born in Wilmington, County of Middlesex, in this state, on the 24th of June, 1822, and died in Lowell on the 11th of November, 1896, at the age of a little more than 74 years. He was the son of Benjamin and Abigail (Tweed) Walker, and, on his father's side was a lineal descendant, through a family of enviable reputations in public service which had long resided in this country, from Richard Walker, commonly known as Captain Richard Walker, who came from England about the year 1630 and made his home in Lynn, Massachusetts; on his maternal side he was a descendant of Elder William Brewster of Plymouth, Massachusetts.

He was educated in the district school of his native town, in the Pinkerton Academy of Derry, N. H., and in the High School of Lowell. It was the ambition of his youth to become a lawyer, and with this purpose in view, after graduation at the High School in this city, he entered the Law school of Cincinnati, Ohio, but by reason of the death of his father in 1840, his legal studies were abandoned and he returned to Lowell.

In consequence of a necessity of adopting new plans in life, he removed to Philadelphia and became a member of the Book Publishing House of Walker and Gillis. He did not remain there long, however, and in 1847 he returned to Lowell, and by reason of his superior skill as a penman, an accomplishment which he elevated almost to the dignity of an art, he was elected to the posi-

tion of instructor in penmanship in the public schools of this city and retained this position about three years. Shortly afterwards he was made paymaster in the Hamilton Print Works where he continued some twelve years in faithful service. In the June of 1862 he entered the employment of Dr. James C. Ayer & Co., as a correspondence clerk and continued with this enterprising business firm through the period of its organization into the corporation known as the J. C. Ayer Company and for the last six years prior to his death, in addition to his other duties, he filled the responsible position of clerk of the corporation, being held in high estimation for his skill, his honesty, and his fidelity in service.

Mr. Walker was a member of the School Board in 1860 and '61, a member of the Common Council in 1865, '66 and '71, Alderman in 1872, '74 and '75, chairman of the Republican City Committee for 1871, '72, '73 and '74, a director, clerk, and treasurer of the Lowell & Andover Railroad since 1876, a vice-president of the Central Savings Bank, and a director in the Lowell Mutual Fire Insurance Company. The fact of continued and efficient service in all these honorable and responsible positions indicates the high esteem in which he was held by his fellowmen.

Mr. Walker was also a prominent and useful member of various other local organizations. He was at one time president of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association and for several years in succession was chairman of the lecture committee in those times when the influence of this organization was felt as a power for good in this community in uplifting the sentiments and widening the intelligence of the people by the facilities of its reading room, its rare and valuable assortment of books, and its

annual series of lectures by many of the most distinguished scholars and orators of the land.

He was a member of the executive committee of the Old Resident's Association since its formation in 1868, and was chosen its president at its last annual meeting, which position he held at the time of his decease. His abiding interest and continuous faithful service both as a member and as an officer in our organization need no comment in this hour of our bereavement, for these are all written on your memories, and the jotting down of words of commendation which naturally come to the lips in this connection, would seem much like an attempt at "gilding refined gold." He believed in the usefulness of our association, and worked constantly and zealously for the promotion of its interests. His example in this respect would seem worthy of imitation on the part of many of our estimable citizens whose names we would be glad to see enrolled on the list of our membership.

Mr. Walker was for many years conspicuous in musical circles. Music was his avocation, his recreation, and his delight. He was one of the originators of the Lowell Choral Society, and for ten years served as its president. He was an accomplished church organist and practiced his art skillfully for thirty-seven years of his life, and during twenty-six of these years he acceptably filled the position of organist in St. Anne's Episcopal Church of which he was a vestryman. In addition to this he was a wise and judicious critic of musical performances, and he frequently wrote valuable criticisms for our local papers.

In 1889 Mr. Walker in company with some Lowell gentlemen made a tour in Europe, and on his return he

published an interesting account of his travels under the title of "Aboard and Abroad" which was read with much pleasure by his many friends.

He was married in 1842 to Catherine, daughter of Josiah and Mary (Stark) Gillis, of Wilmington. Mrs. Walker died in 1874, leaving one daughter, Miss Mary Catherine Walker; his second marriage occurred in 1876 with Mrs. Mary E. Rix, daughter of William and Mary (Cline) Bryant of Stoneham.

It was given to our friend to live a long, useful and honorable life. He died at his post of duty. He was a modest, courteous, affable, conscientious Christian gentleman. He was widely known, and no man was ever more worthy of the confidence of his fellows. As we figuratively stand around his bier tonight let us remember his many virtues, and in gratitude for such an exemplary life, let us not be unmindful of the admonition which the lesson of the hour brings to each and everyone,—“be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye know not” the celestial summons will come.

II. The Wamesit Purchase. By Henry S. Perham, Chelmsford. Read before Old Residents' Historical Association, Lowell, Mass., February 16, 1897.

By the Wamesit Purchase the Indians relinquished forever, to their white neighbors, their ancient possessions upon the south side of the Merrimack and west of the Concord rivers.

Here from immemorial time their wigwams had dotted the landscape and their frail canoes had glided over the waters of the Merrimack. They hunted the noble game of the forest and plied their rude arts all unconscious of the mighty changes to be wrought upon their native haunts by the white man's civilization.

Through the kind offices of the apostle Eliot, this tract had been reserved to the Indians by an act of the General Court in 1653. Their title now passed to other hands and their home from henceforth was in the northern wilderness. It was such a movement as has since become somewhat familiar in Indian history. Allen* states that a few families still "remained at Wamesit several years; and others were occasionally there on hunting and fishing parties and for the purpose of visiting their English friends and former neighbors." Several families lingered upon the Dracut side of the river as late as 1820. Two Indian pilots were employed about that time, to guide the log rafts down the river, one at

* History of Chelmsford, page 151.

Wickiseek and the other at Hunt's falls.* (The rafts were taken apart above Pawtucket falls and the logs floated around by way of the canal and Concord river) But from the time of King Phillip's war the Indians had practically abandoned their Wamesit "plantation" and in 1685 the people of Chelmsford took steps looking to the purchase of their title.

The Wamesit purchase was consummated by Jonathan Tyng, Esq., of Dunstable, and Maj. Thomas Hinchman of Chelmsford the same year, and conveyed by them the year following to fifty proprietors living in Chelmsford.

The conveyance from Tyng and Hinchman was by separate deeds one from each conveying to the fifty associates one moiety, or half part of one fiftieth of the entire purchase, to each purchaser. The original deeds, executed upon scrolls of buckskin,† are now in the possession of a descendant of one of these proprietors now living in this city.

The deed from Tyng reads as follows:

To all people to whom these Presents shall come greeting know ye that the worsh^{full} Jonathan Ting Esqu^r of the Towne of Dunstable in the county of middlesex in his maj^{ties} Territory and dominion of New England in America. For and in consideration of the full and just summe of one hundred and fincty pound pound sterl. New England coyne to to him well and truely paid by Maj. Thomas Hinchman Esq: John fisk & Serj: Josiah Richardson all of the Towne of Chelmsford in the forenamed county in New England aforesd which money so paid by t[]m was for their owne use and behooffe as also for the use and behooffe of generall other gentlemen and neighbours here after mentioned in this Instrument. The receipts of said hundred and fincty pound, the said Jonathan Ting doth by

M. L. Hamblet, Esq.

† A hole in one of them is said to have been made by the bullet that brought down the buck.

these presents acknowledg, and there with to be fully satisfied, Contented and paid, & Thereof and of every part part and parcell, Thereof do fully, freely, clearly and absolutely: acquit, release and discharge the said Thomas Hinchman, John fiske and Josiah Richardson, they & every of them their h[er]es associates and assignes and every of them for ever. Have granted, bargained and sold. Aliened, Enfeoffed and confirmed, and by these presents do fully freely clearly and absolutely grant bargain and sell, Alien, enfeoffe and confirm unto the said Thomas Hinchman, John fiske, Josiah Richardson sen^r and to their associates, M^r Moses fiske, of Brantry, M^r Tho^s clarke, Josiah Richardson Jun^r Jerihmeel Bowers, James Richardson, Thomas parker, Solomon Keys Jun^r Joseph Parkiss sen^r Joseph Hyde, Edward Spaldin Sen^r Samuel Fletcher, Sen. Steuen Peirse, Benjamin Parker, Moses parker, Andrew Spalden, Elizazar Browne, william vnderwood, Nathaniel Howard, John wright Jun^r John pernam, John Spalden Jun^r Josiah Fletcher, Benjamin Spaldin, Joseph Spalden, Joseph Barwell, Solomon Keys Sen^r Peter Tullott, John Kidder, William Fletcher, Samuel Foster Jun^r Edward Foster, Sam^l Foster Sen^r John Steuens, Nathaniel Butterfield, Samuel Butterfield, Joseph Butterfield, John Spaldin Sen^r John Shipley, m^r Cornelius Waldo Sen^r georg Robbins, John Parker, John Bates, gorsham Proctor, Peter Proctor, Isaack Parker, and Abraham Parker, to each of them and to every one of them, their heirs and assignes, and to each and Every of their heirs and assignes, for ever, to their only proper use and behoofe, one moiety or half part of weymesit lands which were sold by y^e indians of sd Weymesit to the said Jonathan Ting, by a deed of bearing date, the sixth day of Septemb^r last past, the moiety or half of said Weymesett lands being at y^e same time and by y^e same instrument Conneued to Maj^r Hinchman aforesaid, this above said grant contained in this instrument, contains the one half of the wholl purchase which was joyntly made by the afore sd Thomas Hinchman and Jonathan Ting, the wholl purchase containing all that part of indian plantation called Weymesitt, & lying on y^e west side of concord River, but not taking any part of the indian field that is within fence and ditch, by Concord River side, but said land is bounded eastward, by said field & Concord river, from the most southerly Corner, (which is at Chelmsford corner stake, where Billerica, chelmsford & weymesitt land meet all at one stake, by y^e river side)

vint you come to the mouth of Concord river by mermacke, bounded Northward by mermaek river & Westward by wanalausits old field, and Mt. Hinchmans land, formerly purchased by him of the indians, and on y^e South West it is bounded by Chelmsford according to a former exchang betwene said Towne, & said Weymesitt indians. Also five hundred acres more of wilderness land lying on the Northside of Mermaek, bounded by putneket falls southward & by beaver brooke, eastward, according as it was granted by y^e Hon^{ble} General Court to said plantation & laid out to them be the same more or less. The indians by said deed reserving to them selves, their heires and associates for ever, their ancient priviledges of all fishing places in said land for their owne vse as formerly they have made vse of it, as also free liberty of fier wood & timber upon said whole Tract of land on both side mermaek (not making any strip and wast of said wood & timber, but to cleare all they cutt downe) to them y^e said weymesitt inhabitants their heires and associates for ever. Now it is the one half only y^e is sold by said Jonathan Ping by this instrument. To Have and to Hold the above granted and bargained moiety or halfe part of said purchase of Weymesitt with all the priviledges and appurtenances to the same appertaining or in any wise belonging to, them the said Tho Hinchman to each individual person, one thirtieth part of y^e whole moiety to be enjoyed by every and each Person abovesaid, their and every of their heires and assignes forever to there and their only Proper vse and behoote. And hee the said Jonathan Ping, for himself his heires and administrators do covenant, promise, and grant to and with the said Thomas Hinchman, John D'sk, and Josiah Richardson Sen. and with their heires & assignes by these Presents, as Trustees for and in behalf, of the rest of the more Named Persons, that hee the said Jonathan Ping, Now is and at the ensealing and delivery here of shall stand and Bee lawfully and rightly sole seisor of his demerites of the above granted premises, of a good and lawfull estate of inheritance, in fee simple by good right and lawfull authority, absolutely without any manner of condition, of mortgage or limitation of vse or vses, to alter change or determine the same. And that hee the said Jonathan Ping, hath in himselfe good right full power and lawfull authority and premises to grant, bargain, and confirm to them and to each and every of them named Persons, and to their heires and assignes for

ever. And that they the said Thomas Hinchman, John Black, Joseph Richardson, Moses Black, Thos. Clark, Joseph Richardson, Jun. Timothy Bowers, James Richardson, Thomas Parker, Solomon Key, Jun. Joseph Parker's Sen. Joseph Hale, Edw. Spalding's Sen. Samuel Illetcher's Sen. Steven Pence, Benj. Parker, Moses Parker, and the rest of the persons above named their heirs and assigns for ever hereafter shall and may at all times, and from time to time for ever hereafter, quietly and peaceably Have, Hold, occupy, possess and enjoy each person above and every one of them, one fiftieth part of the sd. Money and above granted Premise without the lawfull Lett, Hindrance, Infriction, Expulsion, Inturbation, Molestation, contradiction or denial of him the said Jonathan Tynge, his heirs or executors, administrators or assigns of him, or of them, or of any other Person or Persons what so ever lawfully claiming and having any small and legall right title & interest therein or thereto by from or under him, or by any other lawfull way and] [what so ever in Witnes whereof the said Jonathan Tynge hath affixed his hand and seale herevnto, December the forthiten day Anno Domini one thousand six hundred eighty six Anno Regni Rest. Jacobi secundi secundo Memorandum, that reconcited & asseesed, that the said Jonathan Tynge, doth yet reserve to him^{self} & at his dispose one fiftieth part of said money except in the premises & if it equall chare for it wth any one of ye fortytine, done and signed, Sealed and delivered in the Presence of

Samuel Manning Sen.

Jonah Parker

Nathanell Hill

Before signing it is to be vnder stood y^t y^r worshipfull Jonathan Tynge Esq^r doth not in this instrument make sale of the meadow in wamescut belonging to y^r Honorable House of y^r wyntonrop w^{ch} meadow is excepted & not] [y^r Hon^{ble} Councilly Answer to y^r sd^o worshipful Tynge petition

JONATHAN TYNGE

The Wynthrop meadow mentioned was a part of the grant to Margaret the widow of Gov. Wynthrop in 1640. A part of this grant lay upon the west side of Concord river.

In Hinchman's deed of the other undivided half

the consideration is 49 pounds (every man having paid for himself twenty shillings in silver and so are thereby all equal in purchase.")

Maj. Hinchman had already purchased Nov. 18, 1685, Wanalancets old planting field which lay at the west of the Wamesit Purchase in what is now Middlesex. This land is described as 30 acres—*—south of Merrimack river at a place called Neahambeak near Wamesit upon Black brook—bounded by Merrimack river on the north Hinchmans land on ye west, it contains that whole corn fields fenced in with ditch & other wise that was broken & improve for some years by said Sachem Wanalausit & by his somes & by his men it lying near to the old Indian fort in that place."

The Indian field at the east end of the Wamesit purchase, was bought by Jerathmel Bowers, for "3 pounds & also much former kindness." It is described as "west side of Concord river lying within the Indian field that is within Ditch & fence—near their old pound" &c.† June 9, 1686.

This Indian name of what is now Middlesex, Ne-hambeak, is given in an earlier deed from the Indians to Hinchman, Naamecook.‡ It is to be regretted that more of the Indian names in this vicinity have not been perpetuated. The Indian name of the tract at the mouth of Stony Brook, is given "Suncanassitt" in a deed from Hinchman to Andrew Spaulding, in 1692.§

The acreage of the Wamesit Purchase is not given. General Daniel Gookin who accompanied the apostle Eliot, in one of his visits to the Wamesits, estimated

* From Copy of M. L. Hamblett, Esq.

† Copy of M. L. Hamblett, Esq.

‡ Cambridge Registry, Vol. 5, P. 120.

§ The deed is now in the cabinet of the Adams Library, Chelmsford.

that their grant consisted of about 2500 acres. Allen estimated that of this amount 1500 acres were upon the west of the Concord. It included about the same area as was originally incorporated as Lowell.

These 50 proprietors of the Wamesit Purchase, managed their lands very much as did the proprietors of townships in the early days.

Their record book covers a period of a hundred years, and then the last Proprietors' clerk, Benjamin Parker, at whose house the last recorded meeting was held, laid away the old book, and deeds, in his attic where they have since remained. This old book now comes forth brown with its age of more than two centuries, and with its covers badly worn eaten, but with contents unimpaired to enlighten us as to the doings of the first white owners of the land now occupied by this populous city.

In this book is given a full description of what each man received by the first division of the land, but no separate descriptions are given of the allotments by subsequent divisions. They laid out highways, erected a pound, made regulations respecting the maintenance of fences, set apart a quantity of land to encourage the erection of a mill, and at one meeting (1726) to enforce their regulations they chose Surveyors of Highways, Fence Viewers, and Field Drivers, who were sworn to the performance of their duties.

The title page of the record book reads :

"This booke belongeth to the purchasers & proprietors of the Wamesit neck and was bought by their order & for their use may : 26 : 1687 : prise : 4:"

Town Voted.

The record upon the first page is as follows :

“Senerall of the inhabitants of Chelmsford hauing bought a parcel of land of mr Jonathan tyng of Dunstable and maigor Thomas hinchman of Chelmsford, the sd purchesors at a generall meeting at Chelmsford; did Joyntly agree together: to fflence in & in Close part of sd land for their present use & in order their unto sd Company did make Choise of a Comette to state y^e fenc & make a diuision of sd land medow & fenc into fifty parts acording to the number of y^e purchesors of sd land; whos nams are spesceified in y^e deeds granted from sd. Tyng & hinchman, the Comette hauing stated the fenc & mad a diuision of: sd: land medow & fenc. & bownded them w^t so many marked staks, as are Judged soficient (Js maintained by the owners) for each proprietor to know his own proportion of upland medow land & fenc; the Comette guing notes to the proprietors for a meeting: the: sd; Company did meet upon the: 13: theenth. day of may 1687: whear each persun had liberty to draw his finger from under a hat each mans proportion of upland medow land & seneral persels of fenc answering the finger y^t fell to him by lot; each proprietor hauing receened his lot desired their senerall persels of upland medow land & fences should be recorded. for the preneuting of futer trobel;”

Upon the following 50 pages are recorded the descriptions of each man's portion of the first allotment. From these descriptions it appears that the field which they had voted to inclose for “their present use” consisted of 900 acres, with a fence upon the south side and upon the east and west ends; the Merrimack river making a fence unnecessary upon the north.

The lots, which were numbered from west to east extended, with a few exceptions, from the fence upon the south back to the Merrimack river. The exceptions were lots 1 and 2 (at the west end) which were bounded upon the north by the Indian ditch near to Merrimack, lots 40-41-42-43-44 which were bounded upon the north by land reserved at the fishing place, and the six at the

east end of the field which were bounded north by Pawtucket meadow, each person selecting his lot, as we have seen, by the impartial method of drawing his figure from beneath a hat.

I will read one of these descriptions which will be sufficient for an understanding of the whole. Instead however of selecting a figure from under a hat I will take number 50 as I shall have occasion to refer to that lot later on.

“The vpland medow Land & several persels of fene w^e belongeth to Thomas Parker it being his full proportion in y^e first Diuision of y^e wamaset Land as it fell to him by Lott upon y^e 13th day of may: 1687.

1. 18 Acres being y^e 50th Lott bownded on y^e south by y^e fene on y^e east by A Range of stakes marked w^t 50th: Vpon A Lyne from stake to stake from sd fene to patueat medow on y^e North by patueat medow, ^{Except John Stevens medow} on y^e west by y^e Land of John Perhum.

2. Two Acers more or Les Lying on y^e north side of speens brooke, bownded on y^e North by y^e higeway, on y^e east corner by A Stake marked w^t 50th, Runing down by Another stake to speens brooke on y^e south by speens brook, taking y^e bredt[] of two Lots next speens brook from sd brook to samuel ffoster Juns. vpland, on y^e west by samuel fosters ^{J^{un}} vpland.

Also three persels of fene, Two of which Lyeth At y^e west end of sd feeld being y^e 50th Lott both ways.

3. Three or four poll A y^e east end of sd ffeeld At y^e end of y^e Indian Diteh by merimack River side.”

Most of the proprietors had two of the small lots outside the fence, or “without the fence” and some had three; one lot in each case being meadow.

This large field was known by the name of the “general field” or “Wamesit Field.” It was used in common for some years as a pasture for stock.

At a meeting of the proprietors March the 7, 1712 it was voted "that every man that hath Right or Rights in sd neck: may turn in six creatures to a Right & no more." In "feb 13 1722 et was voted yt the fence aboute sd felld shall be shall be made according to law and so conteneewe yerely by the seuenth day of march.

3 te was voted that now Cretors shoud be torned in to sd felld only from the seuenth of oektober To the Thurteth." This would indicate that the field was under cultivation and only pastured after the crops were harvested.

This also appears from a deed from Stephen Peirce to his son Robert Mch 3, 1729-30* of land "within the Now improved Generall felld ⁱⁿ Wamassett adjoining to Chelmsford."

In 1739 however it would appear to be again in pasturage as a committee of twelve was chosen to see that six creatures were turned in to a right and no more.

In the history of Chelmsford by Rev. Wilkes Allen, published in 1820† he describes the field thus "The north west boundary of said 'purchase' began near the head of the Middlesex Canal and so to the glass manufactory and thence running near the houses of the late Mr. Philip Parker, Mr. Micah Spalding; and Capt. Benj. Butterfield, terminated at Wamesit falls in Concord river, or at the mouth of River Meadow Brook."

Philip Parker, here mentioned, lived upon, what is now, Pine street; Micah Spalding at the corner of School and Liberty streets, and Capt. Butterfield upon Hale street where stands the residence of the widow of the late Benj. Edwards, a few rods from Lincoln square.

To give his description by the present city streets it would be bounded by Baldwin, Pine, Liberty, and Hale streets and from there to Wamesit falls or to the mouth of River meadow brook.

The names of the proprietors given in the descrip-

* Benjamin Parker papers.

† Page 15.

tions in the record book corresponds with those in the deed, but varies slightly from a list in the book headed "The Names of the first Proprietors of Wamesit Purchers." In the latter the name of Joshua Fletcher is omitted and that of Cornelius Waldo occurs twice, and the name Peter Fascutt is given in place of Peter Talbott. The list is not in the handwriting of either the first clerk Eleazer Brown, or his immediate successor Solomon Keyes Sen.

The first action in reference to the mill lot appears in the record of the meeting of March: 17: 1695-96, a vote in reference to the undivided land was passed at the same time.

1. y^t y^e stream together w^t twenty Acors of Land below winthrop's meadow on both sides of y^e brook shall be Reserved for y^e use of y^e whol Company y^t is to be vnderstood y^t place whear it is^{most} Convenient to set vp A mill: this sd twenty Acors is to be Layd out befor y^e Lots are Layd out, this voted

2. y^t all y^e vndivided Land & meadow on this side merimack shall be devided this year ensueing, this voted."

It appears by a subsequent vote that the same method was used in selecting the lots by each man drawing his "figer."

The following is the description given of the mill lot.

"aperell the: 11: 97.

land layd out for the incoregiment of bilding a mill at wamasite this land is twenty aeres moer or lese bounded south and southar by the riuer medo riuer and north and noreast and norwest by marked tres: one whight ocke one red ocke on the nor weste part: on the north and noreast part: thre black ocke tres mareked: one aere of sayd land lys on the south syd of sayd riuer by the mill place.

Solloman Keyes, senier.

Sameuell foster, Junier.

Andrew Spolding, Senier.

Committe."

By these votes we find that it is just 200 years since the first movement was made proposing to utilize some of the abundant water power within the present limits of this city for manufacturing purposes. A primitive saw mill only was then contemplated. There is no record to show when the mill was erected, or by whom, but a record in 1714 shows that the mill was there at that time. I will give the full record of that meeting.

“Chelmsford sum Time in The month of Nouember 1714 et was voted at a meting of the proprietors of wamaset pyches yt The land Land Lefte vndiuided by The sa^m mell place should be diuideed in to fifty loots and hywayse convenient to The fishing place and to the sa^m mell and in to concord riner Neck—Edward foster Edward Spavlding Stephen peiree was chosen for To lay out These loots and hywayse list a hyway was laid out Throw sd Land roneing To the neckfield fence To m^r Børlens land Two Rod wide 2 a hyway from this hyw[] to the sawmill be Tweene Solomon Keyeses house and barn Two Rod wide 3 a hyway from the saw mell esterly by marked Trees to a black ock Tree marked by The side of The River Two Rod wide a hyway from The a boue sd black ock a croce the Riuer and by stacks To The formar deuided land—

4 a hyway from The fust hyway below The place calde y^e wolnut Tree to The olde ford way aboute six rod wid

as wetnes our hand this Twenty forth day of Janawary 1715

Stephen peiree
Edward Spavlding
commety

at est
Stephen peiree
Clark^y

It seems from these entries that the saw mill was upon River Meadow Brook, perhaps where Hale's mill was erected later.

The mention of Solomon Keyes' house in the record just read leads me to digress a moment, as it sheds light upon a disputed question. Solomon Keyes (born June 24, 1665) was the son of Solomon, the second proprie-

tors' clerk, who died in 1702 (Mch 28). He also had a son *Solomon (born May 11, 1701) 13 years of age at the time of this record. This son was later a member of the company of Capt. John Lovewell and participated in the famous "Lovewell's fight," that obstinate and deadly fight with the Indians in the wilderness. His part in the battle is thus told by †Parkman. "Solomon Keyes, of Billerica received two wounds, but fought on till a third shot struck him. He then crawled up to Wyman in the heat of the fight, and told him that he, Keyes, was a dead man, but that the Indians should not get his scalp if he could help it. Creeping along the sandy edge of the pond, he chanced to find a stranded canoe, pushed it afloat, rolled himself into it, and drifted away before the wind." Fortunately a favoring breeze wafted him across the lake, and, notwithstanding his wounds, he succeeded in reaching the stockade. There he found several others of the survivors with whom he set out through the wilderness for Dunstable which place they managed to reach six days later. The brave and hardy Keyes recovered from his wounds but was killed in battle thirty years later at Lake George while commanding a company from Western (now Warren) Mass. Why he was credited to Billerica does not appear. Hazen's History of Billerica gives no evidence of such a name there until it appeared upon their tax list in 1749. Hodgman, the Westford historian, claims him for that town. We will make the claim for Chelmsford where we find his early home at Wamesit, and the name upon the tax list until after the date of Lovewell's fight.

What disposition was made of the 500 acres includ-

*Keyes Gen. 1880, P. 74.

†Half Century of Conflict, Vol. 1, P. 255.

ed in the "purchase" upon the north side of the Merrimack river does not appear from anything to be found in the record book. Allen states* that it "appears to have been retained by the Indians."

If so it was by sufferance only. It evidently had a recognized value. In 1702 a committee was chosen to run the line "Betwene the Varnums and said proprietors on the land purches^d by said proprietors on the North side of Merimake River" and further to employ "Capt Danforth as an Artie" (artist) if they "should see cause"

and Sar. Solomon Keyes records the sale[†] in 1701 "to capten bowe-r my whol intrest in the five hundred acres on the north syd of meramack which belongs to my lot in wamesat neck."

The following are some of the local names given in descriptions of land and highways.

Georges' brook [‡]	Pine Hill
Speens [§] brook	Black brook Hill
Pond meadow	meeting house Hill
Round "	Wamesit meeting house Hill
Pawtucket meadow	Great swamp
Wamesit meadow	Blind bridge
Long Pond	Great Pine plain
Round Pond	Long cause

These names have long since gone out of use. Some of them however can be located from their relation to other objects. Pawtucket meadow extended from the fishing place, at the foot of Pawtucket falls, to the mouth of the Concord river. They have since been filled in and occupied by the mills along the river bank. Wamesit meadows were along the Concord river.

* P. 170.

† P. 53.

§ Named for an Indian "James Speen, Indian, received 28 for four wolves heads," Hazens Billewie, P. 195.

|| Also given George Robbins' brook.

P. 43.

The "long cause" was the causeway where Plain street crosses the river meadow. In the early Chelmsford records the road from the centre of the town in that direction was described as the road to the "long causeway." The "great pine plain" was upon the south side of River Meadow Brook and included the land now occupied by the Catholic and Edson cemeteries. The name "Wamesit meeting house hill" is probably the name given to the spot where the apostle Eliot was accustomed to gather the Indians about him to teach them the principles of the christian religion. The name occurs in the description of Moses Parkers' small lot, or lot 2. It reads "Two Acres more or Les lying at wamaset meeting house hill bounded on y^e North by y^e highway, on y^e North east Corner so Runing down by another stake to wamaset medow, on y^e south by wamaset medow, on y^e west by thomas Parkers Long Lott"

The name occurs also in the description of a highway recorded in 1696.

"3 y^e way begins at A blake oake vpon y^e meeting house hill & gos along y^e south side sd hill by marked trees & gos ouer wamesit medow in mr John Fisk his Lott & on y^e south side sd meadow Cros all y^e Lots to mr Moses fisk his Little Lott"

There are two points given in this first description which help us in fixing its general location: its southern boundary upon Wamesit meadow, and its western boundary upon Thos. Parkers "long lot". Parkers' lot was No. 50 in the general field, and therefore at the extreme east end. If there was ever a hill near the corner of Central and Merrimack streets I should say that that might be the place.

Provision was made for the convenience of fisher-

men by “*A small parcel of Land against y^e fishing place Reserued As well for strangers As town dwelers To bait y^r horses.” They were not so liberal however towards strawberry pickers as “it was voted that evry propriator shall pick strabres. Apone his one land and yt no parson that is not A propriator shall pick A pone Any mans Loot on Las Te oner of The loot be There with tham.”

The fishing place was sure to be kept open as the fish were abundant and furnished an important article of food up to the time when the factories were established along the rivers' banks. As Mr. Sidney Davis describes the method which he has seen employed for taking fish it was by nets, one of which was spread between two boats, and as they rowed into shoal water at the shore their haul would load a wagon with the salmon and shad. No farmers cellar was well furnished without its barrel of salted fish; indeed so abundant and cheap were they that it is said that in order to prevent apprentices from being fed too exclusively upon a fish diet, it was sometimes specified in their indentures that only a certain proportion of their food should consist of shad. We may conclude that Merrimack river salmon were highly esteemed in Boston for when Justice Oliver Fletcher of Chelmsford wished to give a present to his friend Judge Sewall in 1755 he sends a nine pound salmon, which “my said Brother deli^d at his house in Boston.” It seems that salmon also frequented the smaller streams in the vicinity as the selectmen testified in 1745 that the mill dams were no obstacle to their course in Great brook. “Chelmsford March y^e 11th 1744⁵ we whose

names are here unto Subscribed are of opinion that the Mill Dams a Cros Grate Brook so Called in Cheemsford is of no damedg to any person or to the publeek in particuler, so to the Coarce of Fishes pasen Espetially Saman Shad Ealwaives & c—but is of Service to the Publect to have them kept up and Improved.

Ephraim Spaulding	}	Selectmen
Danl Procter		of
Benj Chamberlin		Chelmsford
Zachariah Richardson		

Allen, the Chelmsford historian, estimated* “The quantity of salmon, shad and alewives, caught in Chelmsford annually may be computed at about 25 hundred barrels, besides a large quantity of other fish of less value.”

As the Wamesit land came to be divided into farms there was a smaller number of proprietors.

In 1750 there were but sixteen. The record of that meeting is as follows :

At a meeting of ye proprietors of wamaset purchase Regularly cald on January ye 29 1750 then they preceded as follows.

1 voted that each proprietor haueing twenty acers of land should be allowed to vote in sd meeting and so for a greattor or lesor number accordingly.

2 it was agreed that the names hear after mentiond should be allowed to vote as follows first that Thomas Fletcher should vote on four rits

Andrew Fletcher on seven
 Sert Benjamin Parker on five
 Henry Fletcher on three
 Sert Joseph moors on Seven
 Stephen Fletcher on five
 Sert Jerathmiel Bowers on five

* P. 41.

Benjamin Parker Junr on two
 Ebenezer Frost on one
 Qua^t Robert Peirce on five
 Josiah Fletcher on two
 Sert Henry Stevens on two
 Robert Fletcher on four
 John Burg and David Butterfield on one
 Cap^t Ebenezer Parker on one
 Ser^t James Perkust on one
 Cap^t John Butterfield on two
 Stephen Peirce on two
 2 voted and chose Cap^t Ebenezer Parker modderator
 3 voted and chose Robert Fletcher Proprietors clerk.
 4 voted and Chose Ser^t Benjamin Parker Cap^t Ebenezer Parker
 Ser^t Joseph moors Qua^t Robert Peirce and Robert Fletcher Committy
 men to renew & rectifie and Settle the Bounds between the parties
 owning lotts formerly laid out.
 5 voted that any five of the proprietor applying them Selues to
 the Clrk to haue a meeting Calld he Should notife and Call meet-
 ings for the futer.
 6 voted that the meeting for the futer Should be att Corn^t Jonas
 Clark.

Attest Robert Fletcher, Clrk.

Col. Jonas Clark here mentioned kept the tavern by
 Clark's ferry, now known as the "old Middlesex tavern."

No meeting was again called until 1773 (Aug. 7.)

and then "at the house of Moses Davis, Inholder in Chelmsford at
 one of the Clock in the after noon."

- - - - "to revive the former committee - - - - to see what they
 will doe conecring the opening their waterin^g place"

and "to see what they will doe with the undevided Lands or any
 part of them.

Robert Fletcher
 proprietors Clark."

Moses Davis lived at Davis' corner where the prop-

erty is still held by his descendants. His Inn accommodated travelers passing through to Salem.

But one meeting was held after that, the record of which is brief.

"Chelmsford January the 13 1785 at a Meeting of a Number of the Proprietors of Wamasett purchas so called at the House of Benjamin Parker January the 13 1785 *at four o'clock in the after noon* in order to Chuse a Clark for the to Keep the Boock and All other Rightings first proceeded and Choase Mr Moses Davis Modrater for sd Meeting then proceeded and Chose Benjamin Parker their Proprierts Clark."

Mr. Benjamin Parker was a son of one of the first proprietors, Benj. Parker. His house stood upon what is now Pine street, near the Highland school. One of his descendants, Mr. Henry E. Parker, (of the fourth generation from Clerk Benjamin*) still occupies the ancestral homestead. And to that family we are indebted for the preservation of these valuable historic records.

This old record book contains not a line in reference to the hardships and dangers encountered by those who established their homes upon this tract.

The purchase of their lands from the Wamesits was an amicable transaction, but they were nevertheless in danger of attack from bands of hostile Indians in quest of scalps and captives. In 1695, such a band surprised some families in Billerica, killing or carrying away as captives fifteen persons. Other neighboring towns suffered at different times. So that the danger must have been sufficient to keep the families in a constant state of anxiety and dread. A petition † on file in the Massachusetts archives of which the following is a copy, shows

* 1 Benjamin. 2 Jeduthan. 3 Benjamin. 4 Henry E.

† Petitions, Vol. 72, P. 247.

the danger to which they felt themselves exposed in 1725 :

“To y^e honourable William Dummer Esq^r Lieut Governour in Chief in and over her Majesties province of the Massachusetts bay in New England The petition of y^e subscribers Humbly Sheweth that where as Merry make River is at present ^{being} Exceeding low and thereby y^e Town of Chelmsford is very Exceedingly indangered and we humbly pray your honor wee may be allowed a scout of men to scout upon said River and other Exposed partes of the Town for about y^e space of Two months from y^e Date here of as in Duty bound your homble petitioners shall ever Ever pray

Jonathan Richardson Captains for
Jonas Clarke Chelmsford

Chelmsford June y^e 23: 1725”

But notwithstanding these dangers which menaced them they had prospered so that at the very time of this petition they felt themselves sufficiently strong to entertain the ambition to assume the responsibilities of a separate town. Heretofore although Wamesit had not been formally annexed to Chelmsford, they were considered as inhabitants of that town, and it was there that they went to meeting and were assessed for taxes. This anomalous condition could not always continue. In 1725 the General Court refused to seat the Representative from Chelmsford, Deacon Stephen Pierce, who lived at Wamesit, on the ground that he was not a resident of Chelmsford.* This brought matters to a crisis. The people of Wamesit refused to pay the taxes that had been assessed upon them.

The inhabitants of Wamesit together with the people adjacent to them on the east side of the Concord river petitioned the General Court to be “erected into

* Allen, PP. 171; 45.

a separate and distinct Town,"* and Chelmsford sent in a petition by the selectmen† asking to have Wamesit annexed to Chelmsford.

The General Court took the petitions into consideration and, June 10, 1726, "Ordered that the Prayer of the Petition be so far granted. That the Tract of Land called Wameset & y^e Inhabitants thereon be and hereby are annexed to and accopted as Part of the Town of Chelmsford." ‡

Failing in their efforts to become a separate town, they petitioned the General Court two years later to be formed into a separate precinct. The following is the report of the legislative committee and the action thereon, April 9, 1729: "Spencer Phips Esq^r from the Committee on the Petition of the Inhabitants of Wamasset gave in the following Report, viz. The Committee appointed on the Memorial of Samuel Hunt and others Inhabitants & Proprietors of Lands called Wamasset Purchase or Winthrops Farm. by an Order of this Court of June the seventh last past, have in Obedience to the said Order repaired to the said Lands petitioned for to be erected into a Precinct & have carefully viewed the said Land & considered the Situation & Circumstances of the Petitioners^{rs} as well as the Town of Billerica in this affair, & are humbly of Opinion, That the Lands hereafter described together with the Lands commonly called Wamasset or Indian Purchase & their respective Inhabitants be erected into a distinct & separate Precinct: The Line to begin at Concord River between the Lands of John Rogers Jun^r & Enoch Kidder & so on that line to

* Mass. Court Records Vol. 13, P. 55.

† Allen, P. 171.

‡ Mass. Court Records, Vol. 13, P. 154.

the Way leading to Winthrops Farm so called thence on a strait line to the South East End of Prospect ^{Hill} six Score Rods North of the House of James Kittredge, Continuing the same Line to Andover Line; From thence on Andover Line to Merrimack River thence on said River to the Bounds till it comes to Chelmsford old Line (which was the Bounds between the said Town & Wamasset or Indian Purchase) Keeping said Line to Concord River to a Stake called Patucket or Wamasset Stake; Thence crossing Concord River to the Bounds first mentioned: W^{ch} includes Wamasset or the whole Indian Purchase:— And is submitted In the name & by order of the Comm^{tee}

Spencer Phips

Ju

In the House Represent^{ves} Read & Ordered that the Lands Set forth & delineated in the within Report be & hereby are made & constituted a distinct & Separate Precinct (The former Order of this Court referring to Wamasset Purchase Land notwithstanding:) And the Inhabitants of said Lands are hereby vested with the Powers Privileges & Immunities that the Inhabitants of other Precincts within this Province by Law are or ought to be vested. Provided that the Inhabitants of said Precinct do within the space of three years from this time order & finish a good and Suitable House for the publick Worship of God & place it where the Committee that have already viewed the said Lands shall appoint & also procure & settle a learned orthodox Minister of good Conversation & make Provision for his comfortable & honourable Support

In Council: Read & Concurd." *

It seems that the opposition of Chelmsford prevented this act from being carried into effect, for in 1730 the town paid to "To Maj^r Jonas Clark to answer his bill of Expense and time expended about getting the neck Land of from being a precinct 03-04-06."

The people at the Neck continued their relations to the Chelmsford Church up to the time embraced in the memory of some persons now living. Mr. Sidney Davis tells of the long ride there to meeting on Sunday mornings and the sermons of the minister, Rev. Wilkes Allen. He remembers also that pastors' parochial calls at the Davis home (at Davis corner) observing that when the decanters of liquor were set on (as the social custom of the time demanded) the minister partook sparingly. The "noon house," where the family of Silas Pierce spent the intermission between the morning and afternoon service, stood at the corner of Lowell and Billerica streets.

*III. Deacon Seth Pooler. By James S. Russell.
Read Feb. 16, 1897.*

When I heard of Dea. Seth Pooler's death I thought some notice of him would be proper by the Old Residents' Association. I knew nothing of his early life; and I directed a letter to his residence in Rutland, Vt., asking for some points in his early history. But having received no response I concluded that Dea. Pooler left no representative alive. Fortunately, there has come into my possession an autographic letter written by Dea. Pooler, dated April 10, 1893. I think I can do no better than to let him speak for himself:

“RUTLAND, VT., April 10, '93.

I was born in Rutland, Vt., Feb. 19th, 1804. I attended the public schools and the academy till fitted for teaching. Then taught a district school in Rutland ten

winters, working on the farm summers, adding as best I could a little to my short stock of knowledge.

In October, 1836, business called me to Boston. Stopping over the Sabbath in Lowell I was introduced to Rev. Lemuel Porter as a Vermont schoolmaster. His reply was: 'You are the very man we were looking for, as assistant teacher in one of our grammar schools.' I went to Boston on Monday morning, accomplished my business, returning at night to Lowell, and Tuesday morning went into the Chapel Hill grammar school as assistant teacher for Joshua Merrill, remaining through the term. I was then transferred to the new grammar school on the North Common as Otis G. Merrill's assistant teacher, remaining there one year, then appointed teacher of English branches in the Lowell High School, with Moody Currier principal, and James S. Russell teacher of mathematics.

I remained in the high school three years. In the meantime the Moody school house had been built at the corner of East Merrimack and High Streets, and I had the appointment of principal, with Mr. Thompson, Miss Bartlett, and Miss Eastman assistants. Mr. Thompson being a good musician, I proposed to him to sing with the scholars occasionally, accompanying with his violin. This exercise was very pleasing, not only to the scholars but the school committee, and at the commencement of the next term, singing was introduced into all the public schools in Lowell. I remained as principal of the Moody school nineteen years, and then resigned.

After serving one year in the Massachusetts legislature, I removed to Fall River, went into the insurance business, associated with Mr. L. Barnard, remaining till his death, serving on the school committee several years.

In 1882 I returned to Rutland, Vt., to spend the evening of my days in the shadow of my native hills that I always loved. You can make such use of this sketch as you think proper. Please return photo.

Yours respectfully,

SETH POOLER.

18 Washington Street, Rutland, Vt."

I think Dea. Pooler is in error in some of his figures. From October, 1836, one term with Mr. Merrill would bring him to January, 1837; one year with Mr. Merrill would reach to January, 1838; and three years in the high school would reach to January, 1841.

Bearing on this latter date I quote from a letter dated Feb. 6, 1840, written by one of his assistants: "I have been in school four weeks." This shows that the Moody school was opened in January, 1840, which would give Mr. Pooler only two years in the high school. "I like Mr. Pooler, the principal, very much. He is a man about forty, has a family in the city, and is a deacon in one of the Baptist churches here."

His nineteen years in the Moody school would bring him to January, 1860.

Bearing on this date, I quote from the school committee's report for 1856: "The Moody school has changed its teachers throughout. Mr. Pooler has retired from the profession, gracefully wearing the honors of a veteran and successful teacher."

At the writing of this letter Mr. Pooler was nearly ninety years old. He probably wrote from memory, and at that age it is excusable if memory does not strictly accord with facts.

When the Lowell High School was located in the Barilett school house, in 1838, Mr. Pooler was elected assistant teacher to teach English grammar and other grammar school studies. He continued with the school through the church attic on Suffolk Street, and the Free Chapel on Middlesex Street, to the new building on Kirk and Ann Streets.

There the schools were reorganized into male and female departments. Besides the two principals there was to be a teacher of languages and a teacher of mathematics.

Mr. Pooler was retained as the teacher of languages till the Moody school should be opened, for which the building was in process of construction. His reputation was such as to designate him to be the principal of the new school. He had taught district schools in Vermont and was well grounded in the common grammar school studies. Beyond that his education was limited.

While holding the title of teacher of languages, he was accosted by Mr. J. G. Carney, who was much interested in the new cemetery, asking him to get up a Greek name for the cemetery. He knew as much of Greek, perhaps, as did Peter Dowse of Latin literature, who, on his way to be examined, passing a brook, saw a mud eel by moonlight: and astonished the learned board by his extemporary Latin: "Elo mudo moonum shinum."

In due time Mr. Pooler became the principal of the new Moody school, which position he held for many years. In the earlier part of that time he was a very popular and successful teacher, working harmoniously with his scholars and assistant teachers.

He was not, however, a progressive teacher, seeking earnestly for improved ways and means. He did

little to improve his own education and a professional ability. Of course, if progress is not forward, it will be retrograde. A teacher's position is no place to slacken effort. He was led into politics and carried away by the Know Nothing craze; not because he was dissatisfied with the Whig party, of which he had been a loyal member, but his minister, Rev. Dr. Eddy, was a leader in that direction. The Baptist brethren have the virtue of following their minister's lead. This is well when they lead aright; but when they lead into politics, or into the delusion of sudden wealth by patent motors, their repentant followers fare no better than others.

Dr. Eddy went to the legislature and became the speaker of the house. His deacon followed him, and served the state one term, which was as much as most of his fellow legislators served.

This diversion furnished Master Pooler a graceful retirement from the teacher's profession.

He then entered into life insurance agencies, in which he made a living business till, from advancing age, and family heredity, his trembling hands refused to do the necessary writing.

The last ten years of his life he lived with his elder brother, Amasa, in Rutland, Vt., where he was born in February, 1804. The two aged brothers leisurely cultivated an acre of garden.

The family consisted of himself and wife, a brother and two sisters, all very aged. In a letter written in June, 1883, he states that the average of their ages was over eighty years.

He died July 20, 1896, aged ninety-two years and five months. His wife was two or three years older than himself, and preceded him to the grave, as did the

others, unless his youngest sister may yet be living. She was at one time a teacher in one of Lowell's public schools.

Mr. Pooler was the first to die of the three teachers in the Lowell High School, when it was located in the Free Chapel, and at the time of his death the average age of those three men was ninety-one years.

In view of such an instance of longevity, who shall say that teachers are short lived: or that teaching is an unhealthy business? It is the worry and friction that shortens the lives of those teachers that are not naturally fitted for the employment.

Mr. Pooler was of a social nature, happily married, but having no children of his own he generally had in his family the child of some relative. He was not ambitious of fashionable society, but he enjoyed quiet social intercourse among his friends, of whom he had many, especially among his Baptist brethren. He made friends easily, and his mild, inoffensive manners retained them. He spent a week of one vacation in a family on the acquaintance of once having occupied adjacent pews in a church. His social propensities had more influence with him than professional reading and studies. He was one of the best of neighbors. One must be very unneighborly indeed not to live peaceably beside him.

Mr. Pooler had little enterprise or desire to make haste in the pursuit of riches. He avoided speculative investments of his savings, but he deposited them in savings banks, which yielded small but sure returns. He did once, however, through much persuasion, purchase a house. His fears of loss cost him many tears, but it proved an economical arrangement for a time, and a ready sale at last relieved him of his fears.

Deacon Pooler was a Christian gentleman. He early joined the Baptist church, and ever adorned his profession. He held the office of deacon for many years, and bore the title through his life. His enemies were few, and they only temporarily such, while smarting under his faithful correction. His many pupils cherish his memory, and have only good to say of him.

Few persons that have taught in the Lowell schools have left a more enduring and favorable remembrance.

IV. Hapgood Wright, His Life and Business Career, by Benjamin Walker.

The following sketch was prepared by the late Mr. Benjamin Walker, with the assistance of Mr. Wright, and was to have been presented by him to this Association, but before the time arrived Mr. Walker also had passed away, and in place of his delivering a sketch of Mr. Wright, a memorial in his honor was called for and given.

Mr. Hapgood Wright was born in Concord, Mass., March 28, 1811. The first of his ancestors of whom he had any knowledge was Edward Wright, who resided in the Lordship of Castle Bromwich, Warwick Co., England, and who died previously to 1672.

A grandson of his, also named Edward, with his wife Elizabeth, came to this country about 1650 and settled in Concord, Mass. Seven generations of his descendants have lived and died there, and several of the eighth generation are now residents of the town. Memorial stones have been erected to those who are buried there, and a sum of money sufficient for their perpetual care has been provided.

Aaron Wright, the grandfather of Hapgood, was born in Concord, in 1755. He married Hepsibah Merriam, also of Concord, and they had five children. Aaron was a soldier of the Revolutionary war. He was in the fight at Concord Bridge under Capt. David Brown, and followed the British to Charlestown. He

was in several other engagements during the war, among them Ticonderoga. He died in 1840 at the age of 95.

Nathan Merriam Wright was the oldest child of Aaron and Hepsibah (Merriam) Wright, and was born in Concord, Nov. 19, 1782. He married Sally Tuttle of Acton, for his first wife, and they had eight children, of whom Hapgood was the second. N. M. Wright followed the occupation of his ancestors, and carried on a large farm on land including that where the State Reformatory now stands. He died June 3d, 1856, and is buried in Concord.

Hapgood Wright's early life was passed on his father's farm. Here he worked until he was sixteen years old, attending the district school three months in the winter. He was also a pupil at the academy of the town for one year.

It may be said in passing that Mr. Wright has always enjoyed the reputation of being a genial and pleasant man, and the characteristics of his boyhood later developed into that kind of energy and persistence which is essential to a successful business career.

He was early trained to a constant attendance on religious worship, and went with his father and mother two miles to attend service at the Unitarian church in the town. He well remembered the square pews, with the seats turned up in prayer time, and the excessive cold in winter, when an attempt was made to heat the building with a common stove. The Rev. Ezra Ripley, D. D., who lived at the Old Manse, since made famous by Hawthorne, was pastor of the church, and was regarded as a very eloquent preacher.

In his spare moments, Hapgood acquired some knowledge of shoemaking by working in a shop owned

and rented by his father. He became so proficient that he was afterwards engaged by another shoemaker in the centre of the town, where he worked for some time. At the age of sixteen he succeeded his first employer and commenced business on his own account, returning to his father's shop for that purpose.

In 1828 Hapgood was sent to Lowell by his father, on business, and was so much pleased with the place that he at once decided, if possible, to make it his future home.

He succeeded in finding employment in a shoe store, located near the Central Street station of the Boston and Maine R. R. After two years' service, the proprietor having failed, Mr. Wright assumed the business. This was in the spring of 1830. Lowell at that time contained between five and six thousand inhabitants.

During the next ten years Mr. Wright laid the foundation for his future business career. In the mean time (Jan. 1, 1835) he married Emeline Gates, and the union proved to be eminently happy. They were both ambitious and prudent, and determined to succeed.

Mr. and Mrs. Wright celebrated each anniversary of their marriage by a family gathering, two of which were somewhat notable. One in Jan. 16, 1849, when his father, step-mother, and his seven brothers and sisters, with thirty of their descendants were present, and the other Jan. 2, 1860, when they celebrated their twenty-fifth anniversary, by departing from their usual custom and giving a large party.

During a portion of these ten years, from 1830-40, he was in partnership with the late Elijah Mixer.

Previous to 1838 specie payments were suspended, all banking business was carried on by states, and ex-

change was subject to large discounts, causing many failures among merchants. In 1838 specie payments were resumed and business began steadily to improve. From 1840-50 money was in good demand and commanded a high rate of interest—from 6-24 per cent. annually.

Probably in consequence of overwork during these ten years Mr. Wright suffered not a little from ill health, rendering an annual vacation necessary.

Mr. Wright was always prominent in matters pertaining to the Unitarian church and Sunday school.

In 1844 he actively assisted in the formation of the society known as the Ministry-at-Large, of which he was Secretary for many years, collecting funds and otherwise devoting himself to the promotion of its interests. This organization at present owns a building unencumbered, and derives an income from a permanent fund, and also receives annual contributions from many friends.

Regular Sunday services are held in its chapel on Middlesex Street, and food, clothing, and money are distributed to the worthy poor. This society ranks among the oldest and most useful of the many charitable institutions in the city.

Mr. Wright always took a lively interest in the politics of the day. In his journal, from which most of these facts are taken, under date of July 4th, 1844, we find a memorandum that he attended a Whig celebration in his native town of Concord. The speakers were Daniel Webster, Robert C. Winthrop, Rufus Choate, Abbott Lawrence, of New England; Horace Greeley of New York, and Mr. Berrien of Georgia, presenting an array of oratorical ability seldom heard at any single

gathering. On this occasion nearly ten thousand people were present.

To show the high rate of interest paid in 1848, Mr. Wright speaks of loaning money at the rate of one and one-quarter per cent. monthly. In this connection he contrasts the difference between the shoe and the cotton business, stating that there were few importations to interfere with the one, while there was a large influx of the other from foreign countries, the quantity of cotton imported being about three times greater than that of previous years, under the tariff of 1842.

In September, 1853, he purchased his present residence, 70 Lawrence Street, which was built and formerly owned by Rev. Henry A. Miles, at that time pastor of the Unitarian church.

Mr. Wright speaks of money in 1854 as commanding a high rate of interest, bringing from nine to twelve per cent. per annum. Flour was worth from ten to eleven dollars a barrel, and other articles of food were correspondingly high, making hard times for the laboring man.

On Thanksgiving day of this year Mr. Wright visited his old home in Concord, when he met his father, step-mother, and all his brothers and sisters.

This was the last time they were all together.

In 1869, Mr. Wright was elected alderman (J. P. Folsom being mayor) and was placed on two committees, those of Accounts and Claims, being chairman of the latter. He was a capable and efficient officer, and carefully guarded, so far as was in his power, the interests of the city, notwithstanding the increased demands upon his time for his own private business.

In 1872, Mr. Wright admitted Langley H. Board-

man into partnership, intending thereby to devote his own time to the wholesale department of the business, while Mr. Boardman assumed the management of the retail trade. This partnership continued for five years, till 1877, when it was dissolved by mutual consent.

On the 7th of August, 1877, after a wedded life of over forty-two years, Mrs. Wright died at the age of 65. A lady of unusual purity and refinement of character, with strong domestic attachments, and the light and sunshine of Mr. Wright's private life, the loss to him was fraught with the keenest sorrow. With similar tastes and a single purpose, the snapping of the silver cord which bound these two lives together proved the saddest and most afflictive event of Mr. Wright's career, and called for all the fortitude he could summon to bear up under this dispensation of God's will.

With that mitigation of sorrow which time alone affords, Mr. Wright was again married, on the 15th of July, 1879, to Sarah L. Gates, a younger sister of his first wife, with whom he lived happily for ten years. Previous to her marriage, Miss Gates was for many years a teacher in the public schools of Lowell. She was a member of the First Baptist church, and also a teacher in the Sunday school. This estimable lady died September 5th, 1889, after a lingering illness.

After dissolving partnership with Mr. Boardman in 1877, Mr. Wright continued business until October 31st, 1886, when he retired, at the age of 75, having been in trade $56\frac{1}{2}$ years. Probably no trader in Lowell has ever exceeded Mr. Wright in the length of his local business career, and certainly no one has ever acquired and maintained a more enviable reputation than he for upright and honorable dealings.

The public and other offices held by Mr. Wright have been as follows, viz.: In the Lowell city government he was a member of the common council in 1845-46, and of the board of aldermen in 1856, 1869, 1870, and 1875. He was appointed justice of the peace in 1855, by Gov. Washburn, and his commission was renewed for several successive terms. In 1855 he was chosen a director in the Lowell Bank, and served for several years. Subsequently he became a director in the Prescott National Bank, and was elected its president in 1890, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Hon. Daniel S. Richardson, which position he held at the time of his decease. He was one of the trustees and a vice-president of the Five Cent Savings Bank for many years.

In 1861-62 Mr. Wright was a member of the state legislature. In 1881 Dartmouth College conferred upon him the honorary degree of A. M.

That Mr. Wright was possessed of a public spirit, and that he did not live for himself alone, is shown by his public and private charities, which were fully commensurate with his pecuniary ability. In works of charity, as in the business of his life, he believed in doing the greatest possible good with the least amount of money. He also believed in the words of Phillips Brooks that "No man has come to true greatness who has not felt in some degree that his life belongs to his race, and that what God gives him, he gives him for mankind." Acting upon this sentiment Mr. Wright was prompted to make the gift of \$1,000 to the city of Lowell in 1876. This money was to be put on interest for fifty years, when all but the original \$1,000 was to be expended by a two-thirds vote of the city govern-

ment "for the benefit and improvement of the city or citizens of Lowell." The \$1,000 was to be again put on interest for fifty years, when the interest should be used, and so on indefinitely.

After the reading of the resolution upon its acceptance, remarks were made in its favor by several members, among others, Councilman Charles Cowley, who paid a special tribute to Mr. Wright for the liberal spirit manifested in making this donation. He also gave a clear and comprehensive sketch of Mr. Wright's public and private life during his residence of more than half a century in Lowell, and urged other of our prominent citizens to emulate so praiseworthy an example to aid in providing for the future wants and necessities of our city, and the less favored of its citizens to whom the hand of charity can ever be benevolently and properly extended. The resolution was unanimously adopted in both boards.

On Saturday, the 12th of September, 1885, the town of Concord, Mass., celebrated the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its organization. There was a large gathering of people present, and Mr. Wright made this the occasion to present the town with one thousand dollars upon the same terms and conditions as accompanied his previous gift to the City of Lowell. The town voted to accept the gift upon these conditions.

The following letter shows another gift to the town of Concord:

LOWELL, July 20th, 1891.

To the Hon. E. R. Hoar, Pres. of the Trustees of the Free Public Library of the Town of Concord, Mass.:

DEAR SIR: I hereby give the sum of three hundred dollars, in perpetual trust, for the following purpose, to wit: The Board of

Trustees shall annually take and subscribe for the use of said Free Public Library, the Lowell Daily Courier, a newspaper now printed in Lowell, Mass., and have it properly bound each year, for the use of the Library, and pay for the same from the annual income of the gift. If all of the income should not be required in payment of said Courier and binding the same, the balance may be used for the general benefit of the Library. If the Lowell Daily Courier should cease to be published, the directors of the Library shall take such other paper, published in Lowell, as they may choose.

If by a vote of two-thirds of all the directors of the said Library they should be of the opinion that some other use of the income of the above gift would be of more advantage to said Library they may change it.

It shall be called the Hapgood Wright Trust Fund for the benefit of the Concord, Mass., Free Public Library.

Very truly yours,

HAPGOOD WRIGHT."

The gift was accepted on the above conditions. Mr. Wright has sent to the Concord Free Public Library numbers of the Lowell Daily Courier, properly bound, since 1843. These with the \$300 given July 20th, 1891, will make it a continuous gift from 1843 for all future time.

Mr. Wright died at his home on Lawrence Street, Thursday, May 14th, 1896, at the age of 85 years, after an illness of three months. He had outlived all of his brothers and sisters. He is survived by a daughter who is a niece of his wife, and who was adopted in infancy by Mr. and Mrs. Wright upon the death of her mother. She is now the wife of Mr. Henry J. Fay, and with her husband and young son has made her home with Mr. Wright for the last seven years of his life, and was a great solace and comfort to him in his declining years.

In his will Mr. Wright made other public gifts which will not be operative during the life of his daughter.

In closing I cannot but commend to the young men of our city the energy, perseverance, and industry displayed in Mr. Hapgood Wright's career as a business man, and the high sense of honor, duty, and religious principles which have guided and governed his course of action through a long and well spent life.

V: *Annual Report by Solon W. Stevens, Vice-President.*

LOWELL, May 25th, 1897.

Since the last annual meeting of the Old Residents' Historical Association, Mr. Benjamin Walker, who was at that time elected president of this organization has been removed from our fellowship by death. On this account it becomes my duty as Vice-President to submit the customary annual report.

Another year has passed during which our society in its quiet way has continued to perform its useful and unpretentious work. This beautiful Hall, consecrated primarily as a "Memorial" of patriotic associations and heroic motives, has by permission of the authorities, become the permanent headquarters of our organization. It is believed that there is a peculiar fitness in this coincidence, for it is the object of our desire to collect, preserve, and rescue from oblivion such data and material relative to our citizenship and municipal growth as shall reflect new lustre upon this attractive "Memorial" of loyalty and sacrifice, in the hope that this building may not only continue as a centre for the diffusion of knowledge, but become in time a shrine wherein patriots may reverently kneel, and good citizens gather fresh inspiration from the records of an enviable historic past.

At the date of our last annual meeting the total of our membership was 172; during the year 3 have

joined, while 13 have been removed by death, thus making the number of our present membership, 162.

The following contributions have been added during the past year:—

Buffalo Historical Association. Vol. 4.

Smithsonian Report for 1894.

Lowell City Documents for 1895.

State Library Bulletin, issued by the University of the State of New York. Nos. 7 and 8.

Manchester Historical Association. Vol. 1, part 1.

Rhode Island Historical Association. Vol. 4, part 2; vol. 4, part 4; vol. 5, part 1.

Dednam Historical Register. Vol. 8, parts 1 and 2.

Constitution and By-Laws of the Order of the Founders and Patriots of America.

Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Regents of the University of California, 1896.

Proceedings of the 44th Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Report of the President of Yale University for 1896.

Catalogue of Yale University for 1896.

Report of the Quarterly Meeting of the Chicago Historical Society, Jan. 19, 1897.

Programme of Lowell Philharmonic Concert, at the Masons' Hall on Merrimack street, March 10th, 1832.

The following interesting papers have been read before the Association by their respective authors during the year now brought to its close:—

A biographical sketch of Mr. Cleveland J. Cheney, by Col. James Francis.

A biographical sketch of Mr. Benjamin Walker, President of the Association, by Mr. Solon W. Stevens.

The Wamesit Purchase, by Mr. Henry S. Perham.

A sketch of the life of Dea. Seth Pooler, by Mr. James S. Russell.

The following members of our Association have died during the past year. Your attention is invited to a very brief fraternal notice of each of these :

Mr. Henry Upton died at his home, No. 54 Branch street, June 14th, 1896. His vocation was that of an upholsterer. He was 73 years of age at the time of his decease. He was a resident of Lowell for many years, having previously lived in Andover, Massachusetts. He was widely known and was highly respected as an upright, enterprising and honorable citizen.

Mr. John Richards, who died on September 13th, 1896, at the age of 88, was formerly a resident of Leeds, Maine. He came to this city in 1835, and entered the employ of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, where he remained for nearly fifty years. He held the position of overseer of the yard until a short time previous to his death, when the infirmities of age compelled him to retire from active duty. He was esteemed highly by all who knew him, and was regarded as faithful and conscientious in all his dealings.

Mr. Philetus Burnham died at the age of 62 years at his home on East Merrimack street, October 22nd, 1896. Mr. Burnham was born on Cutts Island in Saco, Maine, in the August of 1834, and came to Lowell with his father's family in the March of 1841. When 17 years old he engaged in services with the Massachusetts Mills, and remained with this corporation in various capacities until the time of his death. He was highly respected as a citizen and widely known for his zeal and

activity in religious labors. When a boy he attended the First Congregational church on Merrimack street. In 1845 the family were among those who withdrew from the mother church to form the Kirk-street Congregational church, and in this organization Mr. Burnham remained a faithful and conscientious worker until the day of his death, beloved by all who knew him for his consistent christian life.

Mr. William Seaver died November 3rd, 1896, at the age of 78 years, at his home on Howard street. He was one of the oldest engineers in the state of Massachusetts. In 1845 he became an employe of the Boston and Lowell Railroad Company, and soon became an engineer, which position he held until 1875. He afterwards had charge of the engines at the Hamilton Print Works until 1882. In early years he was employed in the service of the late Hon. James B. Francis in the surveys for the Massachusetts Mills and other manufacturing companies. It is said that after the first two years of his connection with the Railroad he kept an account of the number of miles he traveled and the names of the different engines, and in this account it is stated that in the last 28 years of his experience in this line of work he had traveled 691,185 miles on 52 different engines. Mr. Seaver was an estimable man, a good neighbor, and a highly respected citizen.

Mr. Benjamin Walker died on the 11th of November, 1896, at 74 years of age. A notice of this event was prepared and read before this Association at a previous meeting, which in due time will appear in the published reports.

Mr. Rufus Maxfield died at the age of 61 on the 21st of November, 1896. He was a native of Nashua,

New Hampshire. From early life he was connected with manufacturing interests. He was for many years a resident of Lowell, and greatly esteemed for his worth as an upright man and a good citizen.

Mr. Josiah Butler died January 21st, 1897. He was born in Pelham, New Hampshire, in March, 1836, and at the time of his decease was about 60 years of age. He came to this city in 1851, became a member of the Common Council in 1877, was known as Treasurer of the Shaw Stocking Company, and was identified with other important business interests. As a business man, and as a citizen, he won the sincere respect of his associates, as well as that of the community at large.

Mr. Joseph A. Patten died at the age of 78 on the 27th of January, 1897. He lived in Lowell since 1840, and for 27 years was an overseer in one of our manufacturing corporations. For the last few years of his life he lived in retirement, and his death was sincerely mourned as that of a genial, estimable man.

Mr. Joseph S. Upton died February 18th, 1897. He was one of our oldest residents, having come to Lowell in 1838. He was 80 years old at the time of his decease. For upwards 40 years he was an overseer on the Lawrence corporation, and in his long and useful life he was highly esteemed.

Mr. Edward Garner died at 70 years of age on the 17th of March, 1897. He was born in England, and lived in this city for many years. He was well known as the overseer of the Hamilton Yard, and also highly respected as an industrious, honorable man.

Mr. George W. Norris, who died on the 3rd of May, 1897, at the age of 77 years, was born in Deerfield, New Hampshire, and came to Lowell in 1834. He was a man

of sterling character, and his death was the occasion of sincere sorrow among the citizens of this community where he was widely known.

Mr. Atkinson C. Varnum was born in Draeut, January 27th, 1828, and died on the 4th of May, 1897, at 69 years of age. He was a lineal descendant of Samuel Varnum, who came from Drawcutt, England, in 1663, and settled first in Ipswich, Mass., and afterwards removed to that part of Chelmsford lately known as Middlesex Village. He was a lawyer by profession, and prominently known as the author of the history of Draeut, published in the history of Middlesex County by Lewis & Co., and also as the writer of personal sketches of many leading men in Draeut, and was regarded as an authority on matters appertaining to the early history of this town. He was a very intelligent man, quiet, affable, of good judgment, fond of historical pursuits, loved and respected by all who knew him, and in death will be greatly missed by a large circle of friends.

Mr. Allston Allen died at Framingham, May 10th, 1897, at the age of 86 years. While living in Lowell he was engaged in the business of placing investments, and was highly respected throughout the community.

It will be observed that the lowest age limit herein recorded is 60, while the highest is 88, and that the average age of the 13 who have passed away during the last year is a small fraction over 73 years.

Thus at unexpected moments our companions drop away. They are taken from our presence forever, but the memory of a useful life will long abide to comfort, to cheer, and to bless. It remains for us to work faithfully along the lines in which we are placed, trying to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us,

aiming for the approbation of Him "who doeth all things well," ambitious for the attainment of excellence in our distinctive callings, and hopeful that when the end shall come it may in truth be said of each and every one, he was a good citizen and an upright, capable man.

VI. *Lowell's Once - Popular Newspaper, Vox Populi—1841-1896. Its Rise, Progress and Decline, with Biographical Sketches of Those Who Were Prominently Connected with it During its More Than Fifty-four Years of Life. By Z. E. Stone.*

The suspension of *Vox Populi*, a newspaper which had in Lowell "a local habitation and a name" for a period of more than fifty-four years, was deemed by one long directly and indirectly connected with it, an event that warranted the preparation of the following sketch of its origin and history and the accompanying brief biographies of those who were, in the course of its existence, prominently connected with it.

The publication of *Vox Populi*, to which was for a time added the supplementary title "An Independent Paper Devoted to Local Interests," was begun May 25, 1841. Its originator was James M. Stone, at that time, previously and subsequently, a clerk in certain mercantile stores on Central street. It was not undertaken as a business enterprise from which a livelihood was to be gained, and its originator did not relinquish any portion of the time which belonged to his employers to expend upon it. The editorial labor was performed during his leisure hours, and the mechanical part was done by contract with practical printers, who had nothing whatever to do with its management, editorially or otherwise.

In 1868, in answer to inquiries as to its origin and

the purpose for which the Vox was started, Mr. Stone wrote as follows: "From the very beginning of Lowell as a separate municipality there had been a good deal of feeling—whether well-grounded or not—that the corporations, principally owned and controlled by non-residents, had managed the government of the town and city in the especial interest of the corporations and non-resident stockholders, to the undue neglect and detriment of the local welfare of the place and its inhabitants. And the idea upon which the Vox was started was to furnish an organ to give public utterance to this dissatisfaction, with a view of accomplishing a reform of the municipal government in particular and generally promoting the local, as distinguished from the corporate, or as it was thought, foreign interests of the city."

Mr. Stone had obtained the assurance of several of his democratic friends who entertained views in harmony with his own concerning "corporation influence" in the management of municipal affairs, that they would share with him the cost of publishing the Vox for a period of six months, in case enough was not realized from sales and other sources to meet the necessary expenses. A dozen or more names of persons have been mentioned in former histories of the enterprise as belonging to this syndicate, not one-half of whom had anything whatever to do with it. Those who were pledged to financially assist the scheme had no desire to be known as interested in it; and it would be quite impossible at this late day to obtain a correct list of their names, were one desirable. It is probable that no one was ever assessed to the extent of more than a few dollars, if indeed anything, to support Mr. Stone's scheme. There is not a word in the first number to indicate by whom it was conducted.

published or printed. "Edited by the People" was the only information imparted to the public.

The first number was certainly not very brilliant—not even interesting, looked upon fifty years and more later. It was neatly printed, upon new type, and contained no advertisements. Fully three-quarters of the original matter (there were several selections) was evidently written by the same pen—undoubtedly Mr. Stone's—and discussed in a dry, abstruse style "Man as he is," which was the title of the leading prose article; and something akin to the subject was the theme of the leading editorial, followed by a tirade against "the miserable hacks of partisan newspapers." No special charges or complaints were made against the corporations; nothing was said against the municipal management of the city, and no personalities were indulged in by the editor or his few correspondents. Altogether the first number was a rather tame, prosy affair. Granville Parker, Benjamin F. Butler and Henry F. Durant, all of the legal profession, are said to have been from time to time contributors to the columns of the *Vox*; but there were no outward or inward signs to show that either one of the three gentlemen had written for the initial number. Gen. Butler has been credited with being its editor, but he personally disclaimed ever having occupied that position. He said: "I wrote very considerably for it, on its first establishment, for some months, and the articles were printed editorially, but I had no interest in the paper and no control over it." The evidence that the other gentlemen were contributors is not conclusive. The late Judge Josiah G. Abbott has been credited with having had an interest in establishing it; and in referring to the matter he said—"Indeed if I

recollect rightly I had a good deal to do in the arrangement made for its starting;" but as he was editing the Advertiser up to within a few days of the appearance of the first issue of the Vox, it is quite probable that he was not so interested. His memory certainly failed him as to the originator of the paper; and it is no wonder. It could hardly be expected that the "hark-back" of a man whose mind had been engrossed for more than half a century in the discussion of great legal problems and democratic politics would retain the details of a business transaction of no great moment to the public. We believe, however, Judge Abbott was, ten or fifteen years later, employed as counsellor for the then editor and publisher of the paper, who was defendant in one or two libel suits which had been brought against him. (It may not be out of place here to add that Mr. Varney was convicted, in the court of common pleas, February term, 1852, of libelling Benjamin F. Butler, and ordered to pay \$75.07.) The public was supposed to know absolutely nothing concerning Vox Populi—its editor, correspondents or printer—not made plain in its columns from week to week. There was no printing-office, no counting-room, no agent, to which it could be traced; it was sold at the news and periodical stores and by boys on the streets. But within a year there was no attempt at concealment, and its location, etc., were as well-known as that of any newspaper in the city at the time.

The first printer of the Vox—that is, the first man to do the mechanical work—beyond question was Frederick Augustus Cheever (familiarly known among his intimate acquaintances as "Gus Cheever"), a native of Lowell or Dracut—a good workman and as clearly

and nice-looking young man as ever "worked at the case" (type-setting) in this city. He once informed the writer of this fact and his statement has since been confirmed by J. F. C. Hayes, who stated that he had the story which follows from Mr. Varney himself. We are of the opinion that Mr. Hayes was never acquainted with Mr. Cheever. We have a statement from him concerning this matter in his own handwriting. Cheever, it seems, had been applied to by some one to do the printing of a contemplated weekly paper of certain dimensions. It would be a fairly easy job for one compositor. The young man had no office of his own—no type. But he procured of James M. Shute, the agent of the Boston Type Foundry, sufficient body-type to print a folio sheet, 21 by 14 inches, three columns to the page. In a room on the third floor of a building on Central street (the site now covered by Appleton Block), was the printing-office of Brown & Colby—George N. Brown and George J. L. Colby, relatives by marriage. To this office Cheever took his new type, and there the first volume (of six months) of *Vox Populi* was printed, the above-named firm renting a press and such other material as he required to do the work. All the printing offices in the city at that time were small and inexpensive compared with any one of the leading newspaper establishments in Lowell at the present time.

Mr. Cheever's connection with the *Vox* closed suddenly. He was not a capitalist, he had bought his type on time, expecting to be able to pay for it before the expiration of six months, but was unable to do so. Mr. Shute came for his money; Mr. Cheever not having it, concluded not to see his creditor. He skipped; Mr. Shute at once and without formality proceeded to make

himself as nearly whole as possible. Meeting Samuel J. Varney on the street he closed a bargain with him for the type, and Mr. Cheever was out of a job. This transaction took place at about the expiration of the six months fixed for the publication of the *Vox*. The issue for November 20th was the twenty-sixth number and contained Mr. Stone's valedictory (not over his own name, however), and the announcement that the publication would be continued by other parties. It is evident also that Mr. Varney had bought, about this time, the printing-office of Messrs. Brown & Colby (or it had been moved out of town or elsewhere), vacated the basement in Wade's Block, and added his Methuen material to that which he had purchased; for the next issue of *Vox Populi* (one week's publication only having been skipped to permit of the combination and change), dated December 4, 1841, contained the name of S. J. Varney as publisher and editor, "over Bent & Bush's hat-store, corner of Central and Hurd streets." For the first time *Vox Populi* now had a sponsor and an acknowledged home.

The question may be asked—Who bargained with Mr. Cheever to print the *Vox*? We are sure no one can answer with proofs to sustain his statement. It is hardly probable that it was Mr. Stone; it may have been Mr. Varney or Brown & Colby. Mr. Stone says he thinks Mr. Varney printed it the first six months: "I don't know but he printed it in some other office than his own, or caused it to be printed by some one else, but I only knew him in the matter." It is certain that Mr. Varney had not, May 25, 1841, the material (which was new) with which it was printed; but he may have been at the bottom of the transaction which gave the job to

Mr. Cheever. If so, he was nominally the printer, but it does not appear anywhere, beyond a doubt, that he had anything to do with its mechanical, editorial or business management until it was turned over to him, without compensation, at the expiration of Mr. Stone's connection with it. Mr. Stone does not seem to have been clear in his mind in another matter. He says: "I think the paper was not sold, but delivered only to subscribers." It seems hardly probable that there was a list of subscribers for a paper concerning which there had been so much secrecy, and the idea does not agree with the recollection of others, who remember that it was hawked upon the streets and otherwise sold.

Mr. Cheever died in Boston April 16, 1876, at the age of 60 years. As if to confirm our ideas on the subject of the origin of the *Vox*, a Boston paper, in the announcement of his death, said: "He made his first venture as a newspaper man by starting the *Vox Populi*," which, as we have shown, was correct only in a small degree.

The following, which came to our notice after the preceding had been prepared, shows that Mr. Varney had nothing to do in the matter of establishing the *Vox*. In the issue for November 23, 1849, announcing the beginning of the tenth volume, Mr. Varney says:

"It is just eight years since the present editor and proprietor, with no capital other than a practical knowledge of the printing business, assumed the responsibility of conducting this paper—then only a little seven-by-nine sheet—as a means of a livelihood. It had been started by an association of gentlemen of this city (of which the present publisher was Not a member) for six months; and at the end of that time they found them-

selves somewhat involved in the expenses of publication—a perfectly natural consequence of ‘too many fingers in the pie.’ From that time to the present we have steadily pursued our labors,” etc. It will be observed that Mr. Varney does not admit that he had any part whatever in the publication of the Vox until Mr. Stone withdrew from it; and it is only through Mr. Stone’s indirect statement that Mr. Varney is represented to have been connected with it, the first six months of its existence, as printer.

The Vox had been issued once a week from May 25th to November 20th, inclusive, and nothing of serious import had occurred to interrupt “the noiseless tenor” of its existence, with the exception perhaps of the late Gen. Butler’s criticism of the address of Rev. Amos Blanchard at the consecration of the Lowell Cemetery. The annual municipal elections were then held on the first Monday of March; consequently the Vox first appeared about three months after the election in 1841 and the last number, under the management of its originator, about three months before the election in 1842. It is difficult, therefore, to estimate the amount of influence that “the voice of the people” had exerted in the politics of the city during the first six months of its existence. It is said that the campaign of 1842 was a lively one, that the Vox (then managed by Mr. Varney) had a warm hand in the contest and that the citizens’ ticket was successful. It is a fact that none of the gentlemen elected for board of aldermen were known as “corporation men,” nor was the mayor (Nathaniel Wright) identified with the corporations (cotton manufactories), whose influence, it had been

said, was against "the local welfare of the place and its inhabitants," to counteract which the *Vox* was started. The board elected was as follows: Jefferson Bancroft, Rev. Nathaniel Thurston, Cyril French, William Livingston, Ithamar A. Beard, John W. Graves.

With the first issue of the *Vox* by Mr. Varney was begun its second volume, although it was only six months old. It was enlarged by the addition of a column to each page and the columns were proportionately increased in length. General advertisements also appeared in it, which was a new departure. The new type had evidently been set aside, for the paper had not the neat, clean typographical appearance which characterized the first six months. The type used in its general make-up was evidently a part of that which had been brought from Methuen. October 15, 1842, it was again slightly enlarged.

January 20, 1843. Mr. Varney sold his printing material to Rodney Emerson and John G. Pillsbury, two practical printers, with whom he bargained to print his newspaper for a certain period. The firm of Emerson & Pillsbury was short-lived, the former retiring and the latter continued the business alone. In November of the same year the office was removed to the building which had just been erected by our well-known fellow-citizen, James K. Fellows, on Central street, recently occupied by Campbell & Hanscom, of the late *Morning Times*. From that location the *Vox* was issued regularly till April 19, 1844, when Mr. Varney bought a small amount of second-hand printing-material, put it in the room which had formerly been occupied by the *Advertiser*, directly opposite, corner of Central and Middle streets.

The room was on the third floor and not large, but was well adapted for a printing-office. It was made to serve as editorial room, counting-room, composing-room, press-room, job printing room—all in one—with space to spare. This was for long years the home of Vox Populi. Here the enterprise grew, and waxed lusty and strong. At length it occupied, with the exception of a small room over the street entrance (which was rented to different parties in the course of years) the whole building above the first floor (attic included), in the meanwhile undergoing enlargements, a change of proprietors, editors, etc., which we shall note as our story progresses.

In June, 1845, Fisher A. Hildreth began the publication of the Lowell Republican, a weekly democratic paper, Mr. Varney doing the printing for him, but as far as the public knew he had no other interest in it. At that time the Advertiser was owned and edited by H. E. and S. C. Baldwin, brothers, who had come to the city from Newport, N. H. It was the opinion of certain outside parties that the Republican was started with the purpose of bringing about a sale of the Advertiser rather than in response to any "long-felt want" for another democratic paper in the city. But be the fact as intimated or otherwise, in the course of a few months Messrs. Hildreth & Varney bought the Advertiser establishment and at once began the management of their purchase, the former as editor and the latter as business manager. In the re-arrangement of the business the new paper appeared compounded with the weekly edition of the tri-weekly Advertiser as "the Patriot and Republican." At the same time Mr. Varney's name was withdrawn from the Vox, which was left in charge of J. F. C.

Hayes, a practical printer and forcible writer, whom he had known from his youth upwards. After less than one year, if we remember correctly, the firm of Hildreth & Varney was quietly dissolved. The latter withdrew and returned to the *Vox*, and Mr. Hildreth continued the management of the *Advertiser* and its double-named weekly edition.

Mr. Varney thereafter conducted the *Vox* until early in 1850, when he disposed of it nominally, if not by a real sale, to John T. Chesley, having bought the *Lowell Daily Courier* establishment. In November and December, previously, it was several times announced in the *Vox* that the proprietor proposed to publish a daily; and January 14, 1850, he began the publication of a small sheet called *Daily Vox Populi*, a penny paper, which was published less than one month, its publication having been suspended on Mr. Varney's purchase of the *Courier*, February 2, 1850, of James Atkinson. It is undoubtedly a fact that the penny daily was begun with the hope of influencing and bringing about a sale of the *Courier*. There is probably not an issue of the *Daily Vox Populi*, of that time, in existence; no file of it was preserved.

This last change was a good one for Mr. Varney; the *Courier*, with its extensive job-printing business, was a profitable property, and it gave prominence and a handsome income to its owner. In 1856 it was sold to the late Tappan Wentworth, but S. N. Merrill's name appeared as the publisher. The last-named gentleman had been a student in the purchaser's office, if not his partner in the law business.

During Mr. Chesley's administration of affairs the *Vox* had a good patronage and grew in favor with the

public. At the time of the great fair of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association, in the autumn of 1851, he published a daily edition of his paper, with L. R. Streeter as editor; but it was hardly a financial success. Several years later he bought the subscription list and good-will of the Daily News (which some years previously had been commenced by Enoch Emery, A. K. Keach and others), and for a few weeks published it, independent of the Vox; but finally it was sold to Brown and Morey—Leonard Brown and George F. Morey—who united it with the Citizen, and the two papers, one in name as the Citizen and News, was continued for many years.

All the schemes of Mr. Chesley were not financially successful; and, in 1856, again, and for the last time, Mr. Varney came into possession of the Vox, but because of his recent disposal of the Courier to Mr. Wentworth, his name was not made public in connection with it; instead was that of S. W. Huse & Co. Mr. Huse had been a clerk for Mr. Varney in the Courier office. No sale was then made to him and he put no money into the enterprise at that time.

Mr. Varney's death in November, 1859, made another change necessary; and January 1, 1860, the property was sold by his administrators—Isaac Place and Asa C. Clark—to Z. E. Stone and S. W. Huse, the firm name becoming Stone and Huse. The new firm soon had a fair business, but for a time it was somewhat crippled in consequence of the southern rebellion, as was every business enterprise in the North; but instead of curtailing expenses the firm increased their plant. Mr. Wentworth, evidently tired of publishing the Courier at loss, urged it upon the new firm, which bought at almost their own price and terms. In 1860,

in April, Messrs. Stone & Huse took possession of the Courier and Journal (daily and weekly), printing material and good-will; sold some of the type and presses and removed the rest into the enlarged quarters of the Vox and managed the combined plants for seven years. For a time the Courier was published on terms which did not cover the cost of the white paper upon which it was printed; and then the subscription price was increased one dollar, or to its present terms. This was during the first or second year of the war. In 1867 the Courier and Journal were sold to George A. Marden and Edward T. Rowell and Stone & Huse did their printing for one year, when those gentlemen bought the old Advertiser material (that paper having deceased during the war), withdrew and engaged in the printing business themselves.

In 1869, at the suggestion of the writer, the firm began the publication of the Saturday Vox Populi. It was not intended to supersede the original Vox, which was issued on Wednesday (to accommodate those at a distance from Lowell, who received it by mail), although that was virtually the effect; for the city readers generally wanted the Saturday edition. The idea which prompted the enterprise was that a well-printed newspaper, for home and family, with local news faithfully and fully reported, up to the morning of publication, would be appreciated by the people of Lowell, and the result confirmed this belief; the enterprise succeeded beyond the expectations of its originators.

The late N. J. N. Bacheller, who had long been the foreman of the office, was admitted a partner in the firm in 1870, and the firm-name became Stone, Huse & Co. In 1874 the establishment was removed from the corner

of Central and Middle streets, where it had been located for about thirty years, to a building then just erected by Mr. E. A. Smith on Central street, nearly opposite Jackson—present number 218. The next change occurred four years later, October, 1878, when the firm was dissolved and Messrs. Stone and Bacheller retired. They were succeeded by the late Hon. John A. Goodwin and the firm name became Huse, Goodwin & Co., but we do not understand that there was a silent partner. During Mr. Goodwin's connection, as editor, both the editions of the *Vox* were somewhat enlarged, which in the end was probably not a profitable arrangement. Mr. Goodwin's death occurred in September, 1884. Mr. John S. Colby succeeded him as editor. Eventually the interest of Mr. Goodwin was purchased by his associate, when the name and style of the firm became S. W. Huse & Co., and the public was led to infer that Harry V. Huse was his father's co-partner. The latter had general charge of the business.

As we have already stated, on the demise of Mr. Goodwin, the editorial chair was assigned to John S. Colby, who had been employed as an assistant in the editorial office for about twenty years. He held the position till 1891, when he withdrew to engage in the study of a profession. He in turn was succeeded by Harry V. Huse, who had become familiar with the duties and responsibilities of the position during the years it was held by the last two gentlemen named.

The next change of moment in the history of the concern was the discontinuance of the original (Wednesday edition) of *Vox Populi*, which occurred August 31, 1892. Both issues of the *Vox* had lost in circulation and in advertising patronage, in consequence, partially

at least, of the competition of the many daily papers and the weekly issues being published at less rates.

Mr. Huse died in November, 1894. The business was continued under the old firm name by his son, H. V. Huse, until March 30, 1895, when the announcement was made, in an editorial paragraph, that with that number the Saturday Vox Populi would cease to exist, but would be succeeded by a penny-daily bearing the name of the Lowell Daily Vox Populi. The new claimant for public favor appeared on Saturday afternoon, April 6th—a folio sheet of medium size, with a large amount of reading-matter, but without any special features likely to give it an advantage over the other afternoon dailies. The result of the enterprise proved what many had declared was true: that there was no demand for it—that there was no room for another daily paper in this city of many dailies. On the 10th of July, 1895, without a previous word or intimation—without even a parting remark—its publication was suspended. And Vox Populi, as a newspaper in Lowell, after a life of more than fifty-four years, “gave up the ghost,” and it no longer exists, excepting in its somewhat imperfect files, which would now be well-bestowed if donated to the Old Residents' Historical Association or the City Library. By either body they would be put in proper condition and cared for, for the benefit of the public of today and of coming years.

It is a coincidence not unworthy of mention, perhaps, that during the six first months of the existence of Vox Populi the name of the editor, publisher, printer and place where published, were not announced and were supposed to be unknown to the public; and during the three months of its life as a daily (we infer after an

examination of the issue for June 6th), the same state of things was repeated: there was announced neither editor, publisher, printer nor manager, nor was the street or number from which it emanated mentioned. The motives for withholding this information from the public, whatever they may have been, at dates so remote from each other, were of course not the same; but it is a little singular, to say the least, that such unusual omissions should have occurred. It was, however, if we remember correctly, at one time editorially announced that a stock company, bearing the name of the Lowell Vox Populi Publishing Company, had been formed, to succeed the firm of S. W. Huse & Co., and it was generally understood, on the street, that H. V. Huse was the manager of the business and also the managing editor of the Daily Vox Populi.

The office and material of the establishment, intact, we should not neglect to mention, passed into the possession of Messrs. Thompson & Hill—Aaron S. Thompson and Charles H. Hill—practical book and job printers, each widely known in Lowell.

There are comparatively but few people living in Lowell today who were of adult age during the six or eight first years of the existence of Vox Populi, and fewer still who remember its general appearance and its tone and character as a newspaper. Farther than to say that it always claimed to stand for the best interests of Lowell (though the correctness of that claim was not always conceded by leading, influential citizens), we have here no comments to make concerning it. Eventually the errors and follies which marred and marked its early years were discarded, and it took rank with the

best journals of the state, led in circulation (perhaps also in influencing the public mind) the other local newspapers, and was a source of profit to its publishers.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

In this connection a brief sketch of the lives of the gentlemen who were most conspicuous in the management of *Vox Populi*, from its inception to its last issue, may not be without interest. It will also serve to preserve to some extent the memories of a number of men who had in their day and generation no small influence in moulding the public affairs of this city, during a period covering more than fifty consecutive years. The writer was personally acquainted, more or less intimately, with all the parties named in the following sketches.

James Monroe Stone, the originator of the *Vox*, was a native of Westford, Mass., and was born August 13, 1817. He came to Lowell a bright, intelligent, active young man. Falling in with kindred spirits, he soon became interested in the politics of the day and in our local municipal affairs. The origin and purpose of *Vox Populi* is clearly set forth in a quotation we have already made from a letter by his hand. He was in politics a democrat: and the policy of the democratic party of that time was against incorporated manufactories and some other corporations. For favoring the Boston and Concord Railroad, when it was contemplated, we have been told, Isaac Hill, one of the ablest of the many able men New Hampshire has produced, was ignored by the leaders of his party and "read out"

of it, which was "the beginning of the end" of the reign of the old style democratic party of his state. Mr. Stone was a leader among the young men of his party in Lowell, and his newspaper enterprise gave him special opportunities to oppose the corporation managers, who were almost without exception staunch whigs. He favored shorter hours in the mills, and was a sincere labor-reformer at a very early day—before there were labor-reformers "for revenue only." He was a voluminous writer, as the columns of his paper show. Under a standing heading ("Corporations and Operatives") articles appeared in successive numbers of the *Vox* for three months. He was generous and self-sacrificing, or he would never have taken the risks he did to proclaim his personal opinions on themes which were not at all popular in this community at that time. His later venture, the *Daily Morning Herald*, which he began in 1844, was undertaken as a means of gaining a livelihood, but he did not succeed with it, and in less than a year it was suspended. His office while publishing the *Herald* was on one-half of the third floor of the building on Central, nearly opposite Market street, about all of which is now occupied by Robertson Bros., furniture dealers. Soon after discontinuing his newspaper he removed to Worcester and engaged in the publication of a weekly paper called *The State Sentinel*. Probably while so engaged he was appointed inspector (June 2, 1845) at the Boston Custom House, a position from which he was removed in December, 1849. He was publishing the *Sentinel* in 1846, after which we have no trace of him as interested in the newspaper business. While at the custom-house he probably disposed of his business in Worcester and located in Charlestown. We think he

broke with the democratic party on the slavery question and joined "the free-soilers," the most of whom came out from the whig party, to openly fight against the extension of slavery into the territories and the admission of any more slave states into the Union. He became a leader in the new party which was soon strong in Massachusetts. He was six times elected to the house of representatives from Charlestown and twice was chosen speaker of that body. For a number of years he was a power in the politics of Massachusetts, and was on the right side on all the great moral questions of the times. Mr. Stone died December 19, 1880.

Samuel Jameson Varney was a native of Rochester, N. H., and was born March 11, 1814. He was educated in the public schools of his native town, and while yet a youth he was sent to the adjoining town of Dover, apprenticed to the printing business in the Gazette office. One of his fellow-apprentices was J. F. C. Hayes (of whom we have already spoken), and they became fast friends and were much together in later years. After Mr. Varney located in Methuen he was married to a lady of his native town, as the following shows: "Married in Rochester, N. H., April —, 1837, Mr. S. Jameson Varney, publisher of the Methuen Falls Gazette, to Miss Mary Jane Place, of Rochester." This lady was a sister of Isaac Place, for many years a well-known and much-esteemed citizen of Lowell.

January 2, 1835, Mr. Varney, then recently from Dover, bought the newspaper called *The Iris*, published at Methuen, and the printing office from which it was issued. The concern had been moved from Haverhill a year or two earlier. He abandoned the name of his

purchase and in its place began the publication of the Methuen Falls Gazette, which he continued to publish until September 3, 1838, when it passed into the hands of True Worthy Hoitt. The issues to January 18, 1839, contained his (Hoitt's) name as publisher; but in the number for April 12th, following, Mr. Varney's name re-appeared in its place and Hoitt's no more. There is probably no complete file of the Gazette in existence. Between the dates last named (January 18th and April 12th) the numbers are missing, and between those dates there was a fire in the Gazette office, concerning which we have not been able to obtain any details. Apparently it was not of much extent; for the issue for April 12th was not very unlike, in general appearances, that for January 18th, previously. It is unquestionably a fact that the fire occurred while Hoitt was running the concern, and that after the accident Mr. Varney, who had been spending a few weeks in Ohio, returned and took the property into his own hands again, and, April 5th, resumed the publication of the Gazette. It is probable that that issue contained an account of the fire, but it is very doubtful if a number of it exists. In the one for April 12th occurs the following paragraph, undoubtedly from Mr. Varney's pen: "Our old editorial-chair was pretty well used up at the time of the fire in and about our office. So we shall be obliged to perform our editorial duties in a standing position till some good friend brings us another chair." It is probable that the fire occurred the last of March or very first of April, 1839.

Mr. Varney continued the publication of the Gazette till February 28, 1840, when he announced its suspension, lack of patronage being given as the reason. It was also announced that the Lowell Patriot or Lowell

Advertiser would be served to subscribers in its stead. In the month of March following Mr. Varney came to Lowell to reside. He undoubtedly obtained work in the Advertiser office: Mr. J. J. Judkins, who was at work there at that time, remembers the fact that Mr. Varney was among the employees in the office. Later he kept on sale for a time newspapers, periodicals and stationery in one-half of a small store in Wyman's Exchange, on Central street, and did a little business in the line of card and small job printing, getting the work done at a near-by office, on which he realized a slight commission. At a still later date his printing material in Methuen was brought to Lowell and set up in the basement of Wade's block (so called at the time), corner of Central and Hurd streets, underneath the apothecary shop of the late Jacob Robbins. The building is now owned by Patrick Dempsey. The press was repaired by Mr. Varney's brother-in-law, David Place, a machinist, who is still living and whose recollection of the event is quite distinct. The material was very small in quantity, old well-worn. The City Directory for 1840 does not contain Mr. Varney's name: but in that for 1841 is the following: "Varney, Samuel J., printer; house, High street square." At the time the Directory was published it is probable that he had not begun business in his little office, already described, in connection with his becoming the owner and editor of *Vox Populi*.

Concerning Mr. Varney's management of the *Vox* we would "nothing extenuate or set down aught in malice:" but truth requires that we should say that for eight or ten years it was bad, indefensible: it misrepresented the man himself and was a reflection on the fair fame of our city. He indulged in personalities in

an exceedingly offensive way, and the worst scandals of the city were reported with a most objectionable fidelity. The bad features of the Vox for a time greatly overshadowed those that were commendable. Mr. Varney personally was a good citizen—honest in his dealings and entirely trustworthy. He was active, enterprising and industrious always. He hated shams of all grades and greatly delighted in showing them up. For many years, after the distinguishing and unjournalistic features of the Vox had been abandoned, he rose in the estimation of his fellow-citizens and was active and influential in local politics and in the general affairs of the city. As the publisher of the Courier he commanded a larger amount of business than had any of his predecessors, and in his hands the concern was a financial success. Mr. Varney was a social, kind-hearted man: as a writer he was direct and incisive, rarely, however, giving his attention to anything other than topics of the day of a local character. His interest in the business of the city prompted certain of his friends to compliment him by naming one of the western thoroughfares "Varney street." Mr. Varney was twice elected a member of the common council and twice to the board of aldermen; he was serving his second term as alderman when his death occurred, November 11, 1859. He was twice married, the second time to Miss Ruth Stuart, who was for many years a popular teacher in our public schools.

Asa W. Farr was never more than a substitute in the editorial chair—twice or more so serving for two or three weeks at a time, when the editor proper was out of the city. We think he was a native of Vermont and had learned the printing business before coming to

Lowell. Somewhat late in life he resolved to study law and entered the office of Benj. F. Butler for that purpose; in after years he may have been, for a brief time, in partnership with that gentleman. For about ten years, from 1845, he practiced law without a partner. He went from Lowell to Wisconsin about the year 1856. He was once or more a member of the legislature of that state. During the late rebellion he entered the army, and report has it that he was murdered by a band of Missouri guerillas.

Benjamin F. Johnson more than once had control of the *Vox*, but he was never announced as the editor. He was for a long time a somewhat frequent and always acceptable contributor to its columns. On coming to Lowell from Nashua he went into the employ of the Boston and Lowell Railroad company. He wrote considerably for the *Lowell Advertiser*—for a time he had editorial charge of it; and for a long series of years he was a paid contributor to the columns of the *Country Gentleman*, a most excellent weekly publication. Previous to 1854, he went to Chicago, Ill., and entered the land-department of the Illinois Central Railroad company, holding a responsible position. He bought considerable real estate at an early period in the central part of the state, which greatly increased in value on his hands. Mr. Johnson became well known as a scholarly, studious gentleman. He was selected for private secretary by Gov. William H. Bissell of Illinois, and occupied that position from 1857 to '61, inclusive. Mr. Johnson was a native of Charlestown, Mass., and was born Nov. 22, 1817. He died in Champaign, Ill., Feb. 21, 1894, where still resides his sister, Miss Hannah A. Johnson.

Jonathan Franklin Chesley Hayes, who, as shown in the preceding history, for a time was the sole manager of Vox Populi establishment, was born in Dover, N. H., August 7, 1812. His school-days were few and the opportunities for acquiring an education were of the most meagre character. When about ten years of age he went into the Dover Gazette office as errand boy and carrier. During his apprenticeship he remembers that in the same office were employed Benjamin P. Shillaber, Samuel J. Varney and George E. Locke, among others. Shillaber became famous as the author of Mrs. Partington's sayings, and Locke as a comedian was widely known as "Yankee Locke." Mr. Hayes's first venture in business was as a member of the firm of Locke & Hayes (not George E. Locke) as the publishers of a weekly newspaper in Dover, named The Globe, which had a short life. One of his early ventures was on behalf of other parties. He purchased the materials and did the mechanical work for the White Mountain Aegis, a weekly newspaper, at Lancaster, N. H., which was eventually moved to Haverhill, N. H., and united with the paper there and published as the Whig and Aegis. But the concern never paid its backers, and finally came into Mr. Hayes's hands, who eventually sold it and went to Toledo, O., to take an interest in the Toledo Blade; but not long afterward he returned to New England, and in the course of time came to Lowell and went into the employ of Mr. Varney, as already narrated.

After a residence here of a few years he went to that part of Methuen which afterward became Lawrence, at about the very beginning of that then-to-be important manufacturing city, and set up a job-printing

office. October 10, 1846, he began the publication of the Merrimack Courier (the first newspaper in the town after Mr. Varney had suspended the Gazette), afterward changing the name to the Lawrence Courier. The first intention of the founders of the town was to call it Merrimack; and in settling upon a name they had the same experience that did the incorporators of Lowell. Petitioners to the legislature for the incorporation of that town asked that it be named Merrimack, and a bill was reported and passed through most of its stages containing that name, but at a late hour Merrimack was stricken out and Lowell substituted. The proprietor of the Chelmsford Phoenix had moved his office from Middlesex Village and changed the name of his paper to Merrimack Journal, understanding that the name of the new town was to be Merrimack, and he continued it under that name for a year or more when Lowell was put in its place. Thus was the experience in Lowell repeated in Lawrence. In 1851 Mr. Hayes sold his plant and his other interests in Lawrence and went to Cleveland, Ohio, where he remained about a quarter of a century. Having passed the age of active labor, some years ago he moved to Groveton, N. H., where he still resides.

John Twombly Chesley was a native of Dover, N. H., and was born Feb. 28, 1817. In early life he learned the shoemakers' trade and that was his vocation for many years. He came here from Lynn about 1836. For a time he worked for Daniel Swan—a well-known shoe dealer, whose sons still continue in the business—on custom-work and he also received stock and orders from a Lynn manufacturer, to whom he returned the

completed goods. After a time he returned to Lynn and resided there several years, but finally came back to Lowell and in the course of time entered the employ of Mr. Varney, whose wife was his cousin, making himself useful in the general work of the office. His proprietorship of the *Vox* is specially mentioned elsewhere. He was not a practical printer but exhibited an aptitude for the newspaper business and an activity which ought to have won success.

While managing the *Vox* he became interested in the Lowell Museum, with Noah F. Gates, which was then in the building at the head of Central street, built in 1840 for the Freewill Baptist society, of which Rev. Nathaniel Thurston was the pastor. It stood directly opposite the head of Central street. The society became financially involved, and after a long struggle in the courts, the property went out of its hands and into those of B. F. Butler and F. A. Hildreth. The upper part was converted into a museum and theatre, the rest, above the stores, into offices. Friday afternoon, October 1, 1853, the building and contents were badly injured by fire. At that time the Museum was owned by Mr. Hildreth and Mr. Chesley. Nearly all the contents of the Museum were ruined and were never restored, but the structure, after being repaired, continued to be known, till 1882, as the Museum building. About two weeks later than the fire the friends of Mr. Chesley, in consideration of his loss, arranged to hold a grand military, firemen's and civic levee, the net proceeds of which were to go to him. The affair was largely attended and in all respects successful, many of the best-known most influential citizens of Lowell at that time having its management in hand. We may

properly add here that the Museum building was a second time damaged by fire. On the morning of January 30, 1856, it received a worse scorching than at the first fire, a little more than three years previously; but it was repaired and was occupied until 1882, when the structure now standing upon its site and that of the lot next south of it, known as Hildreth block, was begun, and finished in 1883 or '84. Mr. Chesley was a genial, companionable man, well-posted in public affairs and widely-known in Lowell and vicinity. He was a charter member of Wamesit Lodge, Knights of Pythias, and also a member of Veritas Lodge of Odd Fellows. He died in this city November 6, 1872.

Enoch Emery, who more than once guided the editorial pen of *Vox Populi*, introduced himself to its readers through a serial local story entitled "Norton," although he had written and published a number of short stories previous to the appearance of that more pretentious work. He was at the time a clerk at the Merrimac house, kept by his brother, Maj. Henry Emery. About the same time he wrote a farce, which was produced by a stock company then playing at the Museum. He was a member of the firm of Keach, Emery & Co., the originators (in 1851) of the *Lowell Daily News*. That enterprise was not successful, and after a year or two he withdrew from it, and later, alone, began the publication of the *Daily Morning Herald*, in the same building and same room occupied by James M. Stone, who had attempted the establishment of a newspaper bearing the same name seven years previously. Mr. Emery's enterprise had a brief existence and it was his last experience in newspaper publishing in this city.

He left Lowell in 1854 and eventually located in Peoria, Illinois, and there entered upon the same calling with better results. He was one of the firm which published the Peoria Transcript, his position being that of editor.

Mr. Emery in later years wrote a novel of about five hundred pages, which was published by J. P. Lippencott & Co., Philadelphia, in 1872. It was entitled "Myself—a Romance of New England Life." It is a very clever story. He also edited a "Compendium of Useful Information," which he intended to publish annually, but we doubt if more than one number was issued. During the war of the rebellion he held a government office—collector of internal revenue, we think. He was ever a rapid and tireless writer.

Mr. Emery was a native of Canterbury, N. H., born August 31, 1822; deceased at Peoria, May 30, 1881.

Thomas D. Bradley, a native of England, was for some years in the employ of Mr. Chesley as an amanuensis and editorial writer. He had a clear and comprehensive style and was a most useful man in the office. For many, many years since leaving Lowell, he has been constantly in the employ of the Boston Daily Herald.

Leander R. Streeter, in his time well known as "Corporal Streeter," a native of Boston, had a brief experience on the Vox. He was in early life a portrait or miniature painter. Before coming to Lowell he had conducted newspapers in Richmond, Va., and in Boston. He was a sprightly, ready writer. Previous to his brief connection with the Vox he was for some time the editor

of the Lowell Courier. He was a native of Boston and the son of a Universalist minister.

Z. E. Stone (perhaps we should mention that he is not a relative of J. M. Stone, whose name has so often appeared in this paper) was at three different times, covering a period of more than twenty years, the conductor of the *Vox*. It is not thought advisable at this time and in this place to relate his experience in the newspaper and printing business in Lowell and elsewhere. Although now something of a "last leaf on the tree," he is still in the field and may be found or heard from, at the office of the *Morning Mail*—his latest venture, undertaken with others in 1879.

Miss Harriot F. Curtis for a year or more did most of the editorial work on the *Vox* and had charge of the miscellaneous department. We know but little of her history; she was a farmer's daughter and came to Lowell and worked for a time in one of the cotton mills; at that time nearly all the operatives of both sexes were sons and daughters of New England farmers. Miss Curtis was one of the writers for the earliest copies of the *Lowell Offering*, "the factory girls' magazine." When that publication became a regular monthly, her name appeared upon its covers as one of the editors, Miss Harriet Farley (now Mrs. Dunlevy of New York city) being senior editor. Miss Curtis was the author of a novel entitled "Kate in Search of a Husband," and quite a number of popular short stories.

Stephen Warwick Huse was a native of Methuen, Mass., and was born February 20, 1829. He was the

son of Dr. Stephen Huse, for many years a well-known physician in the northern portion of Essex county. He was educated in the public schools of the town; and after quitting school spent some time in preparing for a professional life, but finally abandoned the proposition. When about twenty-five years of age he came to Lowell to take a situation in the ticket-office of the Lowell and Lawrence Railroad company, at the Middlesex street station. Later he accepted a situation as clerk in the Courier office, and still later went with Mr. Varney (whose eldest daughter he had married) to the Vox office, that property having for the third time passed into Mr. Varney's possession, as elsewhere related. His connection with the Vox, and later the Courier, after the decease of Mr. Varney, need not be repeated. Mr. Huse had nothing to do with the editorial management of any of the newspapers, the firms in which he was a member were first and last interested; his post was the counting-room, during all the years he was in the newspaper and printing business. He was never an aspirant for political preferment, state or municipal, and belonged to none of the social or benevolent orders excepting the Masonic, where he had attained the thirty-second grade. His position in business brought him in close contact with a great many of his fellow-citizens, by whom he was favorably regarded during his long residence in Lowell. He died November 21, 1894.

Samuel A. McPhetres was of Scotch descent, born in Bowdoinham, Maine, in 1827. He did his first newspaper work, as a reporter, on the American Citizen, beginning in 1854, but previous to that date he had undoubtedly contributed articles of a political character

to all the other local papers of the city. When a youth he had learned cigar-making, and was for many years so employed after coming to this city. Previous to 1860 he was for some time in charge of *Vox Populi*, and afterward, till 1869, was associate editor. Mr. McPhetres had a wonderful memory, especially in matters concerning this country, its public men and general and local politics. In the compilation and arrangement of statistics and "juggling with figures" (we do not mean the use of them in an offensive sense) we doubt if he had an equal in our city. He was elected to the office of city clerk, succeeding the late John H. McAlvin, who had been chosen city treasurer. From early in 1869 to September 29, 1882, he admirably discharged the duties of his office. On the date last mentioned he died suddenly, while out of town, on a brief vacation. The city government took part in the funeral rites and honored his memory as a faithful public official, by the adoption of appropriate resolutions.

Nathaniel Jeremiah Norton Bacheller was a native of Fayette, Maine. He was born June 16, 1827, and spent a large part of his boyhood in his native town and in Farmington, in the adjoining county. At a proper age, he entered the office of the *Maine Farmer*, at Winthrop, as an apprentice to the printing business. A year or two later, the location of the paper having been changed and not preferring to go with it, he went to Kent's Hill and attended a term or two at the seminary at that place. He went from Kent's Hill to Saco, and found work in a printing office. Within the next three years he worked as journeyman printer in Saco, Biddeford, Portland and Machias, a portion of the time

having charge of the offices where he was employed. He came to Lowell in 1851, but did not remain long and went from this city to Nashua, but there his residence was not of lengthy duration. He went back to Saco and was in the book and stationery business, printing office attached, with a partner, a short time and then withdrew. In 1856 he came to Lowell, to reside permanently. He first engaged with Mr. Varney, at the Courier office, and eventually succeeded Joseph L. Russell as foreman, the latter going to San Francisco, Cal., where he has since resided. Mr. Bacheller retained his position until the Courier establishment was purchased by Stone & Huse, as already related. A year or two later he became foreman for that firm and eventually was admitted a member of it and held his position until October, 1878, when it was by mutual consent dissolved.

A few weeks later the firm of Stone, Bacheller & Livingston was formed and engaged in job printing on Jackson street. July 1, 1879, they began the publication of the daily Morning Mail. The firm, some three years later, was dissolved and a stock company took its place. Mr. Bacheller was elected manager and treasurer, which position he held at the time of his death, which occurred February 17, 1895.

He was one of the founders of the Bacheller, Dumas & Co. bindery (now Dumas & Co.) and was interested in it at the time of his demise. He was a vice-president and member of the board of trustees of the Washington Savings Bank. For a series of years he was an active member of the official board of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal church. He was likewise a member of William North Lodge, F. A. M., and of Washington Commandery of the Order of the Golden Cross.

Mr. Bacheller was a quiet, unassuming man; took but slight interest in politics and was but little before the public. He was industrious, painstaking, honest—widely known and respected.

John Abbot Goodwin, who twice held the position of editor of the *Vox*, was born in Sterling, Mass., May 21, 1824. He was for many years a successful teacher in the public schools. Where his journalistic career began we have not been informed. He was for a time superintendent of the public schools of Lawrence and also a while with Mr. Hayes in the management of the *Lawrence Courier*, and came to Lowell from that city in 1854, to conduct the *Lowell Courier*, and was so employed about one year. Later he had charge of the *Citizen and News* for a period of two years. He was elected to the legislature in 1857, '59, '60 and '61. The two last years he served the house as its speaker. He was two years a member of the Lowell board of aldermen, and ten consecutive years served on the school committee. He was postmaster of Lowell for thirteen years—from April 12, 1861—receiving his appointment from President Lincoln. His last editorial work was done while he was half-owner of the *Vox*, from 1878 to 1884. Mr. Goodwin was a careful, painstaking writer and a fine extemporaneous speaker. He spent much time during the later years of his life in the preparation of a manuscript entitled "The Pilgrim Republic—a Historical Review of the Colony of New Plymouth," which after his demise, was edited by his son, William Bradford Goodwin, and published by Ticknor & Company, Boston, in 1888. He was of Pilgrim stock himself and eminently qualified for the labor which he voluntarily

assumed. The book has taken high rank and is an authority on the subject it discusses. He was the brother of Mrs. Jane Austin, whose novels depicting continental life and character, published during the past twenty-five years, won much favor from the public. Mr. Goodwin died September 21, 1884, sincerely lamented in Lowell and elsewhere in the commonwealth, being widely known and everywhere esteemed. His remains were interred in a cemetery in South Sudbury.

John Stark Colby (a native of New Hampshire) succeeded Mr. Goodwin in the editorial chair of the *Vox*. He was educated in the public schools of Maine and left Fryeburg Academy fitted for college; but deferring to the wishes of his father, who preferred that he should acquire a mechanical calling and later perhaps take a college course, in 1870 he entered the employ of Stone & Huse, to gain an insight into "the art preservative of all arts." In good time he took the position with the above-named firm, of local reporter on the *Vox*, where he quickly proved his adaptability for newspaper work. After the change of proprietorship of the *Vox* (in 1878) he retained the same position until the death of Mr. Goodwin. He was then made editor-in-chief, a post which he held until he voluntarily relinquished it. Something more than seven years ago, Mr. Colby resolved upon "a new departure" and entered the Theological school at Andover, to prepare for the ministry. He made rapid strides at his studies and at the end of two years (the regular course is three) he had the permission of the authorities of the institution to graduate, having already been invited to the pastorate of the Congregational church at Marlborough, N. H. He accepted the position offered him and still remains in that town:

and his career in his chosen work certainly thus far seems to have been attended with a complimentary degree of success. Mr. Colby is an accomplished scholar, still studious in the lines of his profession, and conversant with the most prominent ideas uppermost in the minds of the great thinkers of the day. He is a man of marked literary ability and wields "the pen of a ready writer." He wrote and read at the semi-centennial celebration of the incorporation of the town of Lowell, March 1. 1876, a poem of decided merit; and since that time he has been called upon, on special occasions in Lowell and elsewhere, for literary contributions, which have been received with complimentary expressions. Mr. Colby was for two years a member of the Lowell school committee, and he succeeded the late Daniel S. Richardson as a member of the board of trustees of the State Insane Asylum at Danvers, but resigned on leaving the state.

Harry Varney Huse was generally recognized as the editor of the *Vox*, succeeding Mr. Colby, and the daily after the suspension of the weeklies. He is a grandson of the late Samuel J. Varney and was born in Lowell and educated in our public schools. He entered the office of the *Vox Populi* in 1878—before he had attained his majority—and soon acquired a general knowledge of its several mechanical branches. A few years later he was given the position of foreman and eventually became the manager and principal editor. Mr. Huse has many influential friends in a circle of about his own age, and is well known to the business men of Lowell. He has been for some time past connected with an important industry in Boston, still, however, residing in this city.

LOWELL, November, 1896.



REV. ROBERT COURT, D.D.

VII. *Rev. Robert Court, D.D. By Charles Cowley, LL.D. Read June 21st, 1898.*

Those stalwart Ulstermen who settled on the Merrimack river in New Hampshire in 1719, brought with them two important contributions to American civilization—Irish potatoes and Scotch Presbyterianism,—neither of which had previously been known in New England. By them came the establishment of Presbyterian churches in Londonderry, Windham and various other towns, and the settlement in many places of families who preferred Presbyterian to Congregational forms. It was probably such preferences in some, combined with more mercenary motives in others, which, in 1819, led the Congregational church in that part of Dracut which has since been annexed to Lowell, to join the Londonderry (now the Boston) Presbytery. By act of the Legislature, in 1820, thirty-one families,—perhaps two-thirds of all the families in East Chelmsford,—were transferred, for parochial purposes, to that church, now called the Pawtucket church. Six years later East Chelmsford was incorporated as the town of Lowell; but the Pawtucket church remained Presbyterian until 1837, when it resumed its place in the Congregational denomination.

In 1828 a colony from Renfrewshire, Scotland, settled in Lowell, and engaged in the manufacture of carpets.* It included, of course, many sons and daughters of the Kirk of Scotland, and was reënforced from time

* On this and other foreign colonies of Lowell see volume II of these Contributions' p. 171.

to time by other immigrants. In later years Presbyterian immigrants from all the British North American provinces, particularly New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, settled in Lowell. Hence came successive efforts to establish Presbyterian churches here.

In 1851 the Associate Reformed Presbyterians, dissenters from the Kirk of Scotland, gathered a church in Lowell, which, in 1857, became extinct in consequence of the industrial distress of that time. The pastor was the Rev. Peter Gordon.

During his pastorate here Peter married a widow with several small children and a farm in New York. His salary being too small and too precarious to warrant the bringing of his wife and her children to Lowell, Peter contented himself with occasional visits to her upon her farm; and when nagged for teaching other men to live with their wives while neglecting that duty himself, he would reply that he couldn't afford to both preach and practice on his small salary. When visiting his wife Peter would leave Lowell upon a Monday, secure some one to supply his pulpit on the following Sunday, and return in person "fresh and fair for preaching" (as Mr. Beecher would have said) on the second Sunday. This method worked well for a time, but only for a time. Peter travelled by the Norwich line, and, in consequence of an accident, he once failed to return in season. The tongues of all the tittle-tattlers were immediately let loose upon Peter, and his faithful boarding mistress reported to him all that they said. He at once resolved to resign, but kept his purpose to himself until the following Sunday morning when, to the surprise of the tattlers, he preached his farewell sermon. "The words of the wise are as goads," and the words of Peter fell upon



ELDER JOHN D. HUBBARD.

burning ears as he rebuked the tittle-tattlers for their censures upon him. The text of that sermon was: Acts 12: 18. "Now as soon as it was morning, there was no small stir among the soldiers, what was become of Peter." He died in Australia.

In January, 1869, the United Presbyterians, successors of the ancient Covenanters, gathered a church in Lowell, to which the Rev. J. L. Robertson preached for some months; but in May, the church resolved to unite with the great Presbyterian Church of the United States, and on June 23, 1869, the First Presbyterian church in Lowell was regularly organized by a commission from the Presbytery of Londonderry, with thirty-one members.

The Rev. John Brash was installed as the first pastor of this church, October 26, 1869; Mr. Robertson having declined a call. In 1870, Mr. Brash resigned and on November 1st, of that year, the Rev. Alfred C. Roe was installed as pastor, but in the following May he resigned. The Rev. Soltan F. Calhoun was installed as pastor in October, 1871, and resigned September 20, 1873. He was succeeded by the Rev. Robert Court, the subject of this paper. But to complete the succession of pastors, it may here be stated that the Rev. James M. Craig, formerly pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Newport, Rhode Island, was installed as Dr. Court's successor, June 24, 1898, with every prospect of a successful pastorate.

Elder John D. Hubbard, who was one of Dr. Court's most steadfast friends during the whole period of his ministry here, still retains his eldership. In the General Assembly recently held at Winona, Indiana, he sat as a delegate from the Boston Presbytery, of which he is one of the oldest elders.

These outlines of local Presbyterian history suffice to show how Dr. Court happened to come to Lowell. But for the coming of the Ulstermen, early in the last century—but for the change of base of the Lowell Presbyterians to the great Presbyterian Church of the United States—Dr. Court might never have been known in Lowell.

Robert Court was born in Glasgow, Scotland, February 13, 1829, and was the son of Joseph A. Court, a man poor in purse, but rich in spiritual gifts; a man who, like Haroun Al Raschid, could thrive on "oatmeal and prayer." It was from him that Robert Court derived his special aptness to lead the devotions of a congregation.

In 1858 Robert Court joined Dr. Gault's church in Suffolk Street, Glasgow, and thus identified himself with the great Free Church movement, initiated by Dr. Chalmers in 1843. In March, 1860, he had a four-nights' debate with Charles Bradlaugh, the infidel. The Glasgow Sentinel said, "The Protestant community ought to feel well pleased that in Mr. Court they have a skilful and redoubtable champion of Christianity." Mr. Bradlaugh's daughter says, "Mr. Court seems to have been unusually smart." *

In June, 1860, Robert Court closed a "debate" of another kind; he married, at her father's house in Kilmarnock, Margaret Gilchrist, who survived him less than three months. Shortly afterward he entered the University of Glasgow, where he took high rank as a student, particularly in logic, rhetoric and moral philosophy. One of his teachers there was Sir William Thompson, now Lord Kelvin, whose visit to the United States and Canada, a few years ago, is well remembered.

* Charles Bradlaugh. His Life and Work. By his daughter, vol. I, pp. 88-89.

In October, 1863, when Henry Ward Beecher visited Glasgow, Robert Court was ardently pursuing his studies at the university. Both he and Mrs. Court attended the meeting which Beecher then addressed, and always spoke of Beecher's appeal as one of the greatest feats of oratory ever achieved.

Not a word was then uttered by Beecher on the subject of emigration; but there was an undertone in his speech, audible to Robert Court though inaudible to the throng, in which the great preacher seemed to say, with Horace Greeley, "Go West, young man," which sounded in his ears long after the speech had ended, and the war which gave occasion for it had closed in peace.

In 1864, when Mr. Court graduated at the University of Glasgow, he was thirty-four years old; but the period which he had passed in the greater university of the world, amply compensated him for being belated in securing such help as universities afford. His preparation for the ministry was further advanced by a course of study at the Free Church College in Glasgow, where he acquired much distinction.

Shortly before the completion of the usual course of theological studies in that institution, in 1868, Mr. Court was persuaded to come to the United States. Professor George C. M. Douglas, the professor of Hebrew in the Free Church College, received letters from three different churches in the West, asking for a minister. In response to these letters he sent Mr. Court, telling him he could have his pick of the three churches. He chose the church in Malcom, Iowa. When he came to the United States, he came to stay, and set a wholesome example to other foreign-born Americans by making the statutory declaration of his intention to become a citizen.

He was then ordained and installed pastor of the Presbyterian church in Malcom, Iowa, where he labored with good success for five years.

In 1873 he visited Massachusetts. At the suggestion of the late E. L. Cardell, well remembered as an insurance agent in Lowell, who was a member of the church at Malcom, Mr. Court visited Lowell. He won the hearts of the local church at once. On December 7, 1873, he preached here for the first time, and ten days later received a unanimous call to the pastorate, which he accepted. His connection with the Malcom church had to be dissolved before his installation here; hence that installation was delayed for a time; but he entered upon his work here at once.

At the celebration of the Burns anniversary in January, 1874, he made an address which the editor of the *Courier* described as "the most eloquent and appropriate" he had ever heard at a Burns festival. From that year until the year of his death, it was his delight to speak at the Burns festivals, elevating and ennobling those occasions in a marvelous manner. Well did a thoughtful Scot exclaim since his death: "What will a Burns festival be without Robert Court?"

A little later he addressed the Odd Fellows here for the first time, and the impression which he made upon them was as deep and lasting as that made upon the admirers of Burns. He was equally successful in his addresses to the Knights of Pythias. On May 7, 1874, he was duly installed and then commenced that pastorate in Lowell, which ended only with his death, September 30, 1897.

A few weeks previous to his coming to Lowell, the First Presbyterian church had purchased from the Eliot

Congregational church the stone edifice on Appleton street which it has ever since occupied.* This fact brought Dr. Court at once into intimate relations with the Rev. John M. Greene, D.D., the learned and gifted pastor of the Eliot church, which relations grew more and more intimate during the twenty-four years of Dr. Court's life in Lowell.

There is no other man living, so capable of correctly appreciating the work of Dr. Court in Lowell, as the Rev. Dr. Greene. At a public meeting in Huntington Hall, only fifteen days before Dr. Court's death, Dr. Greene paid a generous and affectionate tribute to his dying brother, who read it, amid death's gathering gloom, with love, gratitude and tears.

I cannot do better than to insert that tribute here, summing up what Dr. Court had done for society, the church and the world :

“ For nearly twenty-four years he has, in a most unostentatious way, gone in and out before us, a friend of the poor, a bright light to dispel darkness, and a strong arm to battle for every righteous cause. Clear he has been in his own convictions of truth, and loyal to the church of which he had been almost the creator as well as the honored pastor ; yet he has been broad-minded and generous in his sympathies towards all. The city has been proud of him. Our churches have loved and revered him. Those who have known him best have admired him most. He has been our brilliant scholar, our sage and Nestor. He has come the nearest of any man it has been my good fortune to know, to being a walk-

* For an account of this edifice, see the Semi-Centennial Volume of the Eliot Church, edited by the Rev. John M. Greene, D. D.

ing library, or what Sidney Smith, in a not very elegant phrase, called Lord Macaulay, 'a library in breeches.'

"It is marvellous what treasures of knowledge and wisdom that head of his contains; all, too, in an orderly and systematic way. He has read and digested everything that pertains to theology, philosophy, morals and general literature. As a conversationalist Coleridge was not his superior; as an essayist his learning, wit and polished diction reminds you of Addison or Steele. The men are few who are his equals in an off-hand, eloquent, easy address on public or festive occasions. His wit sparkles, but never stings. There is no gall or bile in it. His weekly sermons, preached to his congregation, are always fresh, sound and able, and not a whit behind, in Biblical scholarship and theologic lore, those that fall from 'the lips of the chief masters in Israel' on this or the other side of the Atlantic. Of the many expositions of the Sunday school lesson I have never seen any that in scholarship and spiritual and practical helpfulness equalled those which he for fifteen years furnished for the Lowell Daily Courier.

"But it especially concerns us as a city that Dr. Court has, without stint, and almost without pay, poured out his wealth of knowledge, for twenty-four years, into the minds and lives of the people who have dwelt here, making us glad and happy and intelligent. He has spent his money for books and educated himself at great cost, that he might be our unpaid teacher. There is no important subject of a literary or moral or religious nature that has come before the people of this city, during the last twenty-four years, on which he has not written a wise and saving word. He has, during the years he has been with us, written more for the press of this city than

any other man, not excepting the editors of the newspapers. All this he has done besides preparing two or three sermons a week for his pulpit or lecture room. The leading editorials in our city newspapers have often come from his pen. Many articles, other than editorials, appeared without his signature. His name signed to an article ensured its being read by every intelligent man or woman whose eye caught a sight of it.

“He has given much in the way of addresses, papers and readings, to the lodges, orders and fraternities in our city, of some of which he is an honored member. This meeting is held under the joint auspices of these fraternal organizations.

“But this is not the time for extended or laudatory remarks about our eminent and beloved fellow-citizen and benefactor, Rev. Dr. Robert Court. It has been my good fortune, and I consider it one of the happiest incidents in my life, to know him intimately. He is a large-minded, large-hearted, public-spirited, noble man. He has been among us a tower of strength for all that is good. He has given his life for this city.

“Besides what he has done for the public at large, he has been a most successful pastor of a church which has become large and influential through his able and abundant labors in it. He has set before us an exalted idea of a minister of Jesus Christ. With all his other studies he has studied his Bible most, and can read it almost as easily in Hebrew and Greek as in English.

“It is eminently fitting that we, the recipients of his intellectual, moral and spiritual gifts, should assemble here to-night, not only to express our sympathy with him and his dear wife in their sickness, but to declare our admiration of him as a patriotic, self-sacrificing citi-

zen, and our respect and esteem for him as a Christian man and a Gospel minister."

When Phillips Brooks was elected Bishop of Massachusetts, the principal objection raised was that he seemed to regard the Protestant Episcopal Church as one of half a dozen different churches, all about equally good, and not as "*the Church.*" The same objection might have been raised to Dr. Court. As Dr. Greene said: "He was a good Presbyterian," but there was nothing to prevent his acceptance of a call to a Congregational church, had he been without a parish when such a call came. On May 14, 1879, he officiated at the funeral of Mr. Augustus Mixer in St. Anne's church, and remarked when speaking of it, that had his lot been cast in the Episcopal church, he should probably have remained there; though he had not the least sympathy with Sacerdotalism, or with those who "nightly pitch their evening tent a day's march nearer Rome."

During his pastorate the Presbyterian Hymnal was introduced into the church and the International Sunday School Lessons into the Sunday school. The number of members of the church increased to two hundred and fifty, and that of the Sunday school to about the same number.

Dr. Court had an outer parish as well as an inner parish; a large number of occasional hearers, who were attracted to his church by the vast and various learning with which his discourses were enriched. Few preachers took such pains as he in his preparations for the pulpit; for, although his capacity for extemporaneous preaching was remarkable, he could seldom satisfy himself with that, however delighted his hearers might be therewith. The

labor which he put into some of his occasional discourses was prodigious. His sermons on such occasions or topics as the Quarto-Centenary of Martin Luther, John Calvin, John Knox, St. Patrick, (whom he classed as a Scotch evangelist raised up for the conversion of the Irish to Apostolical Christianity,) the Queen's Jubilee, the Diamond Jubilee, were good examples of his pulpit power. If any discourse of extraordinary merit were given by any friend of his, whether clergyman or layman, he would get it repeated in his church, if it was practicable to do so. Thus, when my discourse on William Tyndale was delivered before the New England Historic, Genealogical Society in Boston, Dr. Court was the first clergyman of any denomination to offer me the hospitality of his pulpit for a repetition of it. Now that his voice has been hushed in death, the recollection of his hospitality, *quo ad hoc*, is more pleasant than ever.

In 1885 the University of Norwich distinguished itself by conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and never was an academic honor more worthily bestowed.

When Dr. Court came to Lowell St. Anne's was the only church here that had a pastor's library; founded by the Rev. Theodore Edson, D.D. Dr. Court intended to give a part of his own collection of books to the First Presbyterian church. This purpose was not embodied in his will, because he expected to select the books himself, but death overtook him before he had done so. Mrs. Court concurred with him in this purpose, and the executors of his will and her will, Elder John D. Hubbard and myself, intend to carry it into effect, the Rev. Dr. Greene and Rev. J. W. Hayley having made the select-

ions, which, but for his death sooner than was expected, Dr. Court himself would have made.

One feature of Dr. Court's library was a collection of books relating to Casuistry, particularly the casuistry of the Jesuits, which he much desired to have kept together in some great library and added to as opportunity might allow. Largely through the efforts of the Rev. J. W. Hayley, the executors have sold these books to the Suffolk Congregational Association, which places them in the Congregational House on Beacon street, Boston, where they will be known as the Court Collection and added to from time to time, and accessible to all. Could Dr. Court have foreseen that this collection would thus find a permanent place in the heart of the city of Boston, we are sure that he would have been delighted at the prospect.

I would add one or two remarks in connection with these books. 1. If the morality which some of them teach indicates a falsified conscience, it may be accounted for, at least in part, by the intolerance and tyranny of the times when they were written. 2. The false and base ethics of individual writers is not justly imputable to the Roman Catholic Church as a body. 3. Nor did such false teachings originate with the Society of Jesus. On the contrary, they antedate the Reformation by more than a thousand years. "By the fourth century," Mosheim, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, says, "the monstrous and calamitous error, that it was an act of virtue to deceive and lie where by that means the interests of the church might be promoted, had taken possession of the ecclesiastical world." In Lecky's book on the *Influence of Rationalism*, and in his *History of European Morals*, abundant illustrations will be found of the mendacity of

the early and mediæval church, such as the forging of prophecies and the fabricating of evidence.*

Since this paper was commenced, the ladies of the First Presbyterian Church have issued a very interesting pamphlet, *In Memoriam*, containing the sermon preached by Dr. Greene at Dr. Court's funeral, the addresses of other clergymen, the obituary notices of the press, etc. Nothing remains to be added to that wealth of eulogy in which the memory of Dr. Court and Mrs. Court will long survive; and here I pause. My heart goes back to that chamber of death in which I often saw him during his last sickness, his wife lying sick in an adjoining room, both ready to put to sea on the voyage of eternity. To the inquiry how he was, he gave daily the same answer, "I am dying." And yet there was no repining, "no moaning on the bar." The faith which he had preached to others sustained him abundantly in the final hour. He never thought of death as the end of his life. For him, death was but an event in life. He did not say "Good night," hoping in some brighter clime to bid us "Good morning."

At the close of the reading of this paper Mrs. W. H. Pepin sang with thrilling effect Dr. Court's favorite Ballad, "My Ain Countrie," in the Lowland dialect, which she had learned from the Doctor himself, and which she had sung at his funeral. The Rev. Dr. Greene, being called up by the president, spoke briefly of Dr. Court, whom he characterized as "the most brilliant man, from a literary and scholastic point of view, that Lowell has ever had."

* A catalogue of the "Court Collection" will be found in the City Library of Lowell, as well as in the Congregational House in Boston. Some of them are in English, some in French, but more in Latin, etc.

VIII. *John Eliot's Work at Wamesit.** By
Charles Cowley, LL.D.

When Dean Stanley visited this country in 1878, and Phillips Brooks inquired what places he most desired to see, he replied, "The place where the Pilgrims landed, and the place where Eliot preached." Before he put to sea on his return voyage, the intelligent curiosity of the great dean was abundantly gratified. John Eliot preached in many places, and in some places many times. The beautiful Eliot Church marks one of these places, and is one of several memorial churches inscribed with his name and sacred to his memory.

Prior to July, 1893, no record was known to exist of the time or place of Eliot's birth. It was assumed that he was born at Nazing in the county of Essex, because his parents lived there at a later day.† But through the diligent inquiries of Dr. Ellsworth Eliot, one of John Eliot's descendants, of New York city, we now know that "the Apostle to the Indians" was baptized at Widford in the county of Hertford, in England, on the fifth day of August, 1604, probably not more than a week or ten days after his birth. The same parish register that contains this baptism, also contains the marriage of his parents, Bennett Eliot and Letteye Aggar, October 30, 1598, as well as the baptism of his sister Sarah, and his broth-

* The following pages contain the substance of remarks made in the Eliot Church, October 31, 1897, and also of remarks made before the Old Residents' Historical Association in Memorial Hall, December 21st, 1897, and afterwards before the Passaconaway Tribe of Red Men.

† See Alfred Gilman on Eliot in Volume III, of these Contributions.



CHARLES COWLEY, LL.D.

ers, Philip and James. Bennett Eliot removed from Widford to Nazing, some six miles distant, about 1607, and died there in 1621. He was a thrifty farmer and had property in five different parishes. By his will he directed his executors to pay to his son John, then a student in Jesus College at Cambridge, the sum of eight pounds a year for eight years towards his maintenance. Considering that money was then worth at least ten times as much as it is now, this was a liberal allowance.

Eliot had only to do as others did to secure preferment under Bishop Laud, and to enjoy "the fat slumbers of the Church," (as Gibbon called them,) in the diocese of London. Benefices and bishoprics were often the rewards of such as could—

"Crook the pregnant hinges of the knee
That thrift might follow fawning."

But John Eliot could not do that. With a loftiness of soul which does him immortal honor, he deliberately turned his face away from the road to place and power, to follow the voice of conscience; and so instead of hearing that he received preferment in the church, we next hear of him as a tutor in the school of Little Baddow near Chelmsford in the County of Essex, of which the Rev. Thomas Hooker was master. The Rev. John Fiske, who afterwards became the first minister in Chelmsford, the mother town of Lowell, was also a school teacher in Chelmsford. How many of the settlers of the American Chelmsford came from its English namesake we know not, but it probably owes its name to the connection of Eliot, Fiske and Hooker with the English Chelmsford.

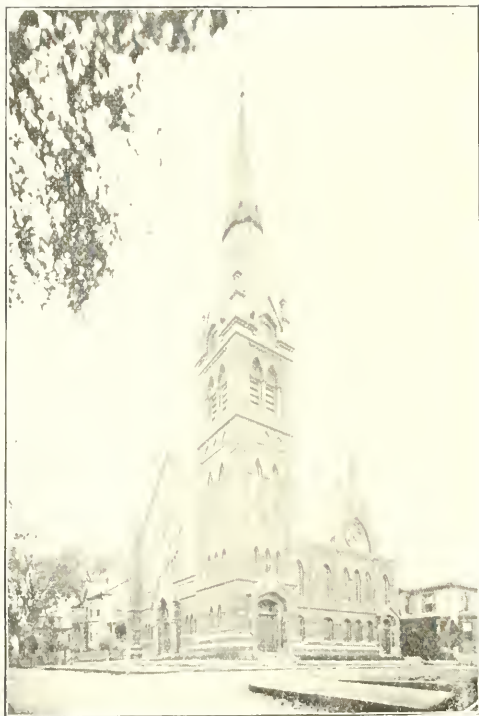
Like nearly all the Puritans of that time, Eliot was a zealous member of the Church of England, believing, so far as known, all the doctrines of the Apostles',

Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, and all of the Thirty-nine Articles, and desiring that the Church should continue "as by law established," only seeking certain amendments to the Book of Common Prayer and certain changes in church government in the direction afterwards taken by the Presbyterians.

Some have doubted whether Eliot was ordained in England; but it seems to have been conceded that if ordained there at all, he was ordained by a bishop of the established church. As the fact is of some importance in the estimation of many Christian scholars, I will briefly sum up the evidence thereof.

In Governor Winthrop's History, "Mr. Eliot, a minister," is mentioned as having arrived at Boston from England in the ship *Lyon*, November 3, 1631. Mrs. Winthrop, the governor's wife, (the same lady to whom ten years later the General Court made a grant of three thousand acres of land chiefly in what is now Lowell,) John Winthrop, the governor's son, and his wife, were fellow passengers with Eliot in the *Lyon*. During their long voyage across the Atlantic Eliot and the Winthrops doubtless became intimate friends. As the only minister on board a ship which had sixty passengers, and which probably had prayers every day, Eliot and the Winthrops would have much conversation, he would learn their history, and they would learn his, even if they had been previously strangers to each other.

No sooner had Eliot landed than he was called to supply the pulpit of the first church in Boston, Governor Winthrop's own church, whose pastor, the Rev. John Wilson, was then on a visit to his old home in England. Thus Eliot and the governor became personal friends. Three months after he reached Boston, he went with the



ELIOT CHURCH, LOWELL, MASS.

governor to Medford, and visited the pond which has ever since been called Spot Pond. Having such relations with Eliot, I believe that Governor Winthrop made no mistake when he described John Eliot as being already "a minister" when he arrived in the old Bay Colony.

The next witness is the Rev. Cotton Mather. In the third volume of his "Magnalia," published in 1702, Mather gives a long list of Massachusetts ministers who had been ordained in the Church of England. The list is reprinted with corrections in an appendix to Savage's edition of Winthrop's History, and Eliot's name is there. (The name of the Rev. John Fiske, the first minister in Chelmsford, is also there.) Cotton Mather, his parents, and also his grandparents, had been personal friends of Eliot; and whatever mistakes he may have made relative to the names of later immigrants, Mather is thoroughly trustworthy as to Eliot.

Again: the Rev. Daniel Neal, in his History of the Puritans, includes Eliot among the "eminent divines" who had removed to New England after having been ordained in old England.

Again: if Eliot had never received episcopal ordination, it is unlikely that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel would have paid him a salary of fifty pounds a year for his work among the red men, without a murmur from any of the churchmen who supported it.

On the other hand, it is but fair to state here that the Right Reverend Manuel Creighton,* Lord Bishop of London, at my request, endorsed by our Ambassador at the Court of London, has courteously caused an ex-

* The same prelate to whose courtesy the Commonwealth is indebted for the original manuscript of Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth Colony, and whose portrait adorns the edition of that narrative recently printed by the Commonwealth.

amination to be made of the Registry of his Diocese which included the County of Essex in which Eliot was domiciled ; and that no record of Eliot's ordination either as deacon or priest can be found ; although the record of ordinations and of the subscriptions required preparatory to ordination seems to be complete during the time when Bishop Laud (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) presided over that Metropolitan See.

But other facts demand consideration. Eliot graduated in 1622. He was then only eighteen years old ; and probably finished the course of theological study required of candidates for the ministry of the Church of England, in 1626. Although by the law of the Church a man must be twenty-four before being ordained deacon and twenty-five before being ordained priest, that rule was sometimes relaxed in the case of precocious young men like Eliot. Bishop Montaigne who held the Diocese of London from 1621 to 1627, was less exacting than Laud, who succeeded him in 1628.* Eliot's spiritual life, according to his own declaration, did not begin until he met Thomas Hooker at a later day, and we can discover nothing to prevent his subscribing the articles and taking holy orders before Laud crossed his path.

It occurred to me that Eliot might have been ordained by Bishop Buckeredge, of the Diocese of Ely, which includes Cambridge, where Eliot was educated ; but upon inquiry it was ascertained that the record of ordinations in that diocese during Eliot's time has long been lost.

After one year's service in Boston, during which the first church became much attached to him, Eliot fulfilled

* While this bishopric was vacant after the departure of Montaigne and before the coming of Laud, Eliot might have been ordained by the Archbishop of Canterbury or any bishop of that Province, designated by him.

a promise which he had made before leaving England and was ordained pastor of the first church in Roxbury. This proves nothing against his ordination in England, Eliot merely followed the custom of the Congregational Churches, which repudiated all ideas of priesthood. Among the lambs of Eliot's flock at Roxbury was the lady who became his wife and to whom he had been engaged in England.

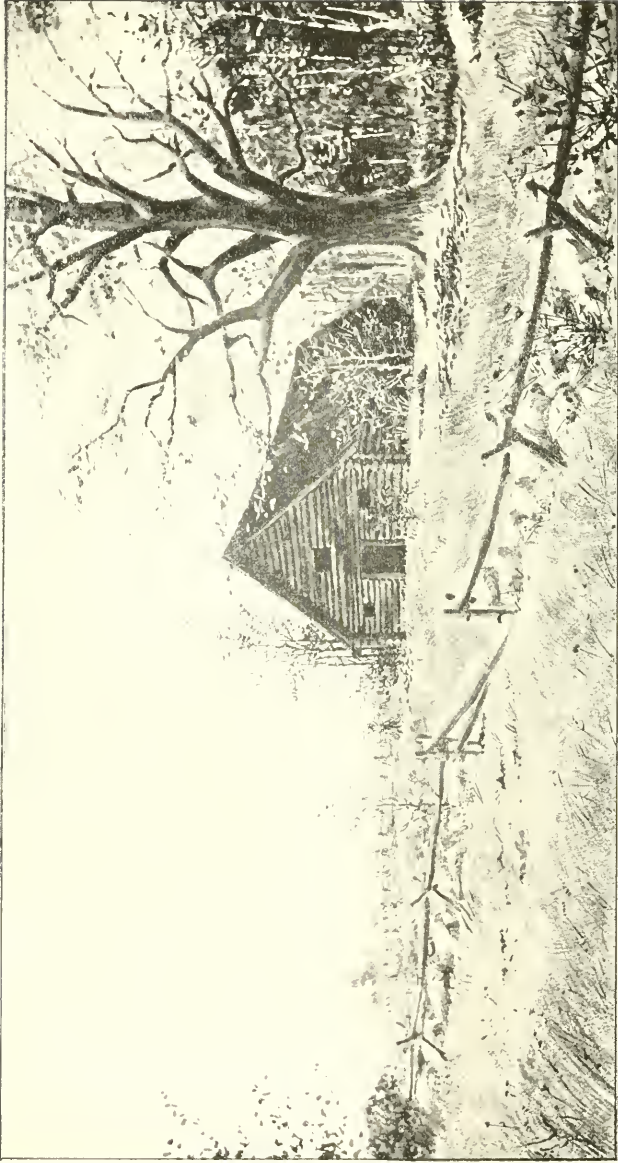
Eliot had been preparing himself for his work among the Indians long before he began that work at Wamesit, and his first overtures on the Gospel trumpet in their tongue were made in places nearer to his Roxbury home. It was in the year 1647, two hundred and fifty years ago, when Eliot first visited the great Indian rendezvous which this place then was. That year was signalized by several notable events—by the establishment of the first town school, by the Synod of Cambridge in Massachusetts and by the Westminster Assembly of Divines in England.

Simon Willard, of Concord, is said to have accompanied Eliot on this visit, and perhaps other men of Concord and some of Woburn accompanied him. As no roads had yet been opened Eliot probably came on horseback and followed the Indian trail. The only ford on the Concord above Lowell is that at North Billerica, where the river is now crossed by the bridge over which the electric, as well as the county road passes. Eliot and his companions may have forded the Concord there, though it is not impossible that they forded it at Massie Falls. But if they came by way of Concord, they would not be compelled to ford the river at all. Passaconaway is said to have fled at Eliot's coming.

The sixteen years that had passed since Eliot left his native land had been signalized by great events; and the relations which then existed between old and new England were very intimate. Standing on the rugged banks of the Merrimack, he could not fail to contrast the wigwams and canoes and their red-skinned occupants with the scenes in which his youth had been passed. Crossing the Atlantic mentally, he must have thought of the Long Parliament, which had then been sitting for seven eventful years, and which ceased not to make history for eleven years more: that Parliament which had already brought to the bar and to the block the tyrannical Archbishop Laud, from whose intolerance as Bishop of London Eliot himself had suffered; that Parliament which had also brought to the bar and to the block the tyrannical Earl of Stratford; which then held the King himself as a close prisoner; which continued to hold him as a prisoner until the sharp ministry of the axe sent him a poor wandering ghost to the land of shades. Some such scenes from Westminster Hall, some echoes from Westminster Abbey, where the famous Westminster Assembly, was then sitting, some echoes from the battlefields of the great Rebellion, must have filled his mind and mingled with the sounds of the impetuous river rushing onward to the sea.

At the Synod of Cambridge in the spring of that year, Eliot had made known his plans for the civilization and Christianization of the Indians; the Synod had approved those plans, and the General Court had given him a gratuity of ten pounds in recognition of this Indian work.

At the time of that first visit, the nearest English settlers were those of Concord, Woburn, Reading and



THE LOG MEETING-HOUSE AT WAMESIT AS IT WAS WHEN DEMOLISHED ABOUT 1823.

Haverhill, from twelve to fifteen miles distant. During the next forty years, Eliot made many visits to this frontier region, and probably once, if not more than once, travelled as far north as Amoskeag Falls (now Manchester, N. H.)

In 1653, at Eliot's suggestion, Wamesit was set off by the General Court as an Indian reservation. Then or soon afterwards probably the log house was built on Meetinghouse Hill, where the beautiful Eliot Church now stands,* which was used for school purposes on six days in the week and for religious meetings on Sundays. This log meetinghouse remained until about 1824. Josiah G. Abbott,† Oliver M. Whipple, Amos Brown and other "Old Residents," now no more, remembered it well, and there is one venerable gentleman still living, Mr. Sidney Davis, whose eighty-two years have all been spent in this place, who also remembers that log meetinghouse, having been nine years old when it was demolished. It is said to have been one and a half stories in height, and probably had an apartment for the use of Eliot, called "the prophet's chamber," as the log meetinghouse at Natick is said to have had.

Remembering the intolerance of those times, particularly towards Baptists, Roman Catholics and Quakers, it is refreshing to note that at Christmas, 1650, Eliot entertained as his guest the Jesuit Father Druillettes, who had been learning the language of the Indians of Maine and converting them to Catholicism, synchronously with Eliot's labors among the Indians of Massachusetts.

* See Dr. Greene's Semi-Centennial volume of the Eliot Church, pp. 297-301.

† See Cowley's Memoir of Judge Abbott, pp. 5-6.

It was well known to Eliot that the missionaries of the Society of Jesus had begun their labors among the Indians of Canada immediately after the settlement of Quebec in 1607, forty years before he first came to Wamesit. The Indians of the St. Lawrence and those on the Merrimac belonged to the same confederacy, spoke the same tongue, and often exchanged visits. As early as 1653, he found beads, crosses and crucifixes upon some of the squaws at Wamesit, which told more plainly than their words that they had been converted to the Roman Catholic Church. Had he been endowed with the gift of prophecy, he might have foreseen the time that was coming, when all his "praying towns" would disappear, and pretty much all his converts find a home in that Church.

Wamesit was the fifth town of "praying Indians" founded by Eliot. There were fourteen such towns in all, of which he was in all but the name, the bishop, and no truer successor to the Apostles has ever lived. Accounts of these towns are accessible elsewhere,* and none will be attempted here.

On the fifth day of May, 1674, Eliot and Gookin made one of their many journeys to Wamesit, and visited the chief Wannalancet, at his own wigwam, which stood on the lot where the statelier "wigwam" of Mr. Frederic Ayer now stands near the Pawtucket Falls. There, in the evening of that day, Eliot preached to as many of the Indians as could be got together, on the parable of the marriage of the King's son, Matt. xxii: 1-14. Wannalancet being the oldest son of Passaconaway, the great sachem of the Pawtucket tribe, Eliot made a per-

* Gookin, in Cowley's "Historical Sketch of the County of Middlesex," in Middlesex County Manual.

sonal application of the parable to him, and with good effect, for by that sermon Wannalancet was converted.

Various memoirs of Eliot have been published, and nothing like a biography of him will be attempted to-night.* Writings have been ascribed to him which he never wrote. Thus, Dr. Samuel A. Green has shown that the first tract relating to Eliot's missionary work, which the Massachusetts Historical Society had published as Eliot's, was not written by him, but by the Rev. John Wilson. I have examined Eliot's "Christian Commonwealth" which brought him nothing but persecution, and find nothing in it calling for censure. It was manifestly suggested by his work among the Indians. Gen. Gookin says that, in 1651, "they applied to Mr. Eliot for a form of civil government; and he advised them to adopt that which Jethro proposed to Moses for the Israelites in the wilderness, Exodus, xviii: 21. Accordingly, they chose one ruler of a hundred, two rulers of fifties, and ten rulers of tens."† This plan worked well among the Indians; but as a plan of government for England it was a Utopian dream. It shows, however, how completely the minds of the Puritans were "soaked," so to speak, in Old Testament ideas. As a project for "a church without a bishop, a state without a king," it was used to Eliot's annoyance in the times of Charles the Second.

What is called "King Phillip's War" was now approaching, and during that conflict Eliot's clients received most brutal treatment. Most of them were killed or scattered. In 1677, the survivors of them were gath-

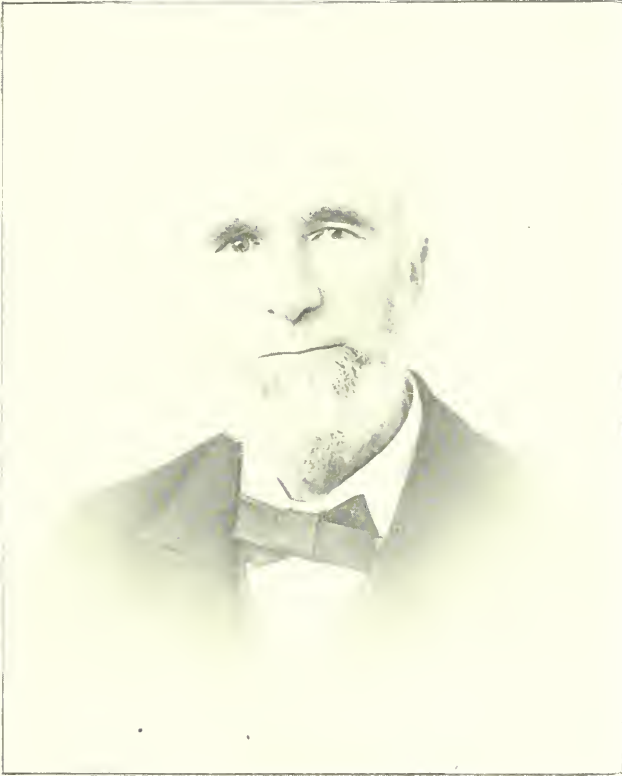
* Since these pages were put in type, I have learned that a Life of Eliot in Modern Greek was published in the island of Malta in 1831.

† Gookin, quoted in Cowley's "Historical Sketch of the County of Middlesex," in the Middlesex County Manual. p. 28.

ered in four towns. Wamesit was one of these, and if (as Wilkes Allen thought) no church existed here prior to that war, it seems probable that one was founded by the Indians soon afterwards; for when the Rev. John M. Greene, D.D., became pastor of what is known as the Eliot Church in Lowell in 1870, he found, among older members, some who had seen the cups and plates which tradition said had been used by the Indian Church in Wamesit in the administration of the Communion. But all these towns were doomed to destruction. Nothing that Eliot and Gookin could do to save them, was omitted to be done; but their fondest hopes were blasted: their best efforts utterly failed.

In July, 1680, two Labadists, Jasper Dankers and Peter Shuyter, visited Boston, Cambridge and Roxbury, and had an interview with Eliot, whom they pronounce "the best of the ministers."

When Eliot published his Indian Bible he presented a copy of it to his Alma Mater in Cambridge, with a request that he might have her prayers, as she had his continually. This Bible is still preserved at Jesus College. Such a gift from such a source was probably recognized by conferring upon Eliot the honor of a doctorate in divinity. In the passage already printed from Neal's History, he is called "Dr." Eliot. But such was Eliot's modesty and self-repression he would not accept any title except that of evangelist: and he probably declined the honor, well merited though it was. This was, perhaps, the beginning of that interchange of academic international courtesies which in our times has become frequent between British and American Universities. It may be regarded as a partial atonement for the tyranny of Laud, which had prevented Eliot from either preaching or teaching in the diocese of London.



REV. JOHN M. GREENE, D.D.

In 1686. Wannalancet and his tribe sold their lands in this region to the English settlers, reserving only their rights of hunting and fishing. After passing through various vicissitudes and doing many acts of kindness to those who had injured, as well as to those who had assisted him. Wannalancet and other Wamesit Indians finally joined the St. Francis tribe at Sillery in Canada and ended their days with them. Eliot and Gookin must have deplored the necessity for this abandonment of Wamesit if there was such necessity; for they probably foresaw that, henceforth, the red man would be known as the enemy, instead of being known as the friend of the Colonists.

Eliot died May 21, 1690, at Roxbury, where his grave is still to be seen in the ancient burying ground. Three of his sons had gone to their graves before him. One son and one daughter survived him, and their descendants now number between two and three hundred souls. If pride of ancestry is ever laudable, it is surely laudable in them. Let us hope that the aroma of that sweet and saintly life which was thus associated with this place, may always remain with the Eliot Church.

The discovery of the time and place of Eliot's birth has already been mentioned. It is well that this discovery was not made until 1893; for that discovery led to such an exchange of courtesies between citizens and churches in the two countries as Eliot would have rejoiced to see. Having made that discovery Dr. Ellsworth Eliot applied to the Rev. J. T. Lockwood, rector of Widdford, for permission to place a memorial window in the parish church. That permission was given with the utmost alacrity, and the chancel of the church was devoted to that purpose. At a cost of a thousand dollars

the Eliot Memorial Window was placed there and dedicated on the 204th anniversary of Eliot's death.

On that day the successor of John Eliot in the pastorate of the first church in Roxbury, sent to the Ambassador of the United States at the Court of St. James the following telegram, which was read by Mr. Bayard, accompanied by appropriate remarks at the dedication:—

“Boston, May 21, 1894. Bayard, Ambassador. First Church in Roxbury, Massachusetts, to Widford Church, greeting. We honor the memory of the Apostle and try to carry on his work.

JAMES DE NORMANDIE, Minister.”

Thus it came to pass that the Church of England in the diocese of London, which Bishop Laud made too “cabined, cribbed, confined” to retain Eliot at her altars or in her pulpits, was opened by Bishop Temple, now Archbishop of Canterbury, to receive into its chancel a beautiful Memorial Window, with the following inscription:—

“To the glory of God, in pious remembrance of John Eliot, B. A. Cantab, called the Apostle to the Indians, who was baptized in this church, August 5, 1604, emigrated to America A. D. 1631, and died at Roxbury, Massachusetts, May 21, 1690. This window was erected by his descendants, 1894. The righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance.”

In his address on this occasion, the rector of Widford declares that he and his parishioners are much gratified that it has fallen to their lot to comply with the wishes of John Eliot's descendants, and that they will continually have before their eyes a memorial of one who, in his life of singular blamelessness and single-hearted devotion to the cause of Christ and humanity,

presents a rare example to all Christians, by whatever name they are named, of that charity which is "the bond of perfectness."

Not since the days of the Apostles, has any man appeared, who lived a life marked by such high consecration to God and humanity, such "sublime repression of himself," as John Eliot. Yet his life was embittered by opposition and persecution. Laud was the first, but by no means the last, who hindered him in his praiseworthy work. He had bitter opponents in this Colony, and it was his best efforts that aroused the bitterest opposition. Not one of the log meetinghouses which his Indian converts erected has been preserved. But since his death the loftiness of his motives has been appreciated. Bishops of the church which was then too narrow for him, have spoken his praises. Monuments and memorials have been erected to his honor in various places. The Eliot Church in Lowell is one: the Eliot Memorial Window in the Widford Church is another. Doubtless others will yet appear. The words of Jesus are as true to-day as ever: "Your fathers stoned this prophet: but ye build his sepulchre."

IX. The Folks at the Neck (now Lowell) in y^e Olden Time. Read before the Old Residents' Historical Association, Lowell, Mass., December 21, 1897, by Henry S. Perham, Chelmsford.

In a former paper* I gave some account of the early settlers of Chelmsford, who located near the borders of the Indian reservation upon land now included within the limits of the City of Lowell. Their homes were scattered along the Merrimack intervale and upon the easily cultivated plain about Mount Pleasant. This section included what is now Middlesex Village and extending along up the river to the Stony Brook and as far south as the No. 2, or North Row, school house, came to be known as the North End.

The Indians' land passed to an association of individuals in Chelmsford in 1686, by what is known as the Wamesit Purchase: it included practically the whole of original Lowell. The period embraced in this paper is from the opening up this tract to settlement up to the time of the revolution.

The section from the North End eastward between the Merrimack and River Meadow brook was called the Great Neck in distinction from Concord River Neck, which lay between the River Meadow brook and the Concord River. But the simple name Neck came to be more generally adopted. The name Wamesit also clung to this entire tract for some time.

*The early settlers of that part of Chelmsford now Lowell.

The people who occupied this section performed their political duties in Chelmsford and attended meeting there, although no formal act of annexation was passed until 1826.*

This step was brought about by the refusal of the General Court to seat the representative of Chelmsford, Stephen Pierce, whose home was in Wamesit, on the ground of his not being a resident of Chelmsford.

Rev. Wilkes Allen, the historian of Chelmsford, states that "His [Stephen Pierce's] house, the cellar of which is now [1820] visible, was between Capt. Isaac Chamberlain's and Mr. Samuel Marshall's houses." † Chamberlain lived at what is now called the Jenness place on Chelmsford street, and Marshall at what is known as the Noah Spalding house on Parker street. Chelmsford street passes diagonally across the site of the old road between those two points. The house was near the corner of Forrest and Chelmsford streets. The place continued in the Pierce family for several generations. That spot has especial interest as the early home of Gen. Benjamin Pierce, the father of President Franklin Pierce. Stephen deeded to son Robert March 3, 1730, land "within the now improved general field in Wamesit adjoining to Chelmsford." ‡ Robert was the uncle of young Benjamin and furnished the latter a home after the death of his father in 1764, and until the alarm guns upon April 19, 1775, called young Benjamin to the stern duties of a soldier. A school was kept in Robert's house in 1755, and probably at other times before a schoolhouse

* See "The Wamesit Purchase,"
Allen's Chelmsford, p. 6--note.
Benj. Parker papers.

was built in this section. The first of the Pierce family who settled in Chelmsford was Stephen, a tailor. He was granted land at the center of the town in 1671, "a small parsill to sett a house upon, 20 rods - - - south west side of beaver brook bridge." The line of descent from him to Benjamin is ¹Stephen Pierce, son of Thomas of Woburn, married Tabitha Parker dau. of Jacob Parker, Nov. 8, 1676. ²Stephen m. Esther Fletcher, Jan. 5, 1707, d. Sept. 9, 1749. ³Benjamin b. Nov. 25, 1726, m. Elizabeth Merrill of Methuen, pub. Aug. 2, 1746; he d. June 16, 1764. ⁴Benjamin baptised Dec. 12, 1756.

Allen* states that "The first English settlements made on the Indian plantation were on the borders of Concord river, upon a plot of ground much resembling a heater, which gave rise to the name Concord River Neck." Here lived Solomon Keyes, (son of Solomon and Francis, b. June 24, 1665,) as early as 1714,† and his hardy son Solomon (b. May 11, 1701,) who later was one of the heroes of the famous Lovewell's fight.

Among the original proprietors of the Wamesit Purchase, Benjamin Parker was the only one whose possessions there have continued in the hands of his descendants to the present time. He was a son of Jacob and Sarah Parker, (b. July 1663). In 1732, March 21, he and wife Sarah deeded, "to sons Benjamin and Jona. lands and buildings in Wamesit Purchase" and other property.‡ This son Benjamin extended this Wamesit property by the purchase of adjoining lots. His brother Philip lived upon an adjoining farm. Perhaps they occupied a barn in common as the minister Rev. Ebenezer Bridge men-

* P. 15.

† Wamesit Proprietor's records.

‡ Benj. Parker papers.

tions in his diary: "was invited to a barn moving by Benjamin and Philip Parker."

A barn moving in those times was a work performed by the united efforts of the neighbors and their oxen, and the minister was invited whenever the people gathered for any laudable purpose. His diary frequently mentions attending barn and house raisings. At the raising of Oliver Barron's tavern at the center of the town, to take the place of one that had been burned, the 34th Psalm was sung. The liquors which were freely served at such occasions were frequently the cause of conduct which brought a sharp reproof from the parson.

Benjamin Parker was commissioned by Governor Shirley, July 29, 1754, to be "Second Lieut. of the First Foot Company in Chelmsford, under the command of Capt. Ebenezer Parker."

This interesting document is still preserved by the family of one of his descendants, Mr. Henry E. Parker, at the old homestead on Pine street where Lieut. Parker lived. Mr. Parker has many other manuscripts and relics of former days, some of which are of great historic value.

The year following the date of Lieutenant Parker's commission was one of active military operations in the Colonies. A supreme effort was made in an attempt to accomplish the reduction of Canada. A day of fasting and prayer was observed July 3, 1755. The people gathered at the meeting house and Parson Bridge preached to them from Psalms 102: 13-17,* "Thou shalt arise & have mercy upon Zion for y^e Time to favour Her, yea y^e set time is Come &c."

* Bridge's mss. sermons, vol. 23.

This discourse is interesting as it gives expression to the political sentiments which prevailed at the time, and which prompted them to make the great sacrifices necessary in support of those perilous campaigns. He tells his people:—

“ Had it not bin for y^e French who have settled Northward of us, and Extended Their settlements all along Westward & Even to y^e Southward of us — These — Dupes To Arbitrary pow^r & Tyranny — blind adherers to the Doctr^e of passive obedience & non resistance — base born miscreants. Nourished and bro^t up, upon y^e breasts Of y^e great Whore, y^e Moth^r of Harlots — Mortal Enemies To our liberties as English men & as christians — have all along envied our happiness & Taken advantage Of y^e darkness & Ignorance of y^e poor heathen, the Indians — and set em upon y^e most barbarous murders & devastations w^{ch} were in their pow^r To perpetrate — And have not y^e whole land Groaned often, on acco^t of y^e Wars w^{ch} have prevailed wth em — have not Multitudes of particl^r persons & families, mourned and Groaned on acco^t of y^e bereavem^ts some times Of y^e heads, sometimes of y^e branches of y^e families &c. w^{ch} These poor barbarous pple have bin y^e Instruments of w^{ch} in all likely hood had bin in a great meas^l prevented if it had not bin for French religion, French Malice & French policy — perhaps we had by this time bin more successful in our Missions among em To bring em To y^e Faith of Christ & his gospel, w^{ch} w^{ou}d have softened their minds, and disposed em To live in love & peace — if it had not bin y^t y^e notions Of y^e papists, inculcated upon em, by French Jesuits are Vastly more agreeable to y^e Dark understandings of those unhappy Pagans, than y^e sublime Doctr^s & maxims of xtianity, (christianity) uncorrupted are — And To this source may be attributed y^e great advantage y^e French have over y^e Indians.

“ Be it so, or f^m w^l quarter it will, The Indians are in y^e Interest of & in subjection to y^e French — and These i. e. y^e French have demonstrated it. That y^y have laid schemes for To Overcome us & if possible to root us out — Our knowledge hereof occasions our Vigorous Efforts, In our warlike Enterprises in this day To resist em & if we Can to bring y^e mischief y^y design'd us to fall down upon their own heads. Still Tho^o we are alarmed & our Nation Alarmed upon our Acco^t &c — yet That War sho^d Arise to us, and That we

have reason To go forth in Great Armies one way & anothe^r to defend ourselves in our just rights, & to remove Encroachments w^h are already made upon us, this is Grievous — & it must be look'd upon as a Day of affliction — A day of fear and Calamity — A day & Time calling aloud upon Every one to consid^r of their ways & their doings — To repent & return unto y^e lord f^rom whom we have departed — — — — — ought we not firmly to believe & To depend upon it that L (God) will arise & have mercy upon Zion & fav^r her in y^e set time — — — — — when there are such Vast preparations & armments upon this Continent & yese (these) nothern seas as nev^r have bin known before — — — — — We have heretofore called, & L (God) hath ans^w — Wittness y^e remarkable & almost maraculous success in our Expedition ag^t Cape Breton—Wittness y^e remarkable Interposition of y^e Divine prov. in y^e scattering y^e French squadron und^r y^e Com^d of y^e Duke D'Anvil, upon our own Coasts, who were Design'd upon our ruin, but Tho^f nev^r followed or resisted by an English squadron, yet bullied, dispersed, ruin'd & turned back ashamed — And shall we not be Encouraged In Faith & pray^r f^rom y^e already favourable success granted us —

“ Our forces f^rom England arriv'd safe to y^e southward, our own men remarkably spirited To Inlist & to offer ^{em} selves to go in & upon y^e several Expeditions on foot one way & anothe^r — A fine squadron of our own upon y^e heels of a french one upon our Coasts & already masters of their ships, successs of our army at Nova Scotia, plenty at home, & scarcity of provisons among y^e french — are not these all Encouraging symptoms, Of good success attending our Enterprises — — — we must not Trust to our own men, our numb^s our Strength or our skill — but in God & to him Sho^d we cry — — — We may observe that y^e Spirit of y^e English Nation in y^e past^d day seems to be the ancient spirit — & both ministry & pple seem to be united & not divided as hath bin too Common a Circumstance very favourable an omen (we hope) for Good ” — — — —

“ Preached 3 July 1755 Fast day on acco^t of several Expeditions To drive y^e French f^rom their Encroachments.”

In the Nova Scotia expedition of that year which resulted in the removal of the Acadeans, were twenty-

two Chelmsford men, fourteen of whom were with Col. Winslow at Grand Pré.*

In the Massachusetts archives are preserved the rolls of some of the soldiers who took part in the expedition against Crown Point, and Bridge's diary furnishes some interesting details in regard to their fate. He writes: "Jona Barron going off on an expedition to Crown Point is made a Lieut. prayed with the soldiers at Lieut. Barron's." With Lieut. Barron were twelve Chelmsford men.† They took part in the battle of Lake George and from the losses sustained it is probable that they were in the fray long known as the "bloody morning scout." The news of the battle was received in Chelmsford seven days after and at the same time the call for re-enforcements.

"Sept 15 A general muster of companies through the Provinces to raise men to reinforce army at Crown Point. Spent morning at Parkers with officers & this day the news came of the engagement between Gen Johnsons army & the French & Indians, in which Johnsons army came off conquerors having taken the French General & killed 700 officers & men & taken and wounded many. The battle was on the 8 Sept instant. A signal mercy, though at the same time we are called to mourn the loss of divers brave officers & Soldiers to the number of about 120 or 130."

Soon rumors began to be received of casualties among the Chelmsford men, which were verified by more definite news, and the dutiful parson was constant in his ministrations to the afflicted families. The account can best be given in his own words.

"Sept 25. Visited the wife of Jona Barron as I did yesterday towards night upon a flying report of her husband being killed in

* Winslow's Journal, Mass. Hist. Collection.

† Mass. Archives. Vol. 94, p. 165.

the battle ag't the enemy on the way to Crown Point." 26 "Visited Mrs Barron this morning upon the acct of her hearing more news of her husband being killed & discoursed with her" "Prayed at Parkers with a company soldiers going off to Crown Point, Capt. Butterfield, of Dunstable." "27 Visited Widow Parker upon a flying report of her son being killed in the fight under Gen Johnson, so upon the same acct visited wife of Jacob Parker." "30 Visited Mrs. Barron who this day is certified of the death of her husband in the late battle with our enemies in the way toward Crown Point, by an extract of a letter of Maj Nichols (to his wife) who also was wounded in the same engagement, I discoursed with her again & endeavored to comfort her" "Visited the wife of Jacob Parker upon [] that her husband was certainly [] in battle." "Oct 6 P. M. I visited widow Parker she has received a letter from her son Moses in the army whereby is certified to us the death of Lieut Barron, Jacob Parker & James Emery of this town, also visited the widow of Jacob Parker."

Lieut. Jonathan Barron was a son of Lieut. Jona. and Rebecca Barron. Jacob Parker was a son of John and Rebecca. Emery was son of Zachariah Emery. The town record of deaths states: "Died in the Grate Battle at Lake George September 8th 1755."

Lieut. Benj. Parker died in 1771, and was buried from his home upon what is now Pine Street.

One of the customs, of long standing at that time, was the giving of gloves at funerals. In the case of persons prominent in Church, state, or society, this custom was often carried to great excess. Alice Morse Earle says* "one great expense of a funeral was the gloves. In some communities these were sent as an approved form of invitation to relatives and friends and dignitaries whose presence was desired."

The Parkers followed the prevailing practice.

* Customs of New England P. 116.

The bill for the gloves and other mourning articles, reads as follows : *

“MR BENJ PARKER TO SAMSON STODDARD Dr
1771

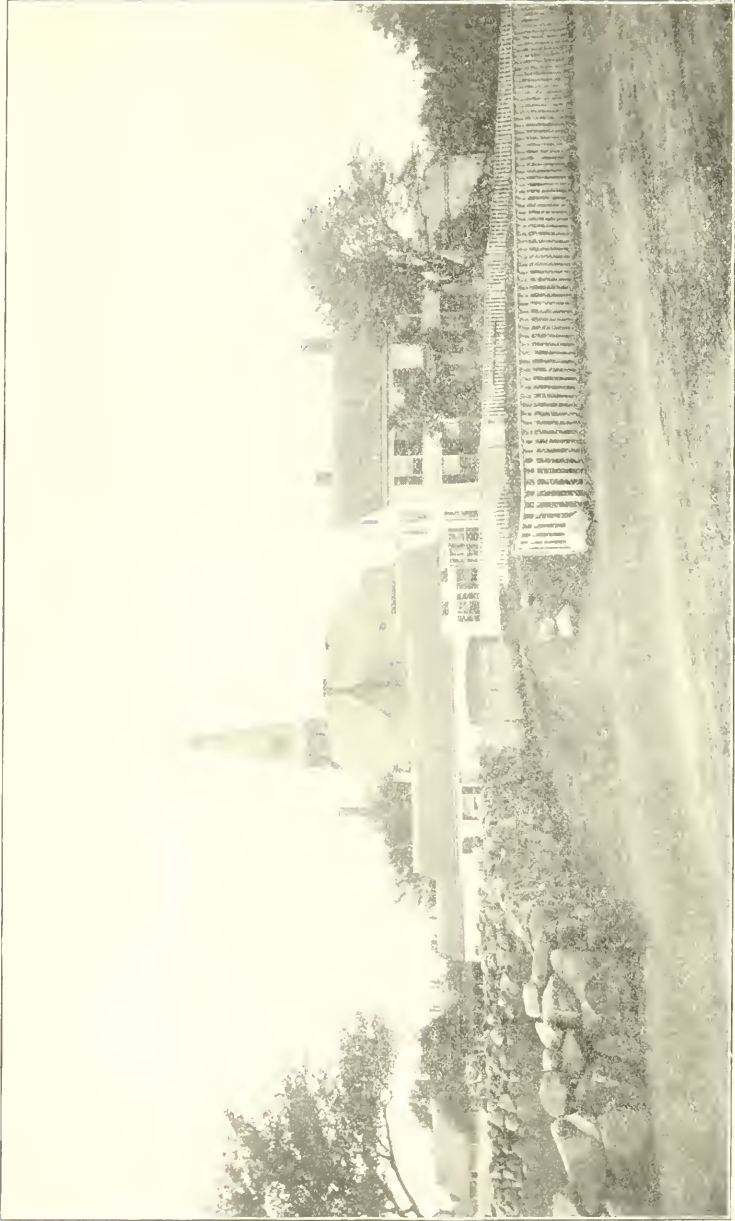
May 23—To 15 pr mens Gloves
To 2 pr mens Black Ditto
To 19 p^r woms Ditto
To 3 pr woms Black Ditto
To 3 Black handkerchief
To 3 Nails
To 1 y^l Black Ribbond
To 1 Black Fan
To 3 yds hat band Crape
d^l M^r William Peirce for the
Fun^l of Lient Benj^a Parker Late
of Chelmsford Deceased.”

Mr. Stoddard was the merchant at the center of the town. The bill is written in an excellent hand—although by a graduate of Harvard College.

The manner in which a house was prepared for a funeral is thus described by Mrs. Stowe in her charming story “Oldtown Folks.” “It was a doctrine of those good old times, no less than of many in our present days, that a house invaded by death should be made as forlorn as hands could make it. It should be rendered as cold and stiff, as unnatural, as dead and corpse-like as possible, by closed shutters, looking-glasses pinned up in white sheets, and the locking up and hiding out of sight of any pleasant little familiar object which would be thought out of place in a sepulchre.”

The hour having arrived let us enter the dwelling thus prepared for the occasion and pay our tribute of respect to the memory of the departed.

* Benj. Parker papers.



THE PARKER HOMESTEAD.

In the best room are seated the family and near relatives, the Parkers and Blodgetts. In the other rooms wearing the funeral gloves provided for the occasion are "Mr. Robert Peirce, Mr. Stephen Peirce, Mr. Jacob Howard and Wife, Mr Benja Butterfield and Wife, Mr Joseph Peirce and Wife, Mr. William Peirce and Wife, Silas Peirce and Wife, Joseph Warren, William Bowers, Daniel Keyes, Mis Elizabeth Clark, Wid Abagil Bates, Wid Martha Howard, Wid Susana Fletcher, Wid Sarah Fletcher, Mis Lydda Bates, Mary Bowers, Lusy Fletcher, Sarah Fletcher, Rachel Howard, Thankful Peirce. For the Bairs (bearers) Capt Ebenezer Parker, Capt Epa Spaulding Esq, Capt Zacriah Richardson Left Jona Spaulding Left Joseph Moor, Mr. Robert Peirce."* The minister, Rev. Ebenezer Bridge, alights from his chaise and with staid and dignified bearing, enters the house of mourning. He offers prayer and the services are concluded. The coffin is placed upon the bier and, followed by the procession, is borne over the long winding road to the burial ground at the centre of the town, four miles away.† The bell slowly tolling from the church tower from the time the procession comes in view.

The inscription upon the grave stone is :

Here lies the
Body of Lieu'
BENJAMIN PARKER
who departed thi
Life May 23^d 1771
Aged 72 years
8 months &
11 days

* "The persons that are to Receive the Gloves." The spelling is as appears in the original paper.

† Where the bearers were old and the distance long young men were selected to act as under bearers.

The funeral sermon was preached at the meeting house, the Sabbath following the burial. This was preceded by a request from the family of the deceased, for the prayers of the congregation that their loss may be sanctified to them for their spiritual good.

A favorite discourse of Parson Bridge for such occasions was from the text in Gen. v. 24: "And Enoch walked wth God and he was not: for God took him." This was "Preached Sab. after y^e D & funl^l of Henry Spaulding — octo. 6—1754"—and with some changes several times after, the last being Jan. 1, 1792, the Sabbath after the death and funeral of Deacon Ephraim Spaulding. —*Et* 83.

Three physicians were paid for attendance upon Lieut. Parker.*

"Dr Kittredge 39/
Dr oliver Prescot 5—14—0
Nehemiah Abbot 46 ½ 8"

The first named was a Tewksbury physician. (Dr. Benj. or Dr. Francis.) The last was of Chelmsford. He lived at the Center, in the house which stands at the corner of Acton street. Dr. Prescott was a more noted physician from Groton, perhaps called in consultation: "The limits of his practice were extended to a great distance on every side."† He was a brother of Col. Wm. Prescott of Bunker Hill fame, and himself an active patriot in the revolution, receiving the appointment of the second Major General of Militia in 1781. His long rides on horseback, to answer his many calls led him, it is said, to acquire the habit of sleeping in that position.

* Probate Records.

† "Physicians of Groton." Dr. S. A. Green.

If some of the mourning customs of those days occasioned heavy expense the undertaker's bills were certainly not excessive. The cost of the coffin was 5 shillings and 4 pence, (0—5—4) paid to Moses Davis, who kept a tavern at what is now known as Davis' corner.

The list of the personal effects left by Lieut. Parker remind us of the great changes that have taken place in dress and domestic economy. Many of the articles are now found only in garrets, or antiquarian collections. Among them were a "blew coat & Tucket, leather breeches, shoe buckles, knee buckles, warming pan, brass skillet, trammels, pillion, Riddle, sword & belt, Camblet coat & Green jacket, silver buttons" and two wheels. The last named articles, to be sure, seem somewhat familiar to moderns. With those "wheels" the women of the household took their daily "spin" undisturbed by any fears of also taking a "header." One was a wool and one a flax wheel.

In the estate of the daughter Sarah, we find such articles as a "Ridingwood [sic] caps, ruffles, ribbons, necklace, gloves, fans, stays, side saddle & bridle and pillion."

From which it seems that the young ladies of those days found means to gratify their feminine fancies as well as their modern sisters.

Of the people whose names have been mentioned as the recipients of the funeral gloves, Mr. Robert Peirce was a young man of 17, born April 13, 1754, son of Stephen and Betsey (Bowers) Peirce. Mr. Stephen Pierce lived at East Chelmsford. His house, since remodeled, is now the residence of our respected citizen, Mr. William Manning. He (born 1754) was a son of Oliver and grandson of Stephen and Esther. He married

Hannah Marshall, July 30, 1778, was a soldier in the revolution, died April 16, 1826. Mr. Jacob Howard and wife were a middle-aged couple from Middlesex. He died March 26, 1796, aged 78. The name is in the rolls of soldiers in the revolution. The Butterfield home where Benjamin and his wife probably lived was upon Hale street, a few rods from Lincoln Square. William Pierce was a son of Robert and Mary, grandson of Stephen and Esther, born Oct. 29, 1735. His intention of marriage to Elizabeth Pierce was published Dec. 4, 1760. His father deeded to him in 1758, shortly before William's marriage, "½ of all my real estate in Chelmsford" for £100.*

Silas Peirce is accompanied by his young bride Lucy Spaulding, (m. March 26, 1771.) He will be referred to again. Joseph Warren was from the center of the town. He died March 18, 1792, aged 67. William Bowers was from Middlesex. He was a descendent of Jerathmel, who first settled upon the ancestral homestead on Wood street, now occupied by Joseph Bowers, a brother of City Engineer Bowers. The line from ¹Jerathmel son of George (of Scituate, 1637) m. Elizabeth—died in Groton April 23, 1724. ²Jonathan, b. April 13, 1674, m. Hannah Barrett May 17, 1699, d. Feb. 12, 1744 or 5. ³Jonathan, b. July 5, 1701, m. Mary Grimes, June 7, 1726, d. Nov. 1756. ⁴William m. Hannah Kidder of Billerica, Jan. 1, 1761. ⁵Joseph, b. Dec. 31, 1780, m. Rhoda Butterfield April 1, 1803, d. Jan. 15, 1859. ⁶Sewall, b. July 10, 1810, m. Sylvia Fisher, Nov. 24, 1847, d. Dec. 23, 1893. ⁷Joseph and George.

The location of the Keyes house has been mentioned. Miss Elizabeth Clark, b. Feb. 28, 1725, was a

*Benj. Parker papers

maiden lady with somewhat aristocratic connections. Her father Col. Jonas Clark kept the public house at the ferry, since known as the Middlesex tavern. She was connected with the Hancocks who often visited here. Her aunt Elizabeth (daughter of of Rev. Thos.) married Rev. John Hancock of Lexington, and was the grandmother of the patriot Governor John Hancock. Abigail Bates was probably the widow of Robert, whom Parson Bridge mentions among his parishioners whom he visited at the Neck. Widow Martha Howard was Martha Poor of Andover, before marriage to Benjamin Howard, Jan. 12, 1748. She died April 27, 1793, age 79 $\frac{11}{16}$.*

Sarah Fletcher was the widow of Henry who died June 1, 1764, and the mother of Henry (b. Jan. 17, 1754,) who was killed at White Plains, New York, Feb. 3, 1780, while serving as a soldier in the revolution. He left two small children, Henry and Betsey. The latter, (b. April 19, 1777,) married Johnson Davis, the father of Mr. Sidney Davis, a member of this association.

The six bearers were all military men of mature years, and doubtless all had seen service in the wars. Capt. Ebenezer Parker commanded the company of which the deceased was an officer. Capt. Ephraim Spaulding was a justice of the peace and deacon of the church. At the funeral of the wife of Lieut. Parker, (Elizabeth, d. Dec. 19, 1765,) Deacon Spaulding officiated in place of the minister.†

Captain Zachariah Richardson is a veteran of the wars, now past the age for military service. He died March 22, 1776, aged 81.

Lieut. Jona. Spaulding‡ was a tavern keeper at

* Grave stone.

† Bridge's Diary

‡ Or John. I think Jona. the name intended

the south part of the town, within the present limits of the town of Carlisle. He was an active business man. His old account books which have been preserved afford a curious study of the times. His military commission bearing the autograph of Governor Pownal, 1757, is in the Adams Library, Chelmsford. He lived to the great age of 95, (b. 1705.) Lieut. Joseph Moor lived upon what is now Moor street, where some of his descendants still reside. The present occupant being the sixth generation of the family upon the old homestead. Joseph Moor died July 5, 1775. Mr. Robert Pierce was a quartermaster in the military. He was a widower of 63, his wife Mary (Landlee) having deceased ten years before, (d. June 5, 1761.) He was a son of Stephen and Esther, (b. Jan. 19, 1708, m. published June 17, 1731; died April 2, 1789). Joseph Peirce lived upon what is now the city farm. His house stood a few rods south of the Coburn houses on Chelmsford street. The old road passed between the Coburn and Peirce houses. He married Mary Peirce March 20, 1744. She was a daughter of Stephen and Esther, born Dec. 14, 1722. Pierce was a tailor and his services in that capacity were sought by people of quality. Among his customers was Oliver Fletcher, Esq., who lived at the center of the town. Squire Fletcher was a graduate of Harvard College and a man highly esteemed for "piety and integrity." He attended to the legal affairs of the town, and for individuals. When he attended court at Cambridge, or Concord, he went faultlessly attired. His account book mentions a number of garments made for him by Joseph Peirce. Here is a description of the materials for one of them:

1756 "October 18 afores^d I paid for cloth for a coat &c.
 To paid M^r Cushin for 3 yds
 & $\frac{1}{4}$ of Drab broad cloth for a } 26 0 0
 Great Coat @ £ 8 p y^d is }
 To p^d Marshall for Cutting out the said Coat . . . 1 0 0
 To paid for sowing silk for said Coat 0 7 6
 To paid for half an ounce of thread for thes^d Coat 0 2 0
 To paid for 2 Dozen of Buttons covered with hair
 for said Coat to Lawton 1 4 0
 To 2 Skains of silk Twist at 5 ^s each at same
 place for s^d Coat
 To $\frac{1}{2}$ yard Shalloon for s^d Coat at
 Lawtons at 28 ^s p is 0 14 0
 February 25, 1757 To making the s^d Great }
 Coat p^d Peirce } 1 15 0" *

Squire Fletcher must have presented a striking appearance arrayed in his beaver hat, brown wig, and drab great coat with its two dozen of buttons covered with hair. And he apparently enjoyed pleasant relations with those before whom he appeared at Cambridge, for we find under date

" 1753
 May 17 Expenses to Court
 2 dollars £ 4—10—3 out of which I paid £ 1—12—0
 for Puch [punch] which I gave the Court after Dinner."

The Pierces were a long-lived race. Of the children of Joseph, the eldest Silas outlived five wives, leaving the sixth a widow at the age of 84. Joanna was cut off by an accident at 90. Sarah died at 98, and Thankful lived to reach her 100th year.

For the benefit of such as are interested in a study of the effects of the use of alcohol upon longevity, it should be stated that the head of this remarkable family

* Oliver Fletcher's Account Book.

was addicted to the intemperate indulgence in drink—we are not informed as to the brand he used. Silas continued to live at the old homestead. Mr. Franklin Coburn describes it as a long rambling cottage, made so by extensions added from time to time to accommodate the increasing tenants. He has pleasant recollections of the kindly old couple, Silas and his wife, and of visits to the cottage where from the chimney corner he could look up to the stars. The farm was purchased by the city for its present use of Joseph, a son of Silas. Sarah Pierce, (b. Dec. 30, 1759, daughter of Joseph and Mary,) has many descendants living in Chelmsford and Lowell by her marriage to Amos Byam. She married second Oliver Parkhurst.

Joanna Peirce, (b. March 24, 1769,) married James Marshall, a revolutionary soldier. She has a son, Rufus Marshall, now living in this city, at the age of 87, one of the very few living sons of revolutionary soldiers.

Thankful, (b. Jan. 9, 1752, daughter of Joseph and Mary Pierce.) was the last name in the list of those who received the funeral gloves. She then was a sunny blue-eyed miss of nineteen summers. She married, about 1773, Samson Walker. They removed to Temple, N. H., and later to Andover, Vt., where they passed the remainder of their days. He was a soldier in the revolution.*

The history of Andover, Vermont, states that Samson Walker was at the battle of Bunker Hill, one of five brothers, all holding commissions and all over six feet tall. They reared a family of nine children, the daughters being noted for their beauty, two of whom lived to a great age. The following is a copy of the inscription

* Certificate from War Department, Washington, D. C.



THANKFUL (PIERCE) WALKER AT 97.

upon her grave stone, in the old cemetery in a neglected but picturesque spot high up among the hills beside the old stage road in Andover.

THANKFUL
wife of
Samson Walker
DIED
March 28, 1851
A.E. 99 y's 2 m's
& 8 d's

Great peace to those that loves
God's laws and nothing shall
offend them.

I was introduced to a descendent of Thankful at a very early age. She was placed in the cradle with me when we were infants. I do not remember the impression she made upon me at that time but I have a distinct recollection that at a later date I thought her beautiful—and to me she is so now. We still keep the old family cradle, and its latest occupant was our grandson of the sixth generation from pretty Thankful Pierce of 1771.

MR. C. W. WHIDDEN,*

Secretary of the Old Residents' Historical Association.

My Dear Sir : — The accompanying papers, copied from the originals in the Chelmsford archives, seem to me to possess some interest to your association. The one relating to the school shows the enlightened spirit which prompted the enterprising founders of Lowell to furnish school accommodations for their rapidly increasing population without waiting for the action of the town. The others contain the names of the members of the first fire companies.

Very respectfully,

HENRY S. PERHAM.

Chelmsford, Jan. 24, 1898.

* The following papers referred to in this letter were not read before the association but are printed both for general information and to preserve their historic value.

C. W. WHIDDEN, *Sec'y.*

TO THE SELECTMEN OF THE TOWN OF CHELMSFORD

Gentⁿ

The increase of Population in the Eleventh School District has been so great for a year or two past, that the Children cannot possibly be accommodated in the School House belonging to said district. The Merrimaek Manufact^g Company have in consequence erected a School House for the convenience of all children residing on their premises. Therefore we the undersigned request that an article may be inserted in the warrent for the Town meeting to be holden on the first Monday of April next to ascertain if the Inhabitants will appropriate the money paid by the Mer^k Man^g Company & persons in their employ for supporting the School established by them, and to have the district so divided as to effect the above purpose

Chelmsford 23^d March 1825.—

KIRK BOOTT Agent
 PAUL MOODY
 WARREN COLBURN
 N GOODWIN
 ALLAN POLLOCK
 GEORGE B. POLLOCK
 HIRAM THOMPSON
 HENRY SMITH
 D. J. MOODY
 CHARLES NICHOLS

The paper containing the following was endorsed upon the back "Report of the Selectmen respecting School District No 11—1825"

The subscribers to whom was referred the article in the the warrant for the last town meeting, respecting a a division of school district No. 11 having attend to the servie. respectfully submit the following Report.

That said district be divided as follows, viz. beginning at Merrimaek River at the northeasterly corner of the Kittridge farm, so called, thence running southerly to the bride over George's brook so

called on the road from Patucket Bridge to Concord River bridge, thence westerly on said road to the land of Luther Richardson, thence southerly on said Richardsons land and in the same course to the Patucket land four rods west of the house of Thomas Bagden and that the part of the town east of said line, and north of said canal be made a school district, and called district No. 13.

CALEB ABBOTT
NATH WRIGHT
ALPHEUS SPAULDING

TO THE SELECTMEN OF THE TOWN OF CHELMSFORD

The Merrimack Manufacturing Company by their agent, represent that they are proprietors of a Fire Engine in said Chelmsford, which they are desirous should be employed for the benefit of said town: they therefore request you to appoint a number of suitable persons for Engine-Men, agreeable to the law in such case made & provided.

April 24th 1823.

KIRK BOOTT
Agent M. M. Co

Appended to the paper containing the above is another giving the action of the selectmen acceding to the request.

On the foregoing request, we have appointed the the following persons Engine Men to said Engine viz. Jonathan Burbank, Nathaniel Holmes, William Pearson, Samuel S. Churchill, Amos Pearson, John Bowtell, Suel Heaselton, Leonard Cushing, Stephen W. Baleomb, Stephen Cushing, John Dummer, Simeon C. Sargent, David Hamblet, Joseph M. Dodge, Abel Lincoln, Charles Nichols, John T. Spofford, John Clark, Denas Doane, Calvin Fairbanks & William Whall 3d all of said Chelmsford

May 1st 1823

CALEB ABBOTT } Selectmen
NATH WRIGHT } of
JOHN SHED } Chelmsford

The Proprietors of Locks and Canals on Merrimack River—
Having provided themselves with an Engine and Buckets—subject
to the direction of the Town—petition the Select Men of the Town
Chelmsford to Authorise th same and appoint Twenty one Engine
men from the following list.

Chelmsford, March 28th 1825.

DAVID I. MOODY
ARCH^d W. DUMMER
GEORGE BROWNELL
JAMES CHANDLER
SETH CHANDLER
RUFUS NICHOLS
STEPHEN WEBSTER
NATHAN OLIVER
GROSVENOR BUTRICK
CALEB MARVEL
RUSSEL ROBERTSON
JEFFERSON WHEELER
THOMAS NEWELL
WILLIAM MERRIAM
ALBIGENCE W. FISHER
SAMUEL FISHER
SAMUEL FEECHAM
MAYNARD BRAGG
WILLIAM D. MASON
WILLIAM PROCTER
CYRUS OLIVER

KIRK BOOTT, Treas. & Agent
Props. L & Canals on Merr. River.

Written upon the back of the paper containing
above was

March 29, 1825 By Virtue of the Statutes of 1785 and 1805,
we the subscribers have appointed the foregoing list of persons
enginemen to be attached to engine No. 3 within the Town of
Chelmsford

CALEB ABBOTT	} Selectmen
NATH ^l WRIGHT	
JOHN SHED	
J. H. B. AYER	

I. Annual Report for 1895-6. By Solon W. Stevens, Vice-Pres. Read May 26, 1896.

Lowell, May 26, 1896.

It again becomes the duty of the President of the Old Residents' Association of Lowell to present an annual report. A review of the events which have occurred during the past year does not offer many incidents of striking interest which properly come within the range of such a report, and in fact all that need be said is substantially reduced to the statement that our Society has continued its quiet, unobtrusive existence in its usually prosperous way, together with the additional statement that death has marked with its fatal asterisk several names which for many years have been enrolled on the list of our membership.

In an address delivered on the 3d of May, 1869, by the first President of this Association, Dr. John O. Green, at its first annual meeting, the speaker stated that in the autumn of 1823 he witnessed the singular and novel experiment of the planting of bushels of acorns over a large tract of land in the vicinity of School Street, under the personal oversight of Ezra Worthen, Esq., for the purpose of providing superior white oak timber for the use of the mills in future years. Of course the enterprise was a failure, for the little shrubs never grew to more than a foot in height, while the attention of the original participants in the scheme was diverted to more serious purposes. But the incident showed the spirit of hopefulness and patience characteristic of the early builders who laid the foundations of our attractive and prosperous city. It seems to me the same spirit of faith, and hope, and patience, was exercised by the founders

of this organization when they determined to execute their plans, and to persist in their efforts for "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."

Unlike the experiment witnessed by Dr. Green, this enterprise has proved successful, and it only remains for us and our successors to magnify its importance, enlarge its scope, and impress upon others the necessity of giving to its peculiar work more general encouragement. The papers and records which have been written, read, and preserved under the auspices of the Old Residents' Association have become a collection of historical data relative to the personality of Lowell citizenship which can be obtained from no other equally reliable source, and these data are increasing in interest and value every year. Add to this collection the manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and volumes of newspapers, which are the property of the Association, and which, but for this Association, would never have been preserved, and it may well be questioned whether any such collection of peculiar historical material exists anywhere within the limits of the land.

Perhaps in this connection it may be proper to state that the matter of the publication of a History of Lowell under the auspices of this Association has not been lost sight of by the Committee having the matter in charge. It is, however, an undertaking which involves leisure, patience, and careful preparation, and in order to even approximate the ideal standard which it is utterly impossible to realize, sufficient time must be allowed and be taken for an enterprise of so great importance.

It may also be proper to add that a petition has been recently presented to the city authorities in behalf of the

Old Residents' Association praying that said Association may be allowed to hold its meetings, locate its properties, and establish its headquarters in Memorial Hall. No decision has yet been reached relative to the matter, so that nothing further can be said, except to emphasize the expression of hope that a favorable answer may be given to our request.

The following are the names of those members of the Association who have passed away since the last annual meeting:

1. George W. Patterson.

George W. Patterson, brother of the late Ex-Senator Patterson of New Hampshire, died at his home, No. 38 West Sixth Street, July 19th, 1895. He was born in Henniker, N. H., on the 12th of March, 1815, and came to Lowell with his father in 1834. Soon after his arrival here he entered the employ of the Lawrence Manufacturing Company, where he remained forty-one years, thirty-five of which he served as overseer. He was one of the original members of Kirk Street Church, having identified himself with those who came out from the First Congregational Church with the late Rev. Dr. Blanchard, to form the Kirk Street Church, and he was regarded until the close of his life as one of its most zealous and devoted members.

2. Cleveland J. Cheney.

A biographical sketch of Mr. Cheney is purposely omitted here because a paper relative to his life, prepared by Col. James Francis, is to be found elsewhere in the published papers of the Old Residents' Association.

3. Oliver A. Richardson.

Oliver A. Richardson was born Nov. 21st, —, at East Medway, Mass., came to Lowell October 31st, 1832, and died here August 21st, 1895, aged 85 years and 9 months. As will be observed, Mr. Richardson came to this place when Lowell was a town, and commenced business as a gunsmith and a locksmith. He was at first located on Middlesex Street, having erected the first shop on that street between Central Street and what is now called the Northern Depot. Later he moved to Middle Street, where he had his shop and his dwelling-house for many years, and then finally located his business on Central Street. In 1853, Mr. Richardson moved to Boston and established his business on Washington Street, North End, where he remained for about eight years, and afterward returned to Lowell, where he remained until his death. He was much respected as a citizen, quiet in manner, genial in disposition, and ever ready to lend a helping hand to the unfortunate.

4. Solomon Danforth.

Solomon Danforth, an old and respected resident of this city, died at his home on Loring Street, December 7th, 1895, at the age of 77 years. He was a native of New Hampshire, and had been a citizen of Lowell since 1834. He was formerly engaged in real estate business, but relinquished active duties as a business man several years ago on account of his infirmities. Mr. Danforth, like several others whose names are mentioned in these brief notices, became a resident here before Lowell was incorporated as a city. After a long and useful life he died respected and beloved by a large circle of acquaintances and friends.

5. John S. Jaques.

John S. Jaques was born at Sanbornton, N. H., March 19th, 1812, and died at his home on East Merrimack Street, January 31st, 1896, at the age of 83 years. He was well known as a business man, being prominently identified with the manufacturing of shuttles, from the active duties of which he retired some years ago. In April, 1835, he was married to Nancy C. Tilton, who died July 7th, 1891. The fiftieth anniversary of their marriage was celebrated at their residence in a very pleasant and social way in 1885. In November, 1894, Mr. Jaques was married to Adelia S. Kempsey of Lowell. Mr. Jaques was for a long time one of the Trustees of the Central Savings Bank and was very zealous in promoting the interests of that institution. He came to Lowell in 1832, and throughout his long and busy life was highly esteemed.

6. James Watson.

James Watson, one of our oldest and best-known citizens, was born in Nottingham, N. H., August 2nd, 1818, and died in Lowell March 21st, 1896, at the age of 77 years and 7 months. He came to Lowell May 26th, 1835. For fifty-six years he lived on the Merrimack Corporation and occupied the responsible position of overseer in the Merrimack Mills during the greater portion of that time. He served as Councilman in 1850-51, and as Alderman in 1860-61. Mr. Watson always manifested great interest in the People's Club and held the office of Secretary of this organization from the date of its beginning until the close of his life. His zeal in its welfare was very marked, and as long as he was physically able to do so he visited its apartments several times every week, having missed only two meetings of its Board

of Government in all the years of the existence of the club. He was identified with our manufacturing industries in connection with the Merrimack Mills for more than half a century, and his reminiscences relative thereto were delightful to listen to because his accurate memory was filled with so many incidents relative to persons and things connected with this company. Mr. Watson's gradual decline in health had been noticed with anxiety by his family and friends, but he kept actively employed until within a few weeks of the time when the inevitable end came. Personally he was a man of strict integrity, delightful as a companion, devoted as a husband and father, and in death he has left behind the memory of a useful and well spent life.

7. George F. Scribner.

Mr. George F. Scribner was born in Chelsea, Vt., on the 16th of October, 1830, and died at his home in Belvidere in this city on the 11th of October, 1895. He came to Lowell in 1847, and had always lived here with the exception of a short period of time passed in California. His business was that of a contractor at the Lowell Machine Shop, with which corporation he was connected many years. He served two years in the Common Council, two years on the Board of Aldermen, two years in the State Legislature, and four years on the School Board. He was a Trustee and Vice-President of the Central Savings Bank from the date of its organization. He was regarded as a man of strict integrity, sound judgment, affable and kind in all his relations with his fellowmen, and his memory will always be cherished with affection and esteem.

8. John H. McAlvin.

John H. McAlvin was born in this city on Chapel Hill August 2nd, 1831, and died at his home on Methuen Street May 1st, 1896. His death was not altogether unexpected, but its announcement was received by his many friends with profound regret. At the time of his decease he was a member of the Board of Aldermen. He was chosen City Clerk for the first time in 1858, succeeding Mr. William Lamson, Jr., which position he resigned in 1869 to become City Treasurer. He was annually re-elected to this office until 1883. Since that time he has served as Manager of the Novelty Plaster Works for the period of twelve years, and as Treasurer of the Lowell Electric Light Corporation for thirteen years. He was at the time of his death Treasurer of the Tyler Ten Cigar Company, and also Clerk of the Society of the Unitarian Church. Mr. McAlvin was always diligent and faithful to his duties in whatever position he was placed, and he commanded the universal respect of the community for his fidelity and personal integrity.

9. Wilder Bennett.

Mr. Wilder Bennett died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. G. G. Tarbell, in East Pepperell, on the 2nd of May, 1896, at the age of 83 years. He was born in Dunstable, April 17th, 1832. His occupation was that of a mason. He built the principal buildings connected with the Merrimack and Hamilton Corporation, and also Fiske's Block, the Appleton Bank Block, Central Block, the Eliot, the First Universalist and the First Congregational Churches. He served several years as Superintendent of the Lowell Horse Railroad, being the second one employed by that company in that capacity. For many years he was connected with the American Brass Band

as a clarinet player; and it is said that at the outbreak of the Civil War, being Superintendent of Streets in our city, he could not obtain permission from the City Council to go to the front with the band, but subsequently went to Washington in season to return with them at the close of the 100 days' service. He was an estimable man and died greatly respected by a large circle of friends.

10. Hapgood Wright.

Mr. Hapgood Wright was born in Concord, Mass., on the 28th day of March, 1811, and died at his home on Lawrence Street on Thursday, May 14th, 1896, being a little more than 85 years of age at the time of his decease. He came to Lowell in 1828, when what is now a large and prosperous city was simply a thriving manufacturing town of about 5000 inhabitants. He was employed as a clerk or assistant in a shoe store, and at the age of 19 he opened a store and commenced for himself the business of selling boots and shoes, in which line he continued actively until October, 1886. He was elected to the Common Council in 1845-46, and also served as Alderman in 1856 and in 1869, and subsequently was elected to the House of Representatives in the Legislature of the State. On the death of the Hon. Daniel S. Richardson he was chosen President of the Prescott National Bank, and he was also a Trustee of the Five Cent Savings Bank. He became a member of the Unitarian Church in 1848, and always maintained a sincere interest in its affairs. In 1876 he gave to the City of Lowell the sum of \$1000 to be held in trust for fifty years, the profits then to be applied to some needed municipal purpose and the principal to be invested for another fifty years. This is known as the Hapgood Wright Centennial Fund. It is said he made a similar gift to the town of Concord, Mass., his birthplace, to be invested under similar limitations.

Mr. Wright was familiarly known, and was universally respected as a gentleman of spotless character, and as an honorable, enterprising citizen.

Thus our companions, one by one, drop away, and their faces are seen no more. The lines are continually breaking, and it is useless to conjecture whether the tension be weak or strong. Changes and mysteries surround us on every hand, and life itself is but a series of mysteries, but death is the greatest mystery of them all. The answer to the questions whence, why, wherefore, whither,—questions which appertain to our existence today and to our condition tomorrow, we do not, we cannot, know. Not by self-abandonment to the decrees of Fate, but only by obedience to the still, small voice of duty can we reach that sublime faith in a higher Power, in the exercise of which we may perhaps gain some clue to the sequel of these mysteries, find hope in the eternal promises,

“And justify the ways of God to man.”

Respectfully submitted,

SOLON W. STEVENS, President.

II. Annual Report for 1897-98. By Solon W. Stevens, Pres. Read June 21, 1898.

The attention of the members of the Old Residents' Historical Association is hereby respectfully invited to the following report for the year just brought to a close:

There have been but few meetings held during the year, but the records and archives of the Association have been enriched by donations and by the contribution of several exceedingly interesting papers. Inasmuch as these papers will soon be ready for circulation so as to be read at leisure, it is not considered necessary to refer to them at length by way of comment, except to say that each of them contains much valuable information which not only becomes interesting reading for the present moment, but which will receive increasing value as time passes by.

The following donations have been received by the Association, and their acceptance duly acknowledged:

Report of the Proceedings of the Wyoming Commemorative Association on the One Hundred and Nineteenth Anniversary of the Battle and Massacre of Wyoming.

A pamphlet entitled "Who Invented the Reaper?" by the McCormick Harvesting Company.

Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society.
Vol. 4.

The Seventeenth Annual Report of the New England Society of Brooklyn.

The Third Biennial Report of the Librarian of the Historical Society of Montana.

State Library Bulletin of the University of New York.

State Library Extension Bulletin, Summer Schools.

State Library Extension Bulletin, Public Library Divisions.

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Vol. 5, No. 3.

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Dedham Historical Register. Vol. 8, No. 3.

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Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society.
Vol. 6, No. 1.

Smithsonian Report for 1895.

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Dedham Historical Register. Vol. 9, No. 1.

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Vol. 5, No. 4.

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With one exception there have been no peculiar incidents in the history of this Association during the last year. The principal object of an organization like this is to procure by research such data of events which have transpired in the past as have a bearing upon the lives and acts of those who lived and wrought as citizens here, and to preserve such material in permanent form that it may be ready both for immediate and for future use. With this design in mind, the Association has continued along in its quiet, unobtrusive manner gathering materials and data which undoubtedly will some day prove to be of inestimable value.

The one exception to the usual course of things alluded to above is the fact that so many of our associates have passed away during the last year. There have been thirteen deaths in our membership since our last annual meeting.

These men against whose names "the fatal asterisk has been set" were widely known, highly respected, and will be sadly missed. Some of them were prominently identified at various times with public positions, while others lived along less conspicuous lines; but all of them were honored and beloved in life, and in their death their memory is tenderly cherished with affection and esteem. The limits of this report necessarily forbid the presentation of a complete sketch of the lives of these worthy men, but friendship prompts some tribute to their memory, brief and inadequate though it be.

Mr. William H. Cooper died at his home, No. 12 Ware Street, on the morning of June 23rd, 1897, at the age of 76 years. He had lived in Lowell some sixty years, and, according to the published statement, he had been in the Post Office Department since 1854. He was well known as a quiet, conscientious man, faithful in the performance of his duties, and is today tenderly remembered as a good citizen and an affectionate husband and father.

Mr. Daniel Bradford Bartlett, so well known as the Paymaster of the Lowell Gas Light Company, after a residence in this city for half a century, died at his home on Willow Street on the 10th of July, 1897, at the age of upwards 76 years. Mr. Bartlett was born in Concord, Massachusetts. He was a grandson of Dr. Josiah Bartlett of Charlestown, Mass., who was a surgeon in the Revolutionary War; and on his maternal side he was the eighth in descent from Gov. William Bradford of the Plymouth Colony. He was educated in the public schools of Concord, and was a classmate with the Hon. George F. Hoar, our distinguished United States Senator, and with Judge Brooks, late of the Middlesex County Probate Court. He was a machinist by trade, and in 1847 came to Lowell and entered the employment of the Lowell Machine Shop Corporation. He became connected with the Lowell Gas Light Company in 1850, the year in which this company began its business, and continued in its employ as Paymaster and Clerk until the day of his death. Mr. Bartlett was widely known for his intelligence and genial manner, and he will long be remembered as one of our most highly respected citizens.

Mr. George Sargent Cheney, after a long and painful illness, died at the age of 72 years at his home on Moody Street July 19th, 1897. Mr. Cheney was a native of Sut-

ton, N. H., and came to Lowell in 1840. He was a member of the Common Council in 1867 and 1868, a member of the Board of Aldermen in 1869, and from 1891 to 1894 inclusive was a member of the Board of Assessors. During his long and useful life he held many positions of trust and responsibility, prominent among which were a trusteeship and a vice-presidency of the Five Cent Savings Bank. He was a man of good judgment, of strict integrity, of wide business experience, and was considered a safe and conscientious adviser. It has been truthfully said of him that "his general record in Lowell from his coming to his last day will reflect credit upon himself and upon our city."

Mr. George T. Whitney, another of our oldest and most highly respected citizens, died on the evening of August 30th, 1897. Mr. Whitney came to Lowell in the early days of its municipal existence, and during the greater portion of his life was engaged in the meat and provision business. He was a quiet, unassuming man, never caring for public life, but diligent in business, faithful in his undertakings, and genial and pleasant in all his social relations. He was one of the original incorporators of the Central Methodist Church on John Street, and one of its most devoted members. He was 78 years of age at the time of his death.

Mr. Ira Leonard died at the age of 91, on the evening of September 20th, 1897. Mr. Leonard was born in Allentown, N. H., February 14th, 1806, and was a resident of Lowell for more than fifty years. It is said that he could distinctly remember the arrival of Lafayette in this country, and that he was present at the laying of the cornerstone of the monument on Bunker Hill. It is also said that he made the first crank to a loom in this city in the

Merrimack Mills in 1832, and that he helped to build the first locomotive made in this country. He was a very intelligent man, having travelled extensively, and having visited almost every imaginable place of interest, both at home and abroad. He was a peculiar man in some respects, very positive in his ideas, but open-hearted, genial and honest in his dealings with his fellowmen.

Mr. Henry Cook Church, at the age of 84, died on the morning of November 19th, 1897. Mr. Church was born in Hartford, Conn., and was a lineal descendant of Richard Church, the ancestor of the Church family in America, who was born in England in 1608, and came to this country in 1630. Mr. Church was prominently identified with the insurance business, and his death removes from sight one whose face and voice were familiar in the prominent business circles of our city. No one knew him but to esteem him highly, for he was a man of unblemished integrity, of good judgment, of warm sympathies, and always reliable in his friendships and promises.

Mr. Josiah Greenough Peabody died on the morning of February 25th, 1898, in the 90th year of his age. He was born in Portsmouth, N. H., and came to Lowell in 1824. He had thus been a resident of Lowell nearly seventy-four years, a period of time which runs back to a date before Lowell was incorporated as a town. He assisted in building one of the first mills erected by the Hamilton Manufacturing Company; he built the bank building on Shattuck Street, the Kirk Street and St. Joseph Churches, the Lunatic Asylum at Taunton, the Custom House at Gloucester, and also several mills on the corporations in Lowell. He early became interested in the Fire Department of Lowell, and in 1886, when the Vet-

cran Firemen's Association was formed, he became its first President, and, although unable to attend many of the meetings of this organization, he was unanimously re-elected annually to the office of President to the time of his decease. He joined the Mechanic Phalanx in 1840, served as Captain of the company from 1843 to 1846, and then resigned his commission and returned to the ranks. He was a member of the Common Council in 1859 and 1860, and a member of the Board of Aldermen in 1850. He was a member of the Legislature in 1837 and in 1855, and a member of the Executive Council in 1856. In 1865-66 and in 1872 he was Mayor of this city; and in 1874 and 1875 was a member of the School Committee. He at one time filled the office of President of the Lowell Cemetery Corporation, and at the time of his decease was President of the Merrimack River Savings Bank. In all the various positions of trust which he occupied he performed his duties with peculiar vigor and persistence, and with unswerving devotion to his sense of duty. In life he was respected, and in death he is remembered as a zealous, upright, honest man.

Mr. George Dennis Hills, another highly esteemed citizen, died at his home in this city at the age of 69 years and 8 months, on the 15th of April, 1898. Mr. Hills, who came from sturdy New England stock, was born at Sterling, Massachusetts, on the 30th of July, 1828. He came to Lowell in 1856 and entered the employment of Dr. James C. Ayer as chief bookkeeper, which position he filled at the date of his decease. In testimony of the fidelity of Mr. Hills in the daily service in which he was engaged I quote the following incident as related in the newspaper obituary notice of this highly respected citizen: "About a month ago, when it was hoped that rest and ease would add many years to a valued life, Mr.

Rose, the Manager of the J. C. Ayer Co., called on Mr. Hills, and told him that while his chair would be always ready for him at his desk and a welcome always waiting for him in the office, which would seem strange without him, he was no more to feel the obligation of work. The company wished him to enjoy a well-earned rest for his remaining days and accept a continuation of his salary for life as a token of appreciation of good and faithful service. It was hard to say which was the happier in this proposition, the company in making it, or Mr. Hills in accepting it." Mr. Hills was a great sufferer during the latter portion of his life on account of physical infirmities, but he constantly evinced a cheerful disposition, based upon his strong religious spirit, maintaining to the last unswerving faith in "Him who doeth all things well."

Mr. Samuel Horn died at the age of 91 years and 3 months, on the morning of April 15th, 1898. Mr. Horn was born in Southboro, Massachusetts, on December 31st, 1803. It was in the rugged, honest life of a country farm that Mr. Horn learned the lessons of industry and perseverance in the performance of duty which laid the foundation of his prosperous career as a business man and as an honored citizen. He came to Lowell in the December of 1828 and engaged in business as a manufacturer and shipper of soap tallow and candles, and a dealer in hides, in which business he continued until his retirement from daily active duties in 1886. He was a member of the City Government in 1839, one of the founders of the Wamesit National bank in 1853, also one of the founders of the Merrimack River Savings Bank in 1871, and continued as a Director of the one and as a Trustee of the other until the day of his death. Mr. Horn was a remarkably well-preserved man mentally and physically. He

was very intelligent, quiet and unobtrusive in manner, and in business life his word was always regarded as good as his bond. We shall not soon forget his handsome face, nor that dignified manner and that genial, lovable nature which made him a splendid specimen of a gentleman of the old-fashioned school. The following extract from a beautiful tribute paid to the memory of Mr. Horn by the Rev. John M. Greene of this city may properly be quoted here: "We who are left shall miss his ever genial and inspiring presence. He was a conspicuous personage among us—dignified in his bearing, courteous in his manners, active in his habits, remarkably well preserved for one of his age, walking at the age of 91 years our streets unattended, punctual at the places of business, always kind and cordial, the best of company for young or old. He had a fund of anecdote and could both tell and relish a good story. He never said aught against any one, and no one in his presence felt like airing the infirmities and faults of others. His presence lifted one above all that is mean or low. I have had many pleasant hours with him, and all my recollections of him fill me with joy and delight. There was a sweetness about his disposition which was remarkable; none of the moroseness and fault-finding which sometimes mar the spirit of the aged. He took a cheerful, hopeful view of everything, and if he had sorrows he did not obtrude them upon others. As I look on his face in the casket, the words of John Milton come to me:

"A death-like sleep,

A gentle wafting to immortal life."

Mr. Jeremiah Clark, after an illness extending over a period of two months, died on the 22nd of April, 1898, at the age of upwards 79 years. Two days previous to his decease his wife, his wedded companion for nearly

sixty years, had passed away, hence the peculiarly pathetic incident of the burial of this aged couple together, side by side, on the same occasion and by the same funeral service. Mr. Clark was born in Washington, Vermont, on the 11th of February, 1819. At the age of 16 years he came to Lowell, and for thirty-five years served as apprentice, journeyman, and contractor in the Lowell Machine Shop, and in 1867 he established a business as a dealer in textile machinery, which at the time of his death was said to be the largest industry of its kind in the country. He was a member of the Lowell City Government in 1852, a member of the House of Representatives in 1860-61, and a member of the Senate in 1873. Mr. Clark was prominently identified with the Worthen Street Methodist Episcopal Church, of which society he was Trustee for thirty-eight years. The following is an extract from a tribute to the memory of Mr. Clark by his pastor, the Rev. E. T. Curnick: "If the adage is true, 'If a man wants friends he must show himself to be friendly,' then our brother must have been friendly, for he had hosts of friends. If he had an enemy I am sure it was no fault of his. His friendship can be measured by the multiplied expressions of sorrow we have all heard because of his death. I have heard these expressions in Lowell, Boston, and almost everywhere, and from all classes of persons. Friendship is the result of esteem, respect and love; and there was something in Brother Clark which drew out all these noble qualities. With him acquaintanceship was almost sure to blossom into friendship, and this friendship, like a beautiful plant, was wont to grow stronger and more fruitful as the years went by. In a thousand ways he proved his friendship by putting himself to trouble, inconvenience and loss for the sake of his friends. When a favor was asked of him, how ready was he to grant it, if possible, and, if unable,

with what kind and tender words would he express his regret!"

Mr. Frederick Frye died on the 17th of May, 1898, at the age of 73 years and 6 months. Mr. Frye was widely known as a contractor, and as one of our most highly respected citizens. He was a member of the Common Council in 1862 and 1863, and was a member of the Board of Aldermen in 1868 and in 1877. He was thoroughly upright, sincere and honest as a man, and because of these qualities as a citizen he was greatly respected.

Mr. Alfred D. Barker died at the residence of his son, Mr. George F. Barker, in Lawrence, Mass., March 23d, 1898, at the age of 89 years. He was born in Acton, Mass., Dec. 8th, 1808. He came to Lowell when a young man and learned the carpenter's trade. Excepting two years spent in California, he was a resident of this city for more than sixty years. At the time of his death he was the oldest member of Mechanics Lodge, I. O. O. F. He was an honest, upright and industrious man, and held the respect of a large circle of friends.

Mr. Chauncey Langdon Knapp, after a lingering illness, died on the 31st of May, 1898, at the age of 89 years. Mr. Knapp was born in Berlin, Vermont, February 26th, 1809. He came to Lowell in 1840 and followed his trade of journeyman printer. He was for a time associated with Mr. John P. Pillsbury in the publication of the Middlesex Standard, in the building where the Lowell Morning Times was recently published. He was connected with the Lowell Citizen until April 1st, 1882. He was Clerk of the Massachusetts Senate in 1851. He received the nomination for Congress when Lowell was in the old Eighth Congressional District in 1846-48-54 and 56, and was elected in the last two campaigns, defeating

Gen. Butler in 1856. He was also a member of the School Board for two years. Mr. Knapp was very highly respected, and both in public and in private life exerted his influence both by pen and speech for the promotion of the welfare of our city, and especially for the prosperity of our local industries as connected with economical questions which involved judicious and wise tariff legislation.

Such is the obituary record of this Association for the year which has now reached its close. Thirteen of our associates have been laid at rest within the past twelve months. The youngest age recorded is 69 years and 8 months; the average age of these lives is a little over 83 years. Twelve of these men passed the Scriptural limit of three score and ten. Six of them exceeded four score, and two of them lived beyond the age of four score and ten. It is a remarkable record, filled with hallowed memories and fraught with peculiar significance. The name of each of these men is a synonym of honesty and integrity of character. We shall miss them very much. But in moments of loving remembrance let us listen for a voice speaking to us from above the clouds, saying:

“Say not good night; but in some happier clime
Bid me, good morning.”

Respectfully submitted,

SOLOX W. STEVENS, President.

III. Historical Sketch of the Middlesex Mechanics Association. By Hon. Frederick Lawton. Read Jan. 31, 1899.

The act of the Great and General Court incorporating the Middlesex Mechanics Association received the signature of Gov. Levi Lincoln, June 18th, 1825.* It enacted that "Samuel Feckharm and Micajah Rice, with all those who have or who may associate (sic) with them, be, and they are hereby incorporated and made a body politic and corporate by the name of the Middlesex Mechanics Association." The records of the Association begin with what purports to be a copy of this act of incorporation, which copy calls it the Middlesex Mechanic Association. The Constitution, which in the records immediately follows the copy of the act of incorporation, sets forth in Article 1, Section 1: "The style of this Association as specified in the act of incorporation, passed June 18th, 1825, shall be the Middlesex Mechanic Association and Library Company." The words "Library Company" appear afterwards as a part of the name of the corporation only in the Constitution of 1834, and the addition of the words is undoubtedly an individual vagary, perhaps of the first secretary. Mechanic (and

*Acts of 1825, Chap. 27.

not Mechanics) Association, however, it was certainly meant to be called, for the petition for incorporation so called it, and it so continued to be called in the records and everywhere else till about 1861, when the Association began to call itself by the name by which it was accidentally christened instead of by that which the authors of its being intended it should bear.

The records of the meeting for organization, October 6th, 1825, and of the two next succeeding meetings, January 5th and February 13th, 1826, are dated at East Chelmsford; the record of the meeting of March 2nd, 1826 (a government meeting), is headed Lowell, Mass., for the act incorporating the town had received the Governor's signature the day before. These meetings and subsequent meetings, until that of October 5th, 1826, were held at Ira Frye's Inn, which stood where the American House now stands.* Then for nearly a year they were held at the Merrimack Hotel. From July 5th, 1827, and apparently during 1828 and 1829, they met in "their room next the reading room," as the records describe it. This was in the brick building first known as the Merrimack Company's Building and afterwards as Masons' Hall. It has long since lost its name but still stands at the southwesterly corner of Merrimack and Worthen Streets. December 13th, 1827, a committee was chosen to "confer with Mr. Beott and Mr. Moody respecting the joint use of the reading room and the room adjacent, by the subscribers to the reading room, the Mechanic Association, the two Masonic bodies, and the Mechanic Phalanx" in company with committees chosen by the other bodies. It appears that satisfactory arrangements were made, and that for the rest of their occupation they occupied the two rooms jointly with the three bodies

* Contrib. Old Res. Ass'n. Vol. III, Page 423.

named. It would be difficult to suggest three more incongruous co-tenants than a reading room, a military armory and a secret society lodge; but there is no indication in the records that their relations to each other and to the Association were otherwise than harmonious so long as the latter remained there. A few meetings in 1830 were held in the Merrimack Company's school-house, which stood, as will be remembered, on the site of the present Green School-house.** At its second meeting there the Association received what came near being its death blow, and from October, 1830, to October, 1832, there is no record of any meeting held anywhere. It then found a harbor of refuge for a few meetings at Warren Colburn's office in the Merrimack Counting Room, and with the revival of the Association, meetings were held in the Selectmen's room or the Town Hall until its permanent home was ready for occupancy. It is doubtless unnecessary to remind you that the Selectmen's room and Town Hall were both in what is now called the Old City Hall Building.

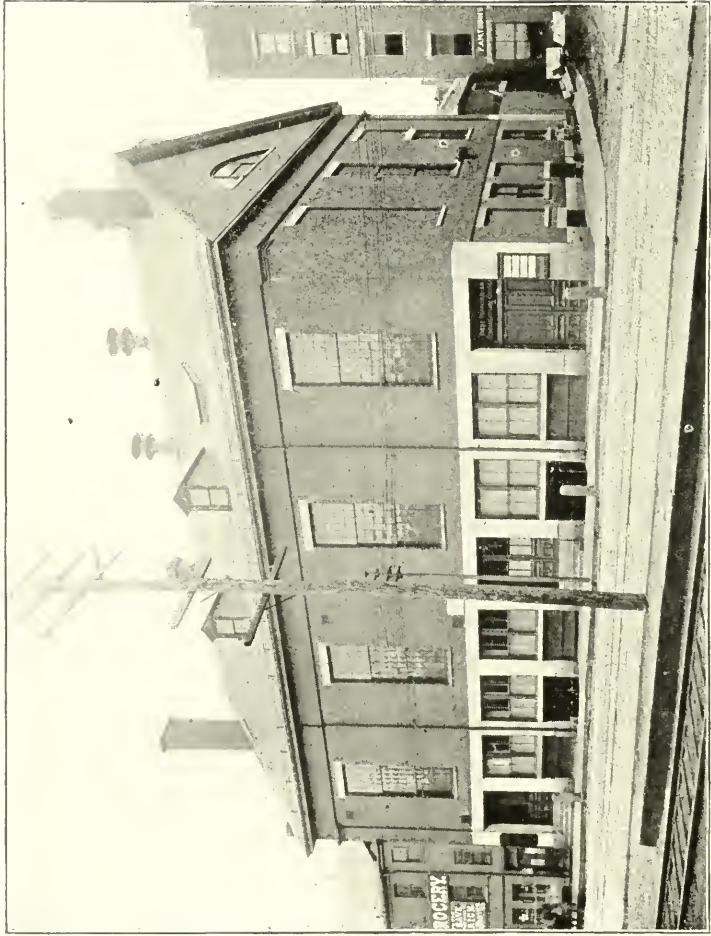
The original theory and purposes of the Association as conceived by its founders are shown by the petition for incorporation, by its charter, and by the preamble and certain provisions of its Constitution. The charter, following the language of the petition, provides that the income of the Association "shall be always employed and expended for the purpose of relieving the distresses of unfortunate mechanics and their families, of promoting inventions and improvements, by granting premiums for said inventions and improvements, and of establishing a suitable library for the information and instruction of mechanics in their respective arts." The preamble to the

** Ibid. Vol. III, Page 406.

Constitution as it appears in the original record is as follows:

It is universally admitted that the combined operation of the Mechanic powers have been the source of those useful inventions And scientific arts which have given to polished society its wealth And conveniences respectability and defence and which have Meliorated the Condition of its citizens. rational than is the inference that the association of those who conduct these powers in their Operations will prove highly beneficial in promoting mutual good offices and fellowship in assisting the necessitous encouraging the ingenious and in rewarding fidelity to effect these desirable Ends the present associates agree to be governed as a society by the following by-laws.

The Constitution provided, therefore, that the Association should consist of mechanics only, "except that such persons of distinction, patrons of the arts and friends to mechanics as the Association shall from time to time agree upon, may be admitted as honorary members." "A Committee of Relief shall be chosen annually, whose duty it shall be to seek out and relieve such indigent members of the Association, or their families, as may be proper objects of charity." Article 3, Section 1, says: "Benevolence shall ever be a primary and conspicuous object of the Association; its funds are considered as chiefly devoted to the relief of the distressed, and a liberal amount shall annually be voted to the Committee of Relief for that purpose." Section 2 of the same article provides that "on the death of a member the Committee of Finance shall immediately order any sum not exceeding twenty dollars to be presented to his widow, family or legal representatives." When there are none such, "money sufficient to defray his funeral expenses shall be appropriated and his dues to the Association made void." Every member was entitled to a diploma and also to a certificate of membership, the form of which was provided by the Constitution, and was in



M. M. A. BUILDING, 1893

the form of a recommendation of him "to the notice, encouragement, protection and patronage of all persons in all countries where he may sojourn."

If a member was by a two-thirds vote adjudged guilty of dishonorable or ungentlemanlike conduct, he might be expelled, and (Article 10, Section 4) "it shall ever be considered dishonorable and ungentlemanlike conduct for any member of this association to employ an apprentice of another member, without his consent or the consent of the government."

The Constitution provides also "an appropriate standard for the Association to be borne in general procession." Article 3, Section 2, provides that "every year from the year 1825 there shall be a public festival in October, on which occasion an address shall be delivered by a member of the Society, and the expense on such occasions shall be defrayed by an assessment on all the members of said Association."

The Constitution provides that "as it is compatible with the act of incorporation and the good of society, the Association may from time to time when the state of its finances will (permit) grant such premiums for superior workmanship in the respective arts it embraces as the government shall deem most expedient," the Association being required to designate in advance the arts in which and the articles for which the premiums for any one year are to be given. No reference is made to the establishment or maintenance of a library, except in the charter and in the name given the Association by the Constitution, nor of lectures, nor of general educational work.

The provisions quoted, for the relief of the poor and distressed brethren and for the burial of the dead, for the annual festival, the travelling certificate and the banner to be borne in procession, are each and all essential

characteristics of the medieval trade or craftsmen's guild. It is not probable that there was any actual historical connection between the ancient guilds and this Association and the many like it then springing up in this country and in England, only that, as they sprung up, some from motives very similar to those that led to the formation of the guilds and some from different motives, they certainly took the form, and, like this of ours, disclosed in their Constitutions purposes similar to those of their ancient predecessors. They were, in other words, not a new creation, but a true evolution, adapting the principles and ideas of the guilds, then dying or dead, to the changing condition of society and labor which came at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century.

The true parent of our Association is undoubtedly the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, incorporated in 1806. The terms of the act incorporating the Middlesex Mechanics' Association are identical with those of the earlier act, except that the Massachusetts Association was not required to establish and maintain a library, and was authorized to assist young mechanics with loans of money. The quaint preamble of the Middlesex Association's Constitution was copied verbatim from that of the Massachusetts Association, and the provisions of the respective Constitutions show but trifling differences.

As early as 1795 the mechanics of Boston had formed an association called the Association of Mechanics of the Commonwealth, with Paul Revere as their first President, which was subsequently incorporated as the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association. At the time of the formation of the Association of Mechanics the apprentice system was in vogue, and under pressure of competition apprentices were frequently induced to

leave their masters in violation of the terms of their indentures by promises of higher pay or lighter services. The protection of the interests of masters in this respect was the main object of the Association of 1795,* and explains to us the origin and motive of the careful definition in the Middlesex Mechanic Association's Constitution of ungentlemanlike conduct which we have seen, a provision which was taken word for word from the Constitution of the older Association.

The Association of Mechanics of the Commonwealth was a true trade guild in motive as well as form, its functions not recognized indeed by statute law, as were those of the trade guilds of old England, but based on custom and tradition. These trade guild functions survived in the incorporated Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association of 1806, and no doubt by the incorporators were still looked on as the essential functions of that corporation. They descended, as we have seen, to the child, the Middlesex Mechanic Association. The evolution which the latter underwent, the speedy discontinuance of what, at its inception, were looked on as its principal functions and the development of other functions which were apparently, in the minds of its founders, minor and incidental, the slower but sure change in its membership and management, its adaptation of itself to the rapidly changing character of the population, to the passing away of old customs and the development of new wants and tastes, in brief the metamorphosis of this old trade guild into a library and lyceum pure and simple, might well arouse the interest not alone of a local analist, but of the general student of New England history and society.

To whose initiative our Association is due we have

* Memorial Hist. Boston, Vol. IV, Page 80.

no evidence except the signatures of the original petition and the names of those who took part in the meeting for organization. The two men named in the act head the petition. Of those two, Micajah Rice does not appear to have participated in the meeting for organization or ever to have been a member. His name is written in the list of original members, but in lead pencil and by a later hand, and his occupation is not given. Samuel Feckharm (Fechem in the records), a machinist, was the first President, and at the second meeting his bill of \$16.25 (perhaps for his services or expenses in obtaining the act of incorporation) was ordered to be paid, and he was made the first life member. He and Charles Smith, another machinist, were charged in the spring of 1826 with the duty of getting the diploma engraved; but thereafter Feckharm's name never appears in the record, and he was not re-elected to the presidency, Charles Smith succeeding him. I can find no trace of him in Lowell's early history except that he was one of the incorporators of the Merrimack Religious Society (St. Anne's Church).

Judge William A. Richardson, in his brief history of the Association given in the catalogue of 1861, says: "It was probably the design of the founders of this institution to have among its members the mechanics of Waltham and other parts of the country, and to hold the meetings in different places, as all the petitioners for the charter had lived and learned their trade elsewhere, and had no especial attachment for this locality." It adds to the probability of this conjecture to find that of the eighty-four signers of the petition, less than a third appear to have taken part in the meeting for incorporation or ever to have been members. Their evident intention to have a library (which must needs have some abiding place) alone tends to negative the conjecture.

Of the twenty-five original members who took part in the meeting for organization, one was a painter, one a tailor, one a wheelwright, one a blacksmith, three were carpenters, and the remainder describe themselves as machinists. At a meeting held January 3d, 1828, it was voted that "overseers of the several rooms in manufacturing establishments are considered mechanics, and as such may be admitted to this Association." Six months later, however, the Association voted "that at the next meeting the minds of the Association be taken to pass a vote to reconsider the vote of January 3d, 1828, making overseers of manufacturing rooms, mechanics, and also choose a committee of seven to define the word mechanic in its full extent and report to that meeting." Among the committee were Rev. Theodore Edson, Messrs. Warren Colburn,* George Brownell and J. S. C. Knowlton. The committee gave an elaborate definition of the word and expressed the opinion that, while it was unfortunate, it was nevertheless true that it was contrary to the existing Constitution to admit overseers on the ground of their being overseers, unless they were also mechanics. They recommended, however, that the Constitution be changed so that they might be admitted, but no action was taken on the matter for two years. We may well believe that the subject was discussed during that period, though nothing bearing on it appears on the records except a vote on January 1st, 1829, by the Government to admit minors and persons not mechanics to the privileges of the lectures and library. At a meeting held January 7th, 1836, a committee which had been chosen, in lieu of one discharged, whose duty it was "to report on the expediency of altering the Constitution so

* Dr. Edson was an honorary member. Warren Colburn was admitted as a machinist, he having learned that trade before he entered Harvard College.

as to make all respectable persons eligible to membership in this Association, whether mechanics or not," (the committee consisting of Messrs. Colburn, Beard, Russell, and Lewis) reported that it was expedient. This doctrine, anticipating by twenty years the final position of the Association, was altogether too advanced for the conservatism of that day. Evolution had not proceeded so far, and it was voted not to accept the report by a vote of twenty-three yeas to twelve yeas. There follow at the same meeting three votes which are somewhat difficult to understand. They are as follows: "10th, nominated and chose the Government as a committee to dispose of the library and other effects of the Association; 11th, voted that the committee be instructed to dispose of all the effects of the Association; 12th, voted that after disposing of the above-named effects a special meeting shall be called to see if the members will vote to dissolve the Association." Whether it was that, as has been known to happen in deliberative assemblies, a triumphant majority supposed it had accomplished its purpose of killing the measure, left the meeting and so turned the previous minority into a majority which proceeded to do the only logical thing (in their minds) remaining to be done, namely, wind up the Association; or whether the majority were supporting a dog-in-the-manger policy, recognized that the Association could not live with its membership restricted as it had been, but still determined that that membership should not be broadened, and consented that the Association should die, it is impossible at this far away day to tell. The latter seems the more reasonable theory, but at all events the instructions of the meeting contained in these three votes were not carried out. A meeting was held October 7th of the same year at which it was voted "that Mr. Colburn be appointed a committee and authorized to

purchase and import a circle of reflection and a stand for the same, and an artificial horizon, with the understanding that he advance the money for the purpose, and if at an after period the Association shall refund the money to him, they shall have the right so to do and take the instruments; otherwise they shall remain as surety to Mr. Colburn." It was also voted to reconsider the tenth, eleventh and twelfth articles of the last meeting. A metaphorical circle of reflection and new horizon the Association certainly needed, for it appears to have been thoroughly demoralized. No further meeting of the Association or Government was held for two years, and when meetings were held from 1832 to 1834 they had no apparent purpose or effect, except to keep the organization alive. But one meeting was held in 1832, that of October, in the Merrimack Company's school-house. A meeting of the Government and one of the Association were held in January, 1833, at which it was voted to settle with Thomas Billings for services in taking charge of the library, and that the library and philosophical apparatus be collected and stored in the Merrimack Counting Room, where these meetings were held.

Without question this period was filled with consultations, plans and efforts of which the records show nothing except the result. On Saturday evening, February 8th, 1834, the Association met in the Selectmen's room and resolved that "an attempt should be made to raise the character of the Middlesex Mechanic Association and put it into an active and useful institution." As a result the Constitution of 1834 was formed, which so broadened the membership conditions as to admit not only mechanics but manufacturers. A committee was appointed to select a site for a building and to report

plans, and the Association was fairly entered upon its renewed lease of life.

Meanwhile let us see how far the character and purposes of the Association as disclosed by the charter and Constitution appear to have undergone modification. In 1828 appears the record of a vote of the Board of Government that "it will not be expedient for the Association as a body to unite in the celebration of the national anniversary on the 4th of July next," and once or twice afterward the Association appears to have declined invitations to participate. Once or twice they did turn out in a body, but it is doubtful if "an appropriate standard to be borne in general procession," as required by the Constitution, was ever provided. The occasions for its use appear to have been very infrequent, and the Constitution of 1834 makes no mention of it. The annual festival appears to have been observed with the proper formalities at the first anniversary of the Association. Warren Colburn had been invited to become a member of the Association and to deliver the annual address, and both invitations he accepted. Henry J. Baxter, the mechanic of the shears and goose, was toastmaster for the evening. Next year no observance of the anniversary whatever appears to have been held, and the following year, 1828, the Constitution was amended by striking out the requirement for a public festival and leaving only the provision for an annual address by some member of the Association. In that year the address was delivered by Rev. Theodore Edson, who had been elected an honorary member in 1827. But the annual address itself appears to have been abandoned thereafter till 1852, when the Government, that being, as we shall see, a year of great revival in the life of the Association, attempted to revive this early feature also, and

Homer Bartlett, Esq., Treasurer of the Massachusetts Cotton Mills, but at that time still a resident of Lowell and a member of the Association, delivered an address which the records describe as "elegant and erudite," "able and interesting."

To what extent and for how many years benevolence continued to be, what the original Constitution said it should be, "a primary and conspicuous object of the Association," is not entirely clear. In the first years of its life the funds at its disposal could not have been large enough to make its benevolent work of very much consequence, even if we could suppose that there were many occasions for it in the young and lusty life of the thriving little village. Down to 1834 the admittance fee was but three dollars and the annual assessment at first, one, and then two dollars per year. The membership was not large, and, as we have seen, the Association for four or five years of its early life was in a state of complete or partial collapse. The revised Constitution of 1834 withdraws the statement that "benevolence shall ever be a primary and conspicuous object of the Association," and reduces the death benefit (to adopt the phraseology of the modern fraternal-benevolent associations) from twenty dollars to ten, and leaves it discretionary with the Government whether it shall be paid at all or not. A Committee of Relief, however, is still provided for, and the annual appropriation of a sum of money for its purposes is made mandatory upon the Association. This committee, consisting at first of nine members, but soon reduced to three, was elected with unflinching regularity till 1858, although the Constitution of 1853 abolished the committee and omits all reference to benevolence.

The records show only one appropriation for benevolence such as the Constitution required the Association to make annually. It is somewhat significant that that

appropriation was made in the famous hard times year of 1837, but as we know that Lowell suffered comparatively little from that purely financial crisis, its falling in that year is perhaps a mere coincidence. It seems entirely clear, however, that that purpose which the petition for incorporation, the charter and the Constitution in more than one way declared to be a fundamental function of the organization, if it can ever be considered as living, very early became obsolete.*

The travelling certificate provided for by the first Constitution for the benefit of members themselves was done away with within a few months after the organization of the Association. In its place, however, there was provided the apprentice's certificate. Upon application the Association would issue to the person who had faithfully served his time as an apprentice to any member of the Association, a certificate setting forth that fact, and that A. B., his late master, recommended him. The same identical form of certificate was provided for by the Constitutions of 1834 and 1853. In the record of Dec. 6th, 1827, it is ordered that one hundred of these certificates be printed, but neither the records nor tradition show how much demand there was for such certificates. Indentured apprenticeship, however, was, with the rapid growth and consolidation of manufacturing, fast becoming obsolete when the Association was founded. The law of compulsory apprenticeship had been abolished in England in 1814, and before that date had been held not to apply to corporations. To a greater extent here than in the old country, individual masters were being replaced by corporation employers, and the notion that indentured apprenticeship and the rules and customs growing out of it were but rules and customs tending to restrain the right of free contract was

*See Note 1.

even more prevalent here than there.* It is no unwarranted inference, therefore, that the apprentice's certificate was seldom asked for, and that the constitutional provision for it was allowed to stand in the Constitution of 1834 and re-enacted in that of 1853 more to perpetuate the memory of an ancient custom than because it was a living function of the Association. The Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association was and is today an association of master mechanics, each in business for himself, or (to quote its modern Constitution) "engaged in superintending or managing the mechanical department of joint stock or manufacturing companies." The Middlesex Mechanics' Association was founded upon the same theory. Its projectors doubtless did not realize that the distinction between master and apprentice was becoming each year of less and less significance, and was soon to give place to quite another distinction, the modern distinction between employers and employed. The master mechanics of the Association were in the main masters only of themselves, in fact, journeymen. There were young men learning their trades, but few, if any, indentured apprentices.

Thus much has been said of the personnel and ideas of its founders because the adoption of the Constitution in 1834 marks an epoch in the Association's history. There was then such a change in its membership, and had been such a change in its purposes that, although the Association as we knew it evolved by a perfectly natural process from the original Association, we may almost say that the Association of 1825 died and that the modern Middlesex Mechanics' Association was in reality founded in 1834.

*The Association of Mechanics of the Commonwealth applied for incorporation, immediately after their organization. The anti-monopolists in the Legislature of that day opposed such incorporation, and opposed it successfully till 1806, on the ground that the organization was formed solely for the purpose of keeping up the price of Mechanics' labor and mechanical products.

We have noted the unsuccessful attempt to broaden its basis of membership in 1830. We cannot doubt that the successful attempt of 1834 was due to the gradual dropping out of members of the original conservative majority. Certain it is that after the votes of January 7th, 1830, directing the Government to have the library and other effects sold and the Association dissolved, no new members are recorded. In our search for the individuals to whom and the influence to which this reorganization or refounding of the Association is due, we turn again to the records. The committee who drafted the revised Constitution which was adopted were Messrs. Abner Ball, Caleb M. Marvel, William Davis and Joel Lewis. The committee to select a suitable site for a building and draw plans and submit estimates were Messrs. George Brownell, Joel Lewis, Joshua Bailey, Joshua Swan, Joseph M. Dodge and Capt. James Russell. The committee to obtain new members were Messrs. George Brownell, Benj. Walker, Joel Lewis, James A. Treat, Samuel Fisher, Joshua Swan, Thomas Billings, John Mixer, Elisha Ford, Eli Cooper, Cyrus T. K. Rollins, Sylvanus Adams, Sam. B. Goddard, Col. Cushing, Walter Wright, David Cook, Jas. A. Chamberlain, Jos. M. Dodge, John L. Tripp, Royal Southwick. Most of these names are to us, even at the distance of two generations, still something more than names. Warren Colburn, by whose fostering care the Association was made to keep at least its legal life, and in whose office its effects were now stored, had died in September, 1833. Joel Lewis, the surveyor of the Locks and Canals Company, whose brief but useful life has been epitomized in a memorial* read to this Association by his fellow teacher, Joshua Merrill, was elected Treasurer at the annual meeting, October 4th, 1834, but died a month

later. The Association in a body attended his funeral, Nov. 13th following. To these two men especially, and to the others whose names have been given, the Association owed its renewed life. It owed it to them directly. Indirectly it owed it to that extraordinary body of men to whom Lowell itself owed its material existence, and whose parental care for the moral and intellectual condition of the people whom they called here, aroused the admiration of their contemporaries and will be remembered so long as Lowell lasts.

The new Constitution was adopted, as has been said, in February, 1834. In April, a meeting was held in the Selectmen's room, which elected a new board of officers, and, having adjourned to the Town Hall, admitted two hundred and twenty new members. At this latter meeting it was also "voted that the Government be a committee to receive a deed of a lot of land between, the Merrimack House and Joel Stone's, Jr., store, on the terms offered by the Agent of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals." In May, ninety more new members were admitted. The building committee were directed to begin the building at once, and a subscription paper was started to raise funds for it. The committee to solicit subscriptions succeeded in raising about \$7000. There being required to build it, as was estimated, about \$18,000 to \$20,000, according to the style of finish, and it being apparent that private subscription had done all that it could do, the various corporations then in existence, namely, the Merrimack, Hamilton, Appleton, Lowell, Middlesex, Suffolk, Lawrence and Tremont, assessed themselves one-fourth of one per cent. on their respective capital stocks, and contributed the sum of \$14,075. It was supposed that this sum would give the Association its building free of debt and a considerable sum over for the library and philosophical apparatus.

The building was no sooner completed and dedicated, however, than it was found necessary to borrow \$2500 more, and that debt reduced to \$2000 was carried till 1839, when the Boott Cotton Mills gave the Association \$2500, thus extinguishing the debt and allowing the expenditure of \$500 for books. The gift of the first-named corporations and the previous gift of the lot of land on which the building was erected, were made on condition, substantially, that on dissolution of the Association or its ceasing to perform its functions, the gifts or their money value should revert to the donors. After expressing their appreciation of what they rightly termed the "magnificent liberality" of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals, the subscription committee in their report to the Association on January 3d, 1835, add: "The committee in conclusion cannot refrain from expressing their obligations to Kirk Boott, Esq., for his ready assistance and careful co-operation. To his advice and powerful influence they are largely indebted for the success which has attended their efforts." That great man was one of the two hundred and twenty admitted in April, 1834, and was the Chairman of the Building Committee. The building was dedicated Saturday evening, September 26th, 1835, with an address by Dr. Elisha Bartlett, soon to become the first Mayor of Lowell.

The change from the Association of 1825 to the Association of 1834 was, as has been intimated, not a revolution, but an evolution. As we have seen the speedy or gradual cessation of functions deemed essential by the first Constitution, so we expect to find a gradual development of functions apparently deemed secondary by it or not mentioned in it at all; in general, its educational functions. And, first, of the library.

The first mention of the library is in the record of the meeting of January 4th, 1827, when the following

vote was passed: "That there be a library established for the use of the Association, and to accept of Mr. Smith's proposals respecting his books, and that the Secretary be authorized to present a subscription paper to the members of the Association to procure moneys or books for the said library by loan or gift as they may see fit." Thomas Billings was made Chairman of a committee to draft rules and regulations for the library, and was also made librarian. Thomas Billings had been elected a member at the last previous meeting. Remembering that we are for the moment in the period when only mechanics were allowed to be members of the Association, it is of interest to note that his "mechanic powers" were devoted to book-binding, and that his store or workshop stood near the corner of Central and Market Streets, about where Raynes's jewelry store now is.* As we have before noticed, the act of incorporation permitted a library and the original Constitution entitles the Association a Library Company. Nevertheless, it seems probable that the actual initiation of the library two years after the incorporation was due rather to the personal influence of Billings and Colburn than to the founders of the Association. The rules and regulations for the library were duly submitted and accepted, and a committee to purchase books was chosen, consisting of Warren Colburn, Thomas Billings and Bruce Sheppard. In a few months Thomas Billings was authorized to procure a bookcase for the library. Still a little later, Mr. Smith's books, if we read the records aright, having been originally lent, were now purchased, and Mr. Billings is directed to "examine and inquire the price of a cyclopaedia that is in Chelmsford Library,† or at other

*Contrib. Old Res. Ass'n. Vol. III. Page 423.

†Allen's History of Chelmsford (1820) (p. 60) says, "the Social Library contains 32 volumes. Among which is Doctor Rees' Cyclopaedia, the most valuable and expensive work ever printed in this country."

places, and report at the next meeting," and subsequently he was authorized to offer \$25 for a set of the Edinburgh Encyclopedia. In the spring of 1828 it was voted to alter, as we have before noticed, the second section of the third article of the Constitution so far as to annul the practice of having a supper at the annual meeting, and appropriate the sum of money that the festival would cost to the purchase of books for the enlargement of the library, or to defray the expense of lectures and give each member a ticket. Possibly the latter object secured the preference, for we note shortly after a direction to the lecture committee to see that each member of the Association have a ticket to the lectures, and the appointment of a committee to make such additions to the library as the funds of the Association will admit. One of the few acts of the Government of the Association during the four years of suspended animation just preceding the new Constitution was to direct that the library be moved to Mr. Warren Colburn's counting room, and that Mr. Thomas Billings be paid six dollars a year for taking charge of the library. With the enlargement of the Association, the adoption of the new Constitution in 1834, and the completion of the building, begin the regular appropriations for the library, in amount varying from \$100 to \$1000 a year, and the employment of a regular librarian and the election every year of a committee on the library and reading room. The library received a donation of \$1000 from Abbott Lawrence, one or two small bequests and many gifts of money and very numerous gifts of books from friends both at home and abroad. The salary of the librarian in the new building was at first \$400, but this was soon judged to be too much, and it was reduced to \$250. In addition to his salary, however, he was for many years given the privilege of sleeping in the room



MECHANICS HALL.

containing the philosophical apparatus, "provided he occupied a sofa-bed." The salary was gradually raised till at its highest it was \$750. The Association prided itself on the character of its books and endeavored to make the library a useful one to its members. There is no reason to question the claim made for it in a report (to be alluded to later) of a committee submitted in 1848, that it was one of the best in the country.

The reading room was established in 1837, a legislative amendment* to the charter having been obtained to permit it. It was for many years mainly stocked with newspapers. The day of scientific periodicals had not yet arrived. The ponderous English reviews belonged to a literary rather than to a mechanics' association, but newspapers from Portland to New Orleans served to keep the members in touch with the current life of the whole country. It is interesting to note in passing that as late as April 5th, 1861, the Government approved a bill of \$5 for one year's subscription to the Charleston Mercury.

With the library and reading room, two other educational features were established and fostered, the collection of philosophical apparatus, and the maintenance of scientific lectures. The Association of 1834 apparently thought it had no right to expend its money for lectures, for it procured the insertion in the charter amendment of 1837, just noticed, of a provision authorizing it to expend the income also in "employing persons to instruct the members by lectures or otherwise in the various arts and sciences." Both lectures and apparatus, however, ante-dated the reorganization of 1834. In the winter of 1827-28 Warren Colburn delivered by request of the Association a course of scientific lectures, to which persons might be admitted for a single evening by

*Acts of 1837, Chap. 64.

paying one shilling at the door, and members of the Association who hold tickets for the lecture "shall have the privilege of taking in a friend not belonging to this town." Mr. Colburn made no charge for his lectures, but the Association expressed its appreciation of his services by making him a member for life and giving him a vote of thanks. The original plan was to have lectures throughout the year once in two weeks. Various votes to that effect were passed, and for a time certainly, after Mr. Colburn's course was concluded, such lectures were had. But in the spring of 1829 it was voted to discontinue them, and none were given thereafter till the new building was occupied.

That the maintenance of a physical laboratory or collection of instruments illustrating the laws of physics and astronomy had been early recognized as a proper function of the Association is shown by the vote already noticed, doubtless passed at his suggestion, directing Mr. Colburn to import a circle of reflection and an artificial horizon, and by the fact that in the interregnum between 1830 and 1834 the philosophical apparatus, as it was called, was collected and stored in the Merrimack Counting Room. In the new building a room was allotted to the apparatus, and from that time till 1870, the frequent allusions to it in the way of appropriations for it and additions to it, and the choice annually for many years of a committee on apparatus, show that it was looked on as an essential feature of the educational work of the Association. The change and growth in educational methods, however, have made such collections of little value outside of schools and colleges; no additions to it were made apparently after 1860. In 1859 the Natural History Society, which had been organized in 1836,* but had now for some time ceased to hold

*It had a room assigned to it in the Association building which was known as the National History room.

meetings, gave to the Association its collection of minerals, and Mr. Oliver M. Whipple added to it a large portion of his collection of Indian and other relics. In 1872 the Whipple Cabinet (as these collections were called) and the philosophical apparatus were given in charge of the Committee on Science and Education, and that committee was given authority to exchange duplicates. Portions of both collections were, at one time and another, lent to the High School, of which it is to be feared not all were returned. At the dissolution of the Association a considerable portion of the Whipple Cabinet was found in its allotted place, but the philosophical apparatus had entirely disappeared.

The scientific lectures were resumed in 1835 with a course given by Prof. Farrar of Harvard College. Another course was given in 1836. In July, 1837 (the year the charter was amended so as to allow a reading room and scientific lectures, and the year, too, of the great financial depression), appears the significant vote "That in the present state of the funds of the Association it is inexpedient to procure a course of lectures the coming winter." In 1838 a motion that \$250 be appropriated for lectures was not carried. Other attempts were made, but not until the winter of 1845-46 were the lectures resumed, when a course of twelve lectures was given, six by Dr. C. F. Jackson, which may be assumed to have been scientific lectures, and six by Rev. Henry Giles, which were announced to be on miscellaneous subjects. Mr. Giles may have been a clergyman with scientific tastes, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that here was the beginning of the gradual evolution which changed the scientific lecture course into the modern lyceum. At all events, the change may be considered as fairly under way the following year, when the course consisted of twelve lectures, the first two by

Fletcher Webster, Esq., on China, the next one by Dr. C. F. Jackson, on the natural history and chemical properties of water, the next two by Prof. Wyman of Cambridge (subjects not given), and the remaining seven by Ralph Waldo Emerson, Esq., (it is pleasant to reproduce the careful courtesy of the Recording Secretary of that day) on Representative Men. Tickets for the course were one dollar. In June, 1847, the Government voted an appropriation of \$500 for lectures, and directed the Committee on Public Instruction to report at the next quarterly meeting of the Association, but the committee failed so to report, and it does not appear that any lectures were given. In 1848 the consideration of the subject of a course of lectures for the coming winter was indefinitely postponed. From that time on the subject of a course is not referred to in the records till 1854. In April of that year it was voted to give a course of popular scientific lectures the coming winter, and it appears that Dr. Solger of Boston gave four such lectures in March and April of 1855. In 1856 the Government was directed to nominate a lecture committee ("providing Huntington Hall* can be secured") and that committee to provide a course of lectures. From that time on for over twenty years the Association gave an annual course of lectures, the courses containing after a while a diminishing proportion of scientific lectures, but always maintaining a very high standard, as lyceum courses. That they ever ceased was due to no fault of the Association, but to the fact that the lyceum itself, at first weakened by the partial substitution of concerts** and "entertainments," so called, for lectures, ultimately died a natural death. In 1872 the lecture committee was instructed to omit the scientific lectures

*Finished in 1855.

**See Note 2.

from the popular course, and it was voted that the \$300 received from the corporations should be devoted to a special course under management of the Committee on Science and Education.

The lyceum course has been spoken of as a development from the scientific courses, but it must not be supposed that from the time of Warren Colburn's lectures to 1856 the city was without a lyceum and patiently waiting the movements of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association. There were many organizations, of greater or less permanency, maintaining lecture courses. Such were the Lowell Lyceum, the Literary Adelpi, the Lowell Institute, the Washington Athenaeum. It is to be remembered, too, that down to 1851 the membership was limited to mechanics and manufacturers, and consistency, to say nothing of the charter amendment of 1837, required that its educational work should be limited to that which was of special value to them. And though, as we have seen, the general literary element began to creep into the lectures before 1851, it is very probable that the broadening of the membership, the taking in of the traders and professional men, who had hitherto constituted the membership of the lyceum associations, the change of the Association after 1851 from a mechanics' and mill people's association to a general citizens' association, was largely the cause as well as the occasion of its becoming the chief, if not the only, lyceum organization in the city.

The Association gave four mechanics' exhibitions, in 1851, 1857, 1867 and 1887. It does not appear that the Association ever carried out the provision of the original Constitution, repeated in that of 1834, authorizing them to offer premiums for individual workmanship. The Constitution of 1851 omits the provision and substitutes for it an authority to give exhibitions, and the

Association at once proceeded to act upon it. The exhibition of that year was given in a temporary building erected for the purpose in the Lowell Machine Shop yard, a two-story building of rough timber, the machinery and heavy products being shown on the first floor, the lighter articles, with a picture gallery, filling the upper story. Although it resulted in only a slight money gain to the Association, it was one of the most successful that had ever been held in this country up to that time. It was famous for an exhibition and trial of the speed and drawing strength of locomotives.*

The exhibition of 1857 was held in Huntington, Jackson, Mechanics' and Merrimack** Halls. It came in a year of great financial and manufacturing depression, in which Lowell suffered with the rest of the country, and the wisdom of holding it was much questioned; but when we consider that in face of the hard times the exhibition netted about \$600, it must be pronounced an unqualified success. The exhibition of 1867 was held in Huntington, Jackson and Mechanics' Halls, with the machinery exhibition in a temporary building, called Machinery Hall, which stood on Shattuck Street adjoining Huntington Hall, on the lot of land now occupied by Bontwell Bros.' store. It was by far the most successful of the four, having netted the Association about \$2800. The fourth and last, that of 1887, which was limited in its scope to an exhibition of Lowell products, was held in the then just completed Talbot Building on Middle Street, with an art exhibition in Mechanics' Hall. Whatever may be said of it as an exhibition, it was not a financial success, and must be recorded as having extinguished entirely the fund accumulated by the three previous exhibitions.

*See Note 3.

**Now Music Hall.

The Constitution of 1834 made the admission fee \$25 and attempted to give to the membership certificate some of the characteristics of a share in a joint stock company. The system was such, however, as to carry all the disadvantages and none of the advantages of a corporation of shareholders. The share could be transferred, but only to some person who should be duly elected a member, and the corporation itself could elect only a mechanic or a manufacturer. The Association unwisely bound itself to redeem at four-fifths of its value the share of any one who severed his membership. Theoretically, the number of shares was not limited, but so long as the system was retained, the number of shareholders did not increase above the number at the dedication of the new building (about three hundred), but on the contrary steadily diminished till 1851, when the membership was about one hundred and eighty. The price of the shares was then reduced to \$12.50,* thus making each existing shareholder the owner of two shares. While this gave each member an additional incentive to add to the membership, the system was proved to be unsatisfactory, and six years later the admittance fee was reduced to \$6, existing members were given a year to dispose of their extra membership certificate, and the shares then ceased to be redeemable or transferable, and in fact were no longer shares.

We have already noticed that as early as 1830 the proposition was favorably reported, but voted down, to make all respectable persons eligible for membership. In 1845 a similar proposition was favorably reported, but failed to receive the three-fourths vote necessary for its

*This was done April 3, 1851 at the same meeting at which the constitution was altered so as to admit all citizens to membership.

adoption.* In 1848 the same proposition was referred to a committee consisting of B. F. French, Samuel W. Brown, and Alexander Wright. That committee submitted an exceedingly forcible and clearly written report opposing the change. The report in full is spread upon the records. Substantially, the ground of the committee's opposition was that the Association held its property, its building, library, apparatus and pictures, in trust, that trust being defined by the charter (as amended by act of 1837) and Constitution (of 1834), which affirmed that the institution was for the use and benefit of mechanics and manufacturers. To the suggestion that the Association might not benefit mechanics and manufacturers any less if it benefited the general community more, they reply: "When men engaged in different occupations and actuated by different tastes and habits are invited to become members and pay their money, they will acquire an equal claim upon the Association to have their peculiar views and interests consulted with the original members, and there is no reason to suppose that they will fail to enforce their rights. Under such circumstances it will be difficult for the Association to refuse their demands, even should they insist, for want of a better method to procure books, that a portion of those already on hand (being devoted to mechanics as they principally are) should be sold or exchanged and others of a more popular and miscellaneous character or better adapted to their wants and tastes, be substituted for them. Other alterations may be needed to adapt the Association to its new destination, and by the time these are all made the Middlesex Mechanic Association, which

*The proposition was to admit all persons to membership, retaining, however, a proviso that a majority of the government should always consist of mechanics and manufacturers. "It requiring three-quarters to adopt said amendments, on a vote to adopt the count was, in the affirmative 42, in the negative 29, so the amendments were rejected."

†Records of July 3, 1845.

is one of the brightest ornaments of Lowell, and should be a subject of pride to every operative, will lose those distinctive features which to his eyes impart its peculiar charm." The committee fear also that "when the doors are opened wide enough to admit gentlemen of all occupations and professions, it would not be strange if the operative mechanic, instead of finding himself surrounded by his familiar associates, should be left in a minority and feel overshadowed by the presence of these with whom for want of congeniality of pursuits he finds it difficult to sympathize." While the report objects that the change would be a breach of trust, and calls attention to the fact that the donors to the Association were not asking or suggesting that the change should be made, it is not apparent or probable that as a matter of fact the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals were exerting or wishing to exert any influence on the Association's policy. The strongest argument indeed was not this moral one, but the two practical ones; and while no books of value to mechanics were ever sold to enable the Association to broaden the literary character of the library, the library did, when the inevitable change came, a few years later, undoubtedly become less specialized, and the operative mechanics not only quickly came to be in a minority, but many of them long felt that fact with keen regret. Nevertheless, the change came in 1851, and without apparent opposition. The report of 1848 was at that time accepted, and the matter might well have been thought utterly dead. By what majority the report of 1851 was accepted, or if indeed there was any opposition to it, the records do not say. In 1851, the records of regular and special meetings are liberally sprinkled with votes in regard to the coming Mechanics' Exhibition, one of them being a vote "that the obligation signed by forty-one of the citizens of

Lowell, guaranteeing the Association from loss to the amount of \$2000 in case they should hold a fair the ensuing autumn, be accepted." Possibly the fact that these guarantors were not all members of the Association suggested that the Association's manifest dependence on other citizens than operative mechanics and manufacturers in their very important undertaking, was a valid reason why citizens generally should be eligible to membership. At all events, at the meeting of April 3d, 1851, at which the foregoing vote was passed, appears also the report of a committee consisting of Dr. S. L. Dana, Julian Abbott* and Walter Wright, and in compliance with their report the by-laws were altered by striking out the words "mechanic and manufacturer" and inserting in place thereof the word "person," and by striking out entirely Section 2 of Article 1, to wit: "This Association shall consist of mechanics and manufacturers."

The alteration of the Constitution in 1851 so as to admit all citizens to full membership; the gradual reduction in the admission fee and abolition of shares; the giving in 1851 of a most successful exhibition, and the inauguration in 1856 of the modern annual lyceum course, marked the beginning of the third, and by far the most prosperous and generally useful, period in the life of the Association. For thirty years it ministered to the intellectual life of the whole city. It experienced in that period no essential change. The membership by 1860 was upwards of eight hundred, and there were then "eighty females entitled to the privileges of the library." The lecture courses were increasingly popular, and the Civil War, while for two seasons it diminished their profitableness, did not in the end diminish their popularity. The library contained in 1860 about ten thou-

*See Note I.

sand volumes, and maintained a steady growth till the day its doors were finally closed, when it numbered twenty-five thousand volumes. Financially, too, the Association seems to have been continually prosperous. The first three exhibitions, as has been said, were exceedingly successful, and that of 1867 left the Association with a total fund to its credit of about \$3500, which was dedicated as a fund to be used for the erection of a permanent building in which to hold exhibitions. It was called the Exhibition Fund. The lecture courses also were, in their prime, a source of profit, and that profit was used immediately for the good of the Association.

At length, however, influences began to operate for which the Association was in no wise responsible, but which were to affect it most seriously. The Civil War was the cause, or, at all events, the war period and the period following it were the occasion of a great social upheaval, affecting in many ways, as we all know, the popular tastes and habits. The day of the Mechanics' Exhibition, drawing its patronage from a provincial city and surrounding towns, departed when the Centennial Exhibition opened in Philadelphia in 1876. As for the lyceum, it may be the multiplication of theatres, the growth of comic opera and the variety show, the increase and cheapening of books and magazines, the alleged deterioration in the intellectual character of our people; it may be all of these causes, or neither of them, that killed it, but certainly the lyceum of thirty or forty years ago is dead. The free public library has in the last twenty-five years made enormous progress and improvement. Locally, the only thing that enabled the Mechanics' Library to compete at all with our well-managed and increasingly useful City Library has been the fact that the former was always able to allow its

patrons free access to the shelves; and that privilege was only possible from the very fact that its patrons were comparatively few and not increasing in numbers. The impossibility of making anything except a loss from exhibitions or lecture courses made the Association, in spite of itself, a "library company" pure and simple. In its attempt to support itself as such the Association failed.

In 1870 the growth of the library and the general condition of the building had rendered it necessary to make extensive alterations and repairs. The library room and reading room were both enlarged, the hall was renovated and a steam heating apparatus was put in. To pay for these alterations and repairs a considerable amount was borrowed. By 1880 the Association had lost its two best tenants, Josiah Gates & Sons and C. B. Coburn & Co., and never replaced them. Shortly after, the space hitherto occupied by the stores was converted into ante-rooms and a supper room, except that one rentable store was left, and a new entrance from Dutton Street was made. The money to make these alterations also was borrowed. The debt contracted by the repairs of 1870 had not been extinguished and the repairs of 1882 added to it, and hereafter the ominous vote, authorizing the Treasurer to borrow or to renew notes, regularly appears. On February 29th, 1884, the Directors of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River voted that that corporation would "pay one-half the existing debt of the Association, it being understood that said debt does not exceed \$5600, provided the other half be raised by the Association by private subscription." March 6th, 1888, the debt-raising committee reported as the result of their efforts the sum of \$1239.58, less than half the required amount, and it was voted

that the amount raised be applied toward the extinguishment of the funded debt of the Association.

This attempt and failure to extinguish the debt of the Association mark the beginning of the end. The few remaining years of its life it is neither interesting nor profitable to trace. It is sufficient to say that the debt steadily increased and that on November 5th, 1896, the Association, on petition of two of its unsecured creditors, was adjudged insolvent, and inside eighteen months its property was disposed of and its debts paid in full. A few of the books of the library were sold to the First Trinitarian Congregational Church to serve as the nucleus of a Sunday School Library, and the remainder were sold through a book auctioneer in Boston. The six large portraits* were sold to the City of Lowell and now adorn and dignify the walls of the City Hall and of Memorial Building. The fine portrait of James B. Francis, which had hung in the hall for many years, was the property of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals, and was given by them to the city at the same time. The building was sold to the First Trinitarian Congregational Church, and with it the few remaining articles of personal property, including the Whipple Cabinet and the portraits of Webster, of Dr. Bartlett and of Dr. Huntington.

The dissolution of the Association was a source of profound sorrow to the community, even to many who never were members. Yet with many, perhaps with most of our people, their interest in and attachment to the Association was based on sentimental rather than practical grounds. The very fact that it was allowed to die shows this. It is easy to say that if at this or that period of its history this or that thing had been done or left undone, the institution might have survived, but it

*See Note 5.

seems to me that a candid consideration of the condition of the Association and, more especially, of the general social conditions of the community, must satisfy us that it had outlived its usefulness. We must regret indeed most keenly the undignified manner of its taking off, but it must be admitted that it had ceased to perform any function clearly necessary or even greatly useful for the well being of the community. As has been pointed out, it had come to be simply a private library company, and when we consider on the one hand the tremendous improvement that has taken place in free public libraries, in our own city not less than elsewhere, and the tendency, even in cities larger and wealthier than ours, to combine libraries, and on the other hand that our people are wholly a practical, working people to whom a large private library is at most only a luxury, it must be admitted that its demise was only a matter of time. We are led also to the same conviction if we consider the career of a few of its contemporaries.

Of four institutions which may be mentioned as similar to and substantially contemporary in their origin with the Middlesex Mechanics' Association, three still survive: the parent, the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association (1806), the Salem Charitable Mechanic Association (1820), and the Worcester County Mechanics' Association (1842). Neither of these three ever experienced the second evolution which ours experienced in 1851. They are still limited in membership to mechanics and manufacturers. In each case, too, the charitable feature is still retained. In the Boston institution nearly \$200,000 has been spent since its foundation in aid to the destitute, mainly widows of deceased members, and in death benefits; but in the Salem and Worcester institutions the work is limited to paying a small fixed sum at the death of a member. In each case

the library is small. In Boston twenty years ago it numbered only two thousand volumes and was stored in a room to which members had access when they wished it. A sort of annex known as the Mechanics' Apprentices' Association had a somewhat larger library, but it has ceased to be of significance. The Worcester library numbers thirteen thousand volumes, and the Salem about fifty-five hundred. The Salem association has not had lectures for many years. The Worcester association has a few lectures and entertainments and supports an evening drawing class. It owns a large and beautiful hall with a smaller hall adjoining, and has a funded debt of about \$30,000. It has about twelve hundred members. The Salem association has about a hundred. Its Secretary says of the latter: "While not declining, a time must soon come when it will decline, principally on account of our public library." All three of them, like ours, in their day gave mechanics' exhibitions, but the function alone survives in the Massachusetts association. The Boston association formerly maintained courses of lectures and evening classes for instruction in branches useful to mechanics, but in regard to them and the libraries a recent historian of the association says: "An entire change has taken place. . . . In the evolution of the customs of the times, they have each and all entirely ceased. . . . From the smallest beginnings our exhibitions have grown to be of the largest proportions. Had it not been for these we could not have accumulated our present property, for our income in no single year in the form of admission fees and dues has been sufficient to pay our charities."*

Another similar association, the Rumford Institute of Waltham, was founded in 1826. From its early years

*Preface to 1895 edition of by-laws of Mass. Charitable Mech. Ass'n.

it received the material assistance of the Boston Manufacturing Company, whose influential members were the men who founded Lowell, and in 1834 put the Middlesex Mechanics' Association on its feet. They gave the Institute rooms in the Rumford Building, gave it the beginnings of its library; and the Institute itself, beginning with scientific lectures for the benefit of the members, developed into a lyceum. On the founding of the Waltham Public Library in 1865, the Institute gave its library to the public library, abandoned its lyceum as it ceased to be wanted, and, having no functions remaining to perform, soon after died a natural death.

Had our Association been richly endowed it would of course have survived as a corporation, and doubtless have found some work to do in the community, but the work which it was intended to do in 1825, in 1834, in 1860, no longer needed to be done, or was better done by other agencies. Of its work as an educator of mechanics and mill operatives, Mr. S. N. D. North, in his address at the opening of the Lowell Textile School,* said: "The builders of Lowell had certain high ideas about the welfare of the people whom they gathered together here—ideas which do even greater credit to their character than the mills they built. . . . They exercised over them a sort of paternal guardianship long since outgrown. The public school system has so developed and extended that it supplies all the educational facilities required. . . . In its day and in its way the old Mechanics' Association was of inestimable benefit to the mill-workers, just as were the similar institutions which existed in England, and which are passing away by the operation of like causes. Nothing so well illustrates the fact that we are living in an age of great an

*Jan. 30th, 1897. The address is in the Bulletin of N. A. Wool Manfrs. for March 1897.



LIBRARY, Dutton Street Side.

rapid changes, than the slipping out of our industrial life of that which it is necessary to replace by something better. That something better is technical industrial education." Of the educational work it did for the whole community as a lyceum, Miss Whittier, in her address at the opening of the new apartments of the Middlesex Women's Club,* said: "The dissolution of the time-honored Middlesex Mechanics' Association and the passing of Mechanics' Hall are events notably coincident with the rise of the Middlesex Women's Club and the erection of this auditorium. But these events may not be classed as cause and effect; they are rather the results of forces which have been long in operation and which have helped to bring in a new era—the Woman's Era, shall we call it?—in which woman has caught up the torch of culture, and by organization and practical work is fitting herself for leadership in the army of progress. It marks this new era, the fact that public lectures and lyceum bureaus now look to women's clubs as their richest field; that philanthropists, sociologists and educators now appeal to the woman's club as one of the strongest influences in the community."

This article, however, is not concerned with the future social or educational development of our city, and these quotations are made merely to emphasize what has been said in explanation of the decline of the Association. So, too, of the rise and increase of trade and labor unions, of social clubs and secret societies, of fraternal-benevolent organizations and organized charities—there is need only to mention them in connection with what has already been said, to show that our venerable Association was based on an entirely different social condition from that which now exists.

*Oct. 3, 1898.

Of the three similar institutions which still survive we have noted that they never admitted any but mechanics and manufacturers, and there is to be added that they never received the extensive aid from outside sources that the Lowell and Waltham associations received, and also the well-known fact that in each city the proportion of independent mechanics and manufacturers to those under the employ of great corporations is larger than in Lowell or Waltham. Any or all of these circumstances may account for their surviving longer than the Lowell association, or may not; but we may be very sure that if the committee of 1848, whose adverse report has been commented on and quoted from, were here today, they would hear with but little patience an attempt to explain the Association's decline by general causes; they would without doubt look on its decline and fall, while others still survive, as proof positive of the wisdom of their views and the correctness of their prophecies as to what would happen if the change they dreaded was made.

This sketch has concerned itself mainly with the Association as an institution. Of the many men who, in its infancy, in its youth, and in its prime, gave to it their personal influence, their interest and their earnest, aggressive work, little or nothing has been said. I have spoken of the institution as evolving, as molded by circumstances, as adapting itself to its surroundings, of its functions as developing or becoming obsolete or being modified. To speak adequately of the members whose personality made it what it was, of their relation to it and to the community, would be to write a book. Recall the names of those whom you know as having lived here for any considerable period during the last seventy years and as having been men of influence in the community; there are few of them who were not at some time active, inter-

ested members of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association. Its records are a cenotaph of the men who molded and made Lowell.

NOTE ONE

In the record of the meeting of January 7th, 1830, the dark day in the Association's history, there appears a statement submitted by the Government of "moneys paid out of the funds of the Association." It is fair to assume from its form and the circumstances under which it was submitted, that it was intended as a summary statement of expenditures and of the receipts of the Association during the first five years of its existence. The statement is as follows:

For Library and Bookcase.....		\$176.37
Apparatus.....		70.
Plate and Seal.....		162.50
Diplomas.....		22.38
Tables, Chairs, Benches, Lamps, etc.....		16.57
Secretary's services.....		31.
Repairing schoolhouse.....		14.
Lighting, Lecture room, etc.....		16.82
Printing.....		31.75
Stationery.....		32.95
		8574.34
Total of Expenditures.....		\$8574.34
Remaining in Treasury.....	\$64.00	
“ “ Collector's hands.....	11.50	
		75.50
Total Amount of receipts.....		\$8649.84

In October, 1830, it was "voted to suspend assessments to next meeting," and at the "next meeting," which was not held till October, 1832, a similar vote was passed, and on January 29th, 1833, it was voted to appoint a committee to collect funds to defray the expenses of the Association. In the statement given, therefore, it is evident that we have an account of the total receipts and expenditures of the corporation for the first nine years

of its life, and that no part of it was spent for charity. It does not follow, however, that no money was so disbursed by the Association. It may have been raised by private subscription, as was the case in the early years of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association. In 1851 Mrs. ———, widow of one of the early members who was prominent in the reorganization of 1834, "having been mentioned as a suitable subject for relief, it was voted to refer the matter to the Government," though at the same meeting at which the vote was passed the usual Committee on Relief had just been elected. The Government records do not show any action taken on the matter, and I do not find elsewhere in the records other votes of this nature. If any have been overlooked it is certain that they were not common.

NOTE TWO

The introduction of concerts into the Middlesex Mechanics' Association courses in the season of 1864-65 met with considerable opposition from members of the Association, but the action of the lecture committee was formally endorsed at the annual meeting in 1865. They were continued and the committee thereafter was always called the Committee on Lectures and Concerts. It must be admitted that if their introduction was a mark of deterioration in the intellectual character of the courses, at all events it met a then popular demand and was a good move financially. The net receipts for the eight years succeeding the change more than doubled those for the eight preceding years. From 1856 to 1864 inclusive they amounted to \$2718.90; from 1865 to 1872 inclusive, to \$6965.33. During the first two years of the Civil War the profits were exceedingly small, for the winter of 1861-62 being \$57.35, for 1862-63 being \$76.98. The average annual lecture income from 1864-65 to

1871-72 was \$870.67. The season of 1869-70 was the most successful ever experienced, but that of 1870-71 marks the beginning of a rapid decline, and at a special meeting held April 20th, 1878, the Association formally abandoned the lyceum by striking out from the list of standing committees required by the by-laws the Committee on Lectures and Concerts. The scientific lectures were still left in charge of the Committee on Science and Education, but were not long continued. One or two attempts were made in the dying years of the Association to revive the lyceum, but, though the courses given were excellent, the financial results only old-time lyceum could no longer attract its old-time served to emphasize the statement already made that the audience.

NOTE THREE

The building stood in the northerly corner of the Machine Shop yard and was approached by a bridge which in those days and till about thirty years ago crossed the Merrimack Canal from the foot of Mechanics' Street, now Broadway. The speed trial of locomotives took place on the Boston and Lowell Railroad, the course being from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth mile post, counting from Boston, and the constant load outside the locomotive and tender, consisting of cars, freight and twenty-one passengers, was eighty-five tons. The trial of freight engines was made on the branch track running from the Boston and Lowell road to the Boston and Maine at Wilmington, a distance of ninety-one hundred feet. The load consisted of one hundred and fourteen loaded cars estimated to weigh, cars included, six hundred and fifty tons. "Each engine first backed this train down to the starting point, which was at the top (bottom?) of an inclined plane of fourteen feet to the

mile; and from this point they started at a given signal, making their best time to the point at the other extremity of the branch." (Report of judges.) Seven passenger engines competed in the speed trial and three freight engines in the draught trial. The official reports of the exhibitions of 1851, 1857 and 1867 are to be found, bound in one volume, in the City Library.

NOTE FOUR

Mr. Abbott was a graduate of Harvard College (1826) and Divinity School (1830), preached a few times, and soon became and continued all his life to be a lawyer. He was admitted a regular member of the Association in April, 1845, a few months before the proposition of that year to broaden the membership failed to receive the necessary three-fourths vote. He had never been a mechanic or manufacturer, and was clearly ineligible to membership, but no objection to him appears to have been raised either in the Government or the Association. Other persons, clerks, bank cashiers and the like, who were admitted before 1851, were apparently ineligible to membership, but it is impossible to say that they had not at some time learned a trade, and so have been eligible on the principle, once a mechanic always a mechanic. It seems probable, however, that the Constitution had been to a considerable extent ignored or modified in fact, before it was legally modified. In 1841 a committee had reported in favor of an amendment to the Constitution which would admit not only mechanics and manufacturers, but "persons employed by them in relation to their said business," the object being to admit the corporation clerks, paymasters, etc. The report was accepted, but no action as to adopting or rejecting the amendment was ever taken, so far as the records show. But in this class also there are cases of admissions which apparently

indicate either that the Association considered the amendment practically adopted when the report was accepted, or did not care whether it was adopted or not. It is to be remembered that, while it took a three-fourths vote to alter the Constitution, it required only a recommendation of the Government and a two-thirds vote in the Association to elect any individual a member. Of course the minority had their rights when members were admitted in defiance of the Constitution, and could have stopped it if they had chosen to "go to law" about it. But if they had ever thought of it they would have considered that "game hardly worth the candle." There was never any flagrant attempt to "pack" the Association, only that now and then a man was admitted in spite of the Constitution; and always during the period from 1840 to 1851 there was an evident growth of the sentiment in favor of that change against which the committee of 1848 made such a magnificent and successful fight, but which came, nevertheless, in 1851 as easily, apparently, as though there had never been any opposition.

In 1857 an amendment providing that the President shall be a mechanic or manufacturer and a majority of the Government shall be mechanics or manufacturers, was voted down by a vote of three yeas to thirty-eight nays. The latter part of the proviso (a majority of the Government shall always be persons engaged in or connected with mechanical or manufacturing business) was, however, incorporated into a new draft of the Constitution made in 1858, and remained there until the end.

NOTE FIVE

Kirk Boott's influence in putting the Association on its feet in 1834 was undoubtedly even greater than the records show. In appreciation of its obligation to him

a subscription was started among members of the Association, on the completion of the building, to pay for a portrait of him, for which, by vote of the Association, January 3d, 1835, he was asked to sit. Subscriptions were limited to five dollars each, and more than enough to pay for it was subscribed. The portrait was received in 1838 after Mr. Boott's death. Of the other five large portraits some are recorded as having been procured by subscription, and others (that of Washington among the latter) simply as having been presented to the Association, with no intimation as to who presented them. In one case the gentleman was asked to sit for his portrait "provided it be furnished without expense to the Association." The cautious proviso seems unnecessary, for it does not appear that any of them entailed any original expense on the Association, and in a general way it is not difficult to conjecture who gave them. The portraits Lawrence in 1846, of Appleton in 1847, of Lowell in 1848. The excellent portrait of Webster, by our own artist, Thomas B. Lawson, was presented by Dr. John C. Dalton on the occasion of his removing from Lowell in 1859.

*IV. Annual Report for 1898-9, by the President
of the Association, Solon W. Stevens.*

In accordance with an established custom it becomes necessary to present an annual report of the transactions of this Society during the past year.

Two very valuable and interesting papers have been presented, one by Charles Cowley, Esquire, on the life and services of Rev. Robert Court, D. D., read on the evening of June 21st, 1898, and one by the Hon. Frederick Lawton, on the growth and decline of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association, read on the evening of January 31st, 1899. Both of these papers will appear in permanent form in the future publications of the Society, and will be regarded as exceedingly valuable contributions to the historical and biographical sketches which we now possess.

Three new members have been added to the list of membership.

The following donations have been received by the Association and their acceptance duly acknowledged:

Annual Report of the Secretary to the Board of Regents of the University of California for 1897 and 1898. 2 Vols.

Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1896-7.
Vols. 1 and 2.

Catalogue of Yale University, 1898-9.

Dedham Historical Register. Vol. 9, Nos. 3 and 4.

Dedham Historical Register. Vol. 10, Nos. 1 and 2.

Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society.
Vol. 6, Nos. 2, 3, 4.

Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society.
Vol. 7, No. 1.

Catalogue of Rare and Scarce American Early Laws
and Charters of the Colonies.

Fourteenth Report of the United States Civil Ser-
vice Commission, 1896-7.

Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State
Historical Society. Second series. Vol. 2.

Inebriety, Its Source, Prevention and Cure, by C. F.
Palmer.

Forty-fifth Annual Report of the Directors of the
American Congregational Association, 1898.

In Memoriam of Rev. Robert Court, D. D. Compli-
ments of C. O. Barnes.

Thirteenth Annual Report of the Maine Genealogical
Society for 1896.

The Massachusetts Bay Currency, 1690-1750, by
Andrew McFarland Davis.

The Bradford History of Commonwealth of Massa-
chusetts. Compliments of Representative E. T. Rowell.

One Hundred and Twentieth Anniversary of the Pro-
ceedings of the Wyoming Commemorative Association,
1898.

Lynn Historical Association, Annual Report for 1897.

Report of the Fourth Annual Meeting of Lake
Mohawk Conference on International Arbitration, 1898.

Military Papers of Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor of
New York, 1807-1817, published by the State.

The Essex Antiquarian. Vol. 1, No. 10, October, 1897.

Annual Report, Long Island Society, 1897-8.

Utility of University Education, by Hon. James A. Maguire, of the University of California.

Arthur Henry Hallam, by William Ewart Gladstone, by Youth's Companion.

The Historical Forces which gave rise to Puritanism, by William L. Kingsley.

The First Church in New Haven, 1638-1888, by Rev. Newman Smyth.

Founder's Day, 1638-1888, of New Haven, Conn.

Centennial of New Haven, Conn., 1784-1884.

Historical Discourse of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the United Church of New Haven, Conn., May 8th, 1892, by Rev. Theo. T. Munger, D. D.

Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. Vols. 2, 3, 4 and 5.

City of Lowell, Public Documents, 1897-8.

Annual Report of Buffalo Historical Society, 1898.

Proceedings of the New England Historical Genealogical Society at Annual Meeting, January, 1899.

New Tracks in an Old Trail, by George Sheldon.

Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1896 and 1897.

Report of the Meeting of the Chicago Historical Society, held January 17th, 1899.

A Sketch of the Life of William Adams Richardson, by Frank Warren Hackett of Washington (a gift by the Estate of William Adams Richardson).

The Old Settler's Annual. Vols. 1, 2 and 3.

State Library of New York, Bulletin, History, No. 1, April, 1898.

State Library of New York, Bulletin, Legislation, No. 10, January, 1899.

State Library of New York, Bulletin, Public Libraries, No. 24, April, 1898.

State Library of New York, Bulletin, Summer Schools, No. 25, July, 1898.

There have been thirteen deaths in our Society since our last annual meeting.

(1) Mr. Phineas Whiting died at the age of 78 on the evening of August 28th, 1898. He was an old resident of Lowell, having been prominent in bank circles for many years. In 1859 he was elected Director in the Old Lowell Bank, in which capacity he served faithfully until January, 1898. He served in the Common Council and in the State Legislature, and had it not been for his increasing infirmity of deafness his influence would have been more actively exerted in financial and business circles, for he was a man of rare judgment and ability. He is sadly missed, not only as a citizen of marked integrity, but also as a warm-hearted, genial, jovial gentleman.

(2) Mr. Asahel Davis died at the age of 80 years on October 13th, 1898, at his home on Church Street. Mr. Davis was born in Princeton in this State and had lived in Lowell more than forty years. He was a machinist by trade and an inventor of much skill and ingenuity. He never cared for public honors, and never sought for social preferment. He was highly respected and was always regarded as a man of integrity and reliability.

(3) Mr. Willard A. Brown died on December 19th, 1898, at his home on Fairmount Street at the age of 70 years. He was born in Dedham in this State in 1828, and came to Lowell when five years of age with his father, who soon afterward established himself in the

leather business. Mr. Brown was educated in the public schools of Lowell. After leaving school he became engaged with his father in business and succeeded to that business at the time of his father's death, and continued in this occupation during life. He was a member of the Common Council in 1869 and 1870, and in 1871 and 1872 he was a member of the State Legislature. Mr. Brown was greatly respected for his integrity and honorable dealing in business relations and as a citizen. He was naturally conservative, quiet, not given to display, faithful, and always reliable. He leaves the record of an affectionate husband and father, and of an upright and conscientious man.

(4) Mr. Franklin Martin died at his home on Liberty Street on the 25th of December, 1898, at the age of 76 years and 4 months. It is stated by those who knew him that Mr. Martin was a man of genuine worth and character. We are unable to report any particular details of his biography, since no record was published at the time of his death. It is, however, stated that he was at the time of his decease the oldest Odd Fellow in Lowell and a member of Mechanics' Lodge.

(5) Mr. George Emery died at the age of 75 at the home of his son in Holyoke, Mass., on the 13th of February, 1899. He was born in Leominster in this State and came to Lowell more than forty years ago. At the time of his death he was the oldest hackman in Lowell, having seen about forty years' service in this line of business. He is remembered as a man of kindly disposition, courteous and prompt in his transactions with his fellowmen.

(6) Mr. Henry Hammond Barnes died in this city at the age of 83 years, on the 3d of March, 1899. Mr.

Barnes was born in Hillsborough, New Hampshire, and came to Lowell in 1829. He was for a long time engaged in business with the late Mr. Daniel H. Dean under the firm name and style of Dean & Barnes. In 1849, when Canal Block was built, the firm leased one of its stores, where Mr. Barnes remained during his career in active business. He was a member of the High Street Church, and at the time of his death was one of its deacons. He was a dignified, courtly gentleman, loved and respected by all, and especially by children. He was identified with the growth and prosperity of Lowell, and he will long be remembered as a citizen of sterling worth and Christian character.

(7) Mr. Cyrus King Russell, at the age of 83 years and 6 months, died at his home on Merrimack Street on the 9th of March, 1899. Mr. Russell was born in New Ipswich, New Hampshire, in 1815, and came to Lowell in 1829. He was a descendant of a Norman French family, founded in 1016. The English representative of this family was John Earl of Bedford, and to him William Russell, the first American ancestor who came from England and settled in Cambridge, Mass., in 1640, traced his ancestry. At the age of 14 Mr. Russell began to work in a grocery store at the corner of Hurd and Central Streets, and shortly afterwards started to learn the machinist's trade in the Lowell Machine Shop. On the occasion of the visit of General Jackson to Lowell in 1832, Mr. Russell, being a member of a military company, was assisting in firing the salute in honor of the distinguished visitor, when the premature discharge of the gun caused the disaster which nearly cost him his life, and by which he suffered the loss of his left arm. After his recovery he resumed his school studies with the intention of fitting for college, and became a student

successively at the academy in New Hampton, New Hampshire, and at the academy at Woburn, Mass. He afterwards taught school in Tewksbury, Mass., in South Dennis, Mass., and in the Hopkinton Academy, Hopkinton, New Hampshire. In 1851 he engaged in business with his brother under the firm name of S. S. Russell & Co. In 1855 he purchased his brother's interest in the business, and in 1874 joined with him in partnership the late Mr. George S. Cheney. This union having been dissolved in 1879, his son became a partner, and the firm took the name of C. K. Russell & Son. In 1884 he closed out his interest in active business and retired to private life. Mr. Russell was a Republican in politics, and served two terms in the State Legislature. He was a man of unusual ability and force of character. Upright, conscientious, kind and obliging, his advice was often sought, while his judgment was always deemed reliable. He will be greatly missed as one of our most highly respected citizens.

(8) Mr. Newell A. Ranlett died at his home on Third Street May 18th, 1899. Mr. Ranlett was 80 years old at the time of his decease. He was born in Gilmanston, New Hampshire, and came to Lowell about sixty years ago. He was widely known as an auctioneer and a livery stable keeper. His death was very sudden, and at a time when he seemed to be in usual good health. He had many friends, especially among the older people, who will sincerely mourn his loss.

(9) Col. James Francis died at his home on Mansur Street on December 1st, 1898, at the age of 58 years. He was born in Lowell on the 30th of March, 1840. He was educated in the public schools of this city, and after an attendance for a brief period on private instruction

he entered the Lowell Machine Shop as an apprentice. He remained there until the breaking out of the Civil War, when he enlisted at the first call to arms, April 20th, 1861, and assisted in recruiting for the service Company A, Second Massachusetts Regiment. He served throughout the war. He served under Gen. Patterson in the Shenandoah Valley, with Gen. Banks in his retreat, with the Army of the Potomac in the winter of 1862-3, and participated in the battles of Cedar Mountain, Chancellorsville, Antietam, and Gettysburg. He also rendered efficient service in the West and along the line of the Chattanooga Railroad. He was under Gen. Sherman in his famous march to the sea and through the Carolinas, and participated in all the battles of that historic campaign. He was wounded at the battle of Antietam. His various commissions are dated as follows: Second Lieutenant, May 25th, 1861; First Lieutenant, November, 1861; Captain, August 10th, 1862; Major, July 4th, 1863; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, March 13th, 1865, for gallant service in Georgia and the Carolina*, and was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel July 24th, 1865. He received an honorable discharge from the army in August, 1865, and in the following September received an appointment as one of the engineers in charge of the construction of the Hoosac Tunnel, in which service he continued until 1866, when he returned to Lowell and entered the service of the Locks and Canals Company, as Assistant Engineer, in April, 1867. In this service he was appointed Agent and Engineer, January 1st, 1885, which position he held until 1893, when these two offices having been separated, he was promoted to the position of General Agent, in which office he continued doing faithful and efficient service until the time of his death. He was a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, American Society

of Mechanical Engineers, Boston Society of Civil Engineers, Institution of Great Britain, Loyal Legion, Massachusetts Military Historical Society, Victoria Institute, Philosophical Society of Great Britain, and the First Unitarian Society. He served as a member of the Board of Aldermen in 1884-1885, and was a Director in the Lowell Gas Light Company and in the Railroad National Bank, and was also a Trustee of the Mechanics' Savings Bank.

In addition to all this he was an upright, honest, able, genial, lovable man, respected by every one and endeared to a host of friends.

(10) Mr. David Whittaker died at Hillsboro Bridge, New Hampshire, February 11th, 1899, at the age of 70 years. Had he lived but eight days more he would have been 71 years of age. He was born in Deering, New Hampshire, received his education in the schools of that place, and very early in life entered the cotton mills of Lowell as an operative, and finally worked his way up to the position of overseer. In 1860 he engaged in the furniture business with Mr. George F. Offutt, doing business under the firm name of Offutt & Whittaker. He retired from business in 1895 on account of ill health. He served as a member of the Board of Aldermen in 1882 and 1883. He was highly respected as a citizen, and by a large circle of acquaintances his death is sincerely mourned.

(11) Mr. Edward F. Coburn, after a long and painful illness, died at his home on Oak Street on the 16th of December, 1898, at the age of 55 years and 2 months. He was a member of the well-known firm of C. B. Coburn & Co., dealers in manufacturers' supplies. He was a man of quiet tastes and habits, of spotless integrity, and

dearly loved by hosts of friends. He was never ambitious to hold public office, but he was a great enthusiast in politics, and at one time served very efficiently as Chairman of the Republican City Committee. He was an affectionate husband and father, a highly esteemed citizen, and a true, reliable friend.

(12) Mr. George F. Morey died December 29th, 1898, at his home on Mt. Washington Street, at the age of 72 years. He was born in Windsor, Vermont, and came to Lowell when a young man in company with the late Hon. Hocum Hosford. He was one of the original founders of the Lowell Daily Citizen. In 1856 with Mr. Leonard Brown he purchased the Daily Morning News, the American Citizen, a weekly paper, and the Daily Citizen, and the journal thus formed by the consolidation of these three papers was called the Daily Citizen and News. Its editor was the late Hon. John A. Goodwin. In 1859 the late Hon. Chauncey L. Knapp and Mr. Morey became the proprietors of the Citizen with Mr. Knapp as editor, and from this firm Mr. Morey retired in 1876. Mr. Morey was a member of the State Legislature in 1887-88, and a member of the City Council in 1860-61. He always maintained great interest in politics, and through the instrumentality of his paper exerted great influence in behalf of the Republican party, of which he was an active member. He will be fondly remembered as a man of unusual business ability and as an enterprising citizen.

(13) Mr. Edward P. Woods died suddenly at his home on West Sixth Street on the 10th of January, 1899, at the age of 72 years. He was born in Newport, New Hampshire, and received his education in the Academy of Newport and the Kimball Union Academy of Meriden, New Hampshire. In 1856 he came to Lowell and shortly

afterwards entered the employ of the J. C. Ayer Company, and in 1858 was Superintendent of Manufacturing for that company. In 1861 he organized the firm of Woods, Sherwood & Co., manufacturers of white lustral wire ware, which was developed into a large business, and from which he retired shortly before his death.

Mr. Woods was a Republican in politics and served in the Common Council in 1873-74. He was an active and devoted member of Kirk Street Church, and was one of the first promoters and managers in America of the organization known as the Young Men's Christian Association. He was a man of marked personality and a great worker in whatever he engaged. In addition to his other philanthropic labors he was principal of one of the first evening schools in this city. He was also for a long time the responsible manager of the First Street Mission, which was conducted on strictly missionary lines. His time and his means were always at the demand of this enterprise, and it was only a little while before his death that he retired from active work in its behalf. He was a very estimable man, zealously devoted to every enterprise whereby to benefit his fellowmen, and he will long be remembered as a zealous business man and a sincere Christian gentleman.

Such is the obituary record of this Association so far as it can be ascertained for the year now drawing to its close. Thirteen of our number have passed away. The average age is a fraction above 73 years. Two of them reached the limit of fourscore and three, the youngest of them died at the age of 55 years. All of them passed their lives from boyhood until their decease in old age here in Lowell, giving their energies, the fruits of their enterprise, their industry, and their intelligence to the development and enhancement of the municipality which had become their home. We cannot measure off

by metes and bounds the sphere of their influence any more easily than we can fix the limits of friendship and judicious counsel, but we are certain that the power of their lives in its complex variety is felt in, and has become a part of, the general moral welfare of the city in which we live. Their early manhood was passed at a time when the energies of the ablest men in the community were demanded for the public service. Their standard of citizenship was high, their ideals were noble and pure. Public office was not considered an opportunity for selfish attainment, but for the fulfilment of a sacred trust. Ability, integrity and fidelity are three of the prominent characteristics of good citizenship everywhere. In so far as these men labored for the attainment of these ends, let us emulate their example and strive for the maintenance in our prosperous city of that which makes for the noblest ends, both in private and in public life.

Respectfully submitted,

SOLON W. STEVENS, President.

Lowell, May 29th, 1899.

V. Annual Report for 1899-1900. By Solon W. Stevens, Pres. Read May 29, 1900.

The time has come when custom and usage require of the President of this Association an annual report. It would be very pleasant if your President could present evidence of an increasing interest in the purpose and motives of this organization on the part of our citizens generally, and if he could bear witness to a more widely diffused desire among our people to attach themselves to a society whose object is to search for and present in tangible shape such data and statistics as might be gathered from various sources relative to the city which is our home. Our people are necessarily so busily occupied in the various avenues of business and of the professions that the importance of preserving in concrete form such statements of incidents and events as make up the local history of a community seems to be regarded with comparative indifference, or else it is pushed aside as a matter of but little worth. However this may be, our Society should continue its work as industriously as possible along customary lines with the assurance that whatever is done here to promote the interests for which it was organized will be gratefully appreciated by the general public in time to come.

The following donations have been received during the past year and their acceptance acknowledged:

Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its Forty-seventh Annual Meeting held December 14th, 1899.

Report of the President of Yale University for 1898.

Catalogue of Yale University, 1899-1900.

Annual Report of the Secretary of the University of California, 1899.

Ninth Annual Report of the West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society, 1899.

Tenth Annual Report of the West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society, 1900.

State Library Bulletin, University of New York, Legislation, No. 11. January, 1900.

Dedham Historical Register. Vol. 11, No. 1, January, 1900.

Dedham Historical Register. Vol. 11, No. 2, April, 1900.

Publications of Rhode Island Historical Society. Vol. 7, No. 2, July, 1899.

Publications of Rhode Island Historical Society. Vol. 7, No. 4, January, 1900.

Publications of Rhode Island Historical Society. Vol. 8, No. 1, April, 1900.

University of the State of New York Library Report, 1898.

Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1897-98. Vols. 1 and 2.

State of New York, Report of the State Historian, 1897. Colonial Series. Vol. 2.

Fifteenth Report of the United States Civil Service Commission, July, 1897, June, 1898.

William Walker and the Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory, Second Series, No. 3. Published by Nebraska State Historical Society in 1899.

Diary of David McClure, with compliments of William Richmond Peters and John Punnatt Peters, 1899.

Pen drawing of the former residence of Alanson Crane, corner of School and Liberty Streets, Lowell, Mass., 1863, by Hon. Leroy B. Crane of New York, Nov. 24th, 1899.

Portrait of the late Zina E. Stone, by Mrs. Selina Hooper, sister of the deceased.

Sixteen vacancies have been created by death since our last annual meeting.

Mr. William McArthur died on the 29th of May, 1899, at the age of 74 years. Deceased was a well-known resident of Lowell for many years. He was a native of Scotland, but lived in Lowell the greater portion of his life. He was for sixteen years, according to the record, the sexton of St. Anne's Church, which position he resigned some six or seven years ago.

Mr. Ferdinand Rodliff died at his home on Appleton Street on the night of May 31st, 1899, at the age of 93 years, 4 months and 25 days. He was born in Seekonk, Mass., and came to Lowell in 1827. For thirty-two years he served as overseer and assistant superintendent in the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, and for forty years as general superintendent of that corporation. Probably there is no one living in Lowell today who has given so many years of his life to faithful service in any mill of our city as is recorded of Mr. Rodliff. This long period of service attests his worth and the high estimation in which he was held. He was a witness to the enormous growth of our chief manufacturing industry from the period of small beginnings to its present development. Mr. Rodliff was greatly respected as a citizen of strict integrity of character, honorable in all

his dealings with his fellowmen, and faithful in the discharge of duty. He was prominently identified with St. Paul's Church, and for sixty-six years was one of its devoted members.

Mr. William Corey died at the age of 88 June 17th, 1899. He came to Lowell in 1831, when the population was less than seven thousand, and went to work on the Lawrence Corporation under the agency of Mr. Austin. During the last years of his life he was employed by Deputy Sheriff Stiles as keeper of properties under attachment. He was not a man of many words, being more reticent than communicative; but was much respected by those who enjoyed his acquaintance.

Mr. Zina E. Stone, after a brief illness, died at the age of 76 years on the morning of June 26th, 1899. He was born in Bethel, Maine. At the age of 17 he learned the printer's trade, and during his whole life he was connected with newspaperial work. The space allotted to this report is not sufficient to adequately describe the useful career of this beloved and honored citizen. A comprehensive statement of the incidents of his business life was published in the Evening Mail of June 26th, 1899, a repetition of which is not considered either practicable or necessary here. Mr. Stone was one of the founders of the Old Residents' Historical Association, and was one of the most interesting and instructive contributors to its series of publications. His sympathies were enlisted in its behalf, its work was congenial to his tastes, and he was always ready to promote its welfare in every possible way. He was for many years a member of the Executive Committee of this Association, and at the time of his decease he was its Vice-President. He was loved and honored by all who knew him. He had decided opinions of affairs, he knew how to express his thoughts gracefully and yet with force, he

was careful, judicious, and conscientious, and yet never afraid to say what he considered to be for the best interests of the people. He was quiet, unostentatious, never ambitious for public office, but was fond of books and the works of great writers, and apparently always in the indulgence of most satisfactory enjoyment when with pen in hand he was busy in the development of some congenial theme. No one, in recent years at least, has passed away from the ranks of active membership in this Association who will be more sincerely missed or more lovingly remembered than Mr. Stone, because of his sterling integrity, his lovable nature, and his possession of the many traits which characterize the reliable friend and the true gentleman.

Mr. Edward B. Howe died at his home on High Street August 12th, 1899, at the age of 83 years. Mr. Howe was born in Marlboro in 1816, and came to Lowell in 1826. In 1847 he became interested in the business of card-clothing, and was identified with this line of business during his life. He was a very intelligent man, a great reader of instructive books, a good musician, serving as organist in several of our churches for many years, and was endeared to all who knew him for his gentle, genial, sympathetic nature. His departure leaves a vacancy in our ranks which will not be soon forgotten.

Mrs. Elizabeth L. Brigham, wife of Mr. Oramel A. Brigham, died suddenly on the evening of August 30th, 1899, at Catamut, Buzzard's Bay. Mrs. Brigham belonged to the line of Toppans, who were among the early settlers of Newburyport. Her maiden name was Elizabeth Toppan. For eleven years she was an assistant teacher in the old Green School under the mastership of the late Charles Morrill. She was a woman of rare intellectual worth, and during her life she was conspicuous for her generosity and good works. She

was for many years connected with the First Congregational Church in this city, but during the latter part of her life she was prominently identified with the First Trinitarian Congregational Church of Lowell. Mrs. Brigham was a public-spirited, large-hearted woman, and particularly interested in the benevolent work carried on by the Old Ladies' Home. She was also always very much interested in the work of the Old Residents' Historical Association, was a constant attendant at our meetings, and ever ready to do her part in the advancement of its welfare.

Mr. Edmund Dix Fletcher died on the morning of October 21st, 1899, at the age of 76 years. Mr. Fletcher was born in Dedham, came to Lowell in his early years, and in 1848 helped to organize the well-known and highly reputed firm of Nichols & Fletcher, grocers. This firm was the successor to the business established by Mr. Ransom Reed in 1838, by whom Mr. Fletcher was employed. Mr. Fletcher was highly esteemed as a citizen and a business man. He was successful in business because of his close attention to its affairs and his strict integrity. He was descended from the family of Fletcher which was prominent among the early proprietors of the town of Concord. His grandfather, Eleazer Fletcher, was captain of a militia company which took part in the battle of Bunker Hill. Mr. Fletcher was a member of the Common Council of Lowell for two years, of the Board of Aldermen for one year, and was a member of the Eliot Congregational Church. He was endeared to a large circle of friends, and he will long be remembered as a most exemplary citizen.

Mr. Edward Hartshorn died at the age of 83 years on the morning of December 9th, 1899. He was born in New Ipswich, New Hampshire, in 1816, and came to Lowell when 14 years old. For a period of twelve years

he was engaged in business in Manchester, New Hampshire, as a member of the firm of Herrick & Hartshorn. In 1860, or thereabouts, he returned to Lowell and engaged in the dry goods business as a member of the firm of Hartshorn, Hall & Woods. After a few years had passed by he entered the employ of H. Hosford & Co., and remained with them and their successors, now known as A. G. Pollard & Co., until the time of his decease. He was a quiet, unobtrusive man, and greatly respected by all who enjoyed the favor of his acquaintance.

Mr. James Dugdale, aged 77 years, died at his residence February 23rd, 1900. He was for many years a resident of Lowell, and was formerly engaged in the manufacture of worsted goods, and at one time controlled a mill on Willie Street. He lived a retired life, but was highly esteemed for his many excellent qualities by all who knew him.

Mr. Rufus Hart, of 15 Varney Street, died very suddenly at his temporary home in Somerville on March 13th, 1900. Mr. Hart was born in Kingswood, England, about sixty-three years ago and came to this country with his parents when only 7 years old. The family came directly to Lowell, and here was his home. He was educated in our public schools, was an attendant at St. Anne's Church from the time of his early boyhood, and was engaged in the foundry business in Charlestown, Mass., as a member of the firm of Osgood & Hart. He will always be remembered as a man of upright dealings with his fellowmen, and as one who was animated by a desire to be just, upright and honest in all his relations with others, and in the conduct of his life.

Mr. Ephraim Brown, one of the oldest and most widely-known residents of our city, died at his home on Chestnut Street, at the age of 80 years, on the afternoon

of March 20th, 1900. Mr. Brown was born in Wilton, New Hampshire. He came to Lowell in 1840, and began business here as a tradesman. From 1845 to 1849 he was a teacher in our grammar schools, and eventually gained prominence as a manufacturer and inventor. For several years he was a Director in the First National Bank of this city, beside holding other positions of trust and responsibility. In 1852 he became a member of the High Street Congregational Church, and was a constant attendant at its services until the date of his death. He was also a Trustee of the Central Savings Bank of this city. Mr. Brown was a man of cheerful disposition, unimpeachable character and generous instincts. He was a gentleman of the "old school," so called, and during his long life in our city he made hosts of acquaintances, many of whom now are living to mourn the absence of a friend who was ever ready to give words of counsel and encouragement.

Mr. Joseph S. Brown died on the morning of March 26th, 1900, at his home on Myrtle Street, at the age of 80 years. He was born in Malden, Mass., and was of Scotch descent. He came to Lowell in 1846, and engaged in the dry goods business, in which he remained until his retirement from active business life in 1883. He was a member of the Common Council in 1872-73, in 1883-84, of the Board of Aldermen in 1874-75, and a member of the State Legislature in the term of 1885-86. He was a Director of the First National Bank, and of the Lowell, Lawrence and Haverhill Street Railway, and a charter member and Trustee of the Central Savings Bank of Lowell, in addition to the occupancy of positions of trust in other organizations of a more private nature. He will be remembered as an upright citizen and a Christian gentleman.

Mr. Charles W. Drew died March 30th, 1900, at the age of 84 years. Of late years, on account of enfeebled health, he was not engaged in active business, but for a long time he was a faithful employe of H. Hosford & Co. and was, at one time, senior member of the dry goods firm of Drew, Taft & Welch. He was one of the old settlers of Lowell, having made his home here in 1849. He will be lovingly remembered as an honest, upright man.

Mr. Burnham C. Benner died on Sunday morning, April 8th, 1900, at the age of upward 81 years. Mr. Benner was born in Pittston, Maine, and came to Lowell in 1863 and was identified with the firm of Benner Brothers, furniture dealers. He held the office of deacon in the John Street Congregational Church for twenty-one years. He was greatly respected for his integrity, his honorable business career, and his superior standing as a member of this community. He was a man of strong individuality of character, and will long be fondly remembered as a man of enterprise and fidelity in the performance of duty.

Mr. George Hurter Stevens, a well-known lawyer of this city, died on the afternoon of April 4th, 1900, at the age of 49 years. He was a native of Mt. Vernon, New Hampshire, and was the son of George Stevens, who was for many years the District Attorney of this district. Mr. Stevens graduated from Dartmouth College in 1874, after which he travelled quite extensively in Europe, and was subsequently admitted to the bar in January, 1880. He was appointed bail commissioner as successor to the late Judge Frye, which position he held at the time of his death. He was also historian of Old Middlesex Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, and Secretary and Treasurer of the Old Residents' Historical Association at the date of his decease. Mr. Stevens was a

man of scholarly instincts, of wide reading, and solid intellectual attainment. He was respected by his brethren at the bar as a man of honor and ability. He was modest and unassuming, industrious and ambitious for the attainment of noble ideals, and by those who were admitted to his friendship he will long be remembered as a man of rare ability and as a thoroughly reliable friend.

Mr. Charles Chauncy Chase died at his home on Nesmith Street on the evening of Wednesday, May 15th, 1900, at the age of 82 years. Mr. Chase was born in Haverhill, Mass., January 19th, 1818, within a short distance of the birthplace of the favorite poet of New England people, John Greenleaf Whittier, with whom an acquaintance formed in boyhood was maintained throughout the experience of maturer years. Having fitted for college in the public schools of Haverhill, he entered Dartmouth College in 1835 and graduated with high rank as a scholar in 1839 in a class of sixty-one members, among whom there were many who afterward attained distinction in their chosen walks in life. Mr. Chase came to Lowell in 1845 to assume the position of Principal of the High School of this city, which position he successfully filled until the date of his resignation in 1883, a period of thirty-eight years. In 1841 he was united in marriage with Miss Martha A. Cowles of Peacham, Vermont, who still survives him. Of this union seven children were born, four of whom are living: Mr. Francis N. Chase, Teller of the Old Lowell National Bank; Mr. Frederick A. Chase, Librarian of the City Library; Mr. William C. Chase, a prominent architect in Boston; and Mrs. Bradley, wife of Rev. Dr. Bradley, of the Garrett Biblical Institute at Evanston, Illinois. He also leaves two sisters and two brothers, one of whom is Mr. Samuel A. Chase, the Treasurer of the Central Savings Bank of this city. Mr. Chase was

one of the most highly respected citizens of Lowell. In addition to this he was greatly beloved by many of our people who in early life were pupils at school under his guidance and instruction. The personal impressions mutually received by instructor and pupil in school-days are seldom forgotten in after years, and if the relations between the two were such as to promote reciprocal esteem the lapse of time simply adds strength to the opinions thus early formed. Mr. Chase will long be remembered as a faithful, capable, conscientious teacher. He was a thorough scholar, he was fond of books, and especially fond of classical literature. He was a master of literary expression, and beside he had that peculiar faculty of imparting knowledge so absolutely essential in a successful teacher, together with that subtle influence of character which is the result of sympathy and conscientious adherence to duty. Many of the most prominent and substantial people of this city are numbered among his pupils, who, with hosts of others all over the land, will remember him with feelings of sincere respect. Mr. Chase was at one time President of this Association, and he always felt a lively interest in its aims and its work. The papers which he presented and which have been preserved are among the most interesting of the series. The historical sketch of Lowell written by him and published in the History of Middlesex County is a reservoir of information relative to Lowell as a town and as a city, showing his familiarity with local affairs and his interest in the welfare of the community wherein he resided so many years. Mr. Chase was a member of the High Street Congregational Church and was prominently identified with all its interests. At the close of a long and useful career he simply lay down to rest, and peacefully breathed his life away.

“Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.”

Thus far in these brief and imperfect obituary sketches mention has been made only of such who were members of our Association at the time of their decease. It has been the intention of the writer of this report to notice the death of every member who has died since our last annual meeting. It is quite possible that some name has been omitted. If such is the fact it must be regarded as accidental and unintentional.

Since our last annual meeting two men of prominence in our local affairs have passed away who were not members of our society, but of whom it may not be deemed inappropriate to make brief mention on account of the conspicuous position which they filled in the public estimation of our people. Reference is thus made to Henry Greenwood Cushing and Edward T. Rowell.

Few men have been more widely known, at least in Middlesex County, than Sheriff Cushing. He was born in Abington in 1834, came to Lowell in 1875 as Deputy under the Hon. Charles Kimball, then Sheriff of the county, and died here on the morning of June 9th, 1899, at the age of 65 years. Mr. Cushing was appointed Sheriff of this county by Gov. Butler in 1884 to fill an unexpired term caused by the death of Sheriff Fiske, and was afterward at stated times re-elected to the position of Sheriff, which office he held at the time of his decease. He was a veteran of the Civil War, an esteemed member of Post 185, G. A. R., and also of the Massachusetts Commandery of the Loyal Legion. He commanded the respect of all whom he met by his courtesy and his affable manner. He was kind and considerate toward those unfortunate ones placed under his care, and in all his dealings with his fellows he manifested the charac-

teristic qualities of a courteous gentleman and a faithful officer.

Mr. Edward T. Rowell died very suddenly from heart-failure on the afternoon of August 4th, 1899, on a railway train between Boston and Lynn, while on his way to visit his family at the Ocean House at Swampscott. Mr. Rowell was born in Concord, New Hampshire, in 1836. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1861, and immediately enlisted as a private soldier in the Fifth New Hampshire Regiment of Volunteers for the War of the Rebellion. He was promoted to be Captain of his company and afterward to be Major of his regiment. He came to Lowell in 1867 and with the Hon. George A. Marden, who was his classmate in college, purchased the Lowell Daily Courier and Weekly Journal, which papers were published for twenty-five years under the authority and supervision of the firm of Marden & Rowell. Mr. Rowell was appointed Postmaster by President Grant in 1874, reappointed by President Hayes four years later, and reappointed again eight years later by President Arthur. In 1885 he was appointed Gas Commissioner by Governor Robinson, and held the office for five years. In 1890 he was elected President of the Railroad National Bank of this city. He served two terms in the Massachusetts Legislature, in 1897 and 1898. In addition he held various positions of trust in societies and organizations of a less public character. He was an estimable man, a good citizen, a real gentleman and a staunch friend. He was widely known, and he will be long remembered with affection and sincere respect.

Such in brief is the obituary record which necessarily constitutes the main portion of this report. Sixteen of our associates have passed away since last we met. The personnel of our community is rapidly chang-

ing. The old-time resident as he walks up and down the principal streets of our city is surprised to note the absence of familiar forms whom he was accustomed to meet even only a few years ago. As our city widens and increases, the ranks of Lowell's "Old Guard" seem to be rapidly diminishing. The new features which meet us in the public thoroughfare, and the new names which greet our ears, may be suggestive of much that is delightful, still there is a certain feeling of loneliness produced by this experience whereby the elderly inhabitant of this community is made to feel, momentarily perhaps, that he is well-nigh a stranger in the city of his birth and his life. All this is inevitable. It is simply a part of the Divine plan. Momentous events are crowding upon us rapidly; the battle of life is fierce and perpetual, and as our companions drop from sight on either side we are to close up the line and press the column forward. May it be said of us when the record shall be written that we lived as Christian gentlemen and died as honest men.

Respectfully submitted,

SOLON W. STEVENS, President.

May 29, 1900.

CONTRIBUTIONS

TO

THE OLD RESIDENTS'

Historical Association,

LOWELL, MASS.



ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

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

LOWELL, MASS.
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1904

OFFICERS.

SOLON W. STEVENS, *President.*

SAMUEL P. HADLEY, *Vice-President.*

HORACE S. BACON, *Secretary and Treasurer.*

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SOLON W. STEVENS,

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CHARLES COWLEY,

JAMES W. BENNETT,

CHARLES A. STOFF,

JACOB B. CURRIER,

FREDERICK LAWTON.

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OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

I. Annual Report for 1900-1901. By Solon W. Stevens, Pres. Read May 28, 1901.

There are but few items of interest to be embodied in the annual report, which by custom is due at this time.

At our last annual meeting a committee was chosen to make an effort to secure a more acceptable and convenient place for keeping the books, papers, pictures, and other properties belonging to the society. By the efforts of that committee, our society is now permitted to hold its meetings and to preserve its properties in an anteroom in Memorial Hall building.

A bookcase belonging to the society has been repaired and restored to something like its original good appearance, and the books and pamphlets which are the property of the society have been removed in part from the shelves of the library below, and placed in this bookcase, wherein it is hoped they may be carefully preserved. The pictures also, which at different times have come into the possession of the society, have been hung upon the walls of the room, hereafter to be considered the headquarters of the Old Residents' Association.

It is a pleasure to make record of these facts, for they are evidence of the partial accomplishment of a long cherished desire, that our society might have a "local habitation" as well as a name.

During the past year the city of Lowell observed in an interesting manner the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of its

incorporation as a town. This event took place on the first day of March, 1901. Appropriate exercises were held in Huntington Hall during both the afternoon and the evening of that day.

This anniversary celebration was in charge of a committee chosen by the City Government, of which His Honor Mayor Dimon was chairman. By invitation, a committee was chosen from the Old Residents' Historical Association to act in conjunction with the aforesaid city committee in carrying the necessary plans into execution. The oration was delivered by the President of this Association. A very large attendance of our citizens was present at the exercises, and an unexpected interest was manifested in listening to the story of many of the incidents which related to the beginning of Lowell and to its early corporate life.

The list of donations to the Society during the past year is as follows :—

CONTRIBUTIONS, MAY, 1900, TO MAY, 1901.

Lamb—Savory—Harriman. Family Records. by F. W. Lamb. Manchester, N. H.

L'Organization judiciaire de New York.

Sources of the Agricultural Imports of the United States, 1894-1898.

“Our Foreign Trade,” by United States Department of Agriculture.

Catalogue of Yale University, 1900-1901.

Report of Commissioner of Education. Vols. 1 and 2, 1898-1899.

History and Proceedings of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Vol. 3, 1890-1898.

New York State Library. Bibliography of the New York Colonial History.

New York State Library. Reference List on Connecticut Local History.

New York State Library. New York in the Revolution.

New York State Library. New York at Gettysburg. Vols. 1, 2 and 3.

New York State Library. New York in the Spanish-American War. Vols. 1, 2 and 3.

New York State Library. Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York. Vols. 1, 2 and 3.

New York State Library. Bulletins, Legislation. Nos. 12 and 13.

New York State Library. Bulletins, History, No. 4, on Slavery in New York.

New York State Library. Bulletins, House Education. Nos. 31 and 32.

New York State Library. Bulletins, Study Clubs, 1898.

Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute, 1898.

Dedham Historical Register. Vol. 11, No. 3, July, 1900; Vol. 11, No. 4, October, 1900; Vol. 12, No. 1, January, 1901; Vol. 12, No. 2, April, 1901.

The Historic Quarterly. Vol. 2, No. 3, by Manchester Historical Association.

Manual of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

The West Virginia Historical Magazine. Vol. 1, No. 1.

James Rumsey, the Inventor of the Steamboat, by Geo. M. Baltzhoover, Jr.

Chicago Historical Society. Reports, November 21, 1899, and February 12, 1900.

Lynn Historical Society. Register for 1899.

Report of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohawk Conference on International Arbitration, 1900.

Elisha Bartlett, a Rhode Island Philosopher, by Wm. Osler, M. D.

Proceedings of the New England Historical Genealogical Society at Annual Meeting, January 11, 1899.

Annual Report of the Secretary to the Board of Regents of the University of California, June 30, 1900.

Manchester Historical Association. Collections, 1899.

Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Vol. 8, No. 2, July, 1900; Vol. 8, No. 3, October, 1900; Vol. 8, No. 4, January, 1901.

The Minutes of the Ninety-eighth Annual Meeting of the General Association of Congregational Churches of Massachusetts, 1900.

Charter and By-Laws of the Wyoming Historical and Genealogical Society.

An Address at the dedication of the building of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, by Charles Francis Adams.

An Address, "Our New Interests," by Whitelaw Reid, at the University of California.

A Memoir of Josephine Mellen Ayer, widow of the late James C. Ayer.

City Documents of the City of Lowell for the years 1898 and 1899.

There have been five deaths since our last annual meeting.

OBITUARIES.

Mr. Pliny Rollins died on June 1, 1900, at his home, No. 15 Fourth Street, at the age of 66 years. Mr. Rollins was employed on the Massachusetts Corporation for upwards thirty-eight years, and was highly respected as an upright, capable man and faithful in the discharge of his duties. He was not widely known, but in the circle of his acquaintances he was loved and honored for his fidelity in dealings with others, and for his unquestioned integrity of life.

Mr. Edward M. Sargent died at his home, 23 Fort Hill Avenue, Thursday evening, July 12, 1900, at the age of 79 years and 8 months. Mr. Sargent was born in Littleton, N. H., in 1820 and came to Lowell when he was thirteen years old and resided here continuously until the day of his death. He was identified with the express business from the days of its beginning in this locality. In 1848 he founded what was known in later years as the "Old Sargent Express Company," from its long establishment. After more than twenty years of service in this employment he was obliged on account of failing eyesight to give the more active charge of the business into other hands. He was actively interested in procuring the charter for the Lowell and Andover Railroad, which road in little time became absorbed in the Boston and Maine. He was one of the oldest residents of the city, and on account of the wide range of the duties of his calling he soon became a familiar figure in the

community. He was respected as an honest, faithful man in business and in private life and is missed by a large circle of acquaintances.

Mr. Henry A. Lord, of 45 Marshall Street, died at his home July 16, 1900, at the age of 77 years. Mr. Lord was for a long time employed as bookkeeper in the office of the Hon. James W. Bennett. He was an upright, unostentatious, conscientious man. He avoided publicity, but was always faithful in the discharge of every duty imposed upon him. He was a man of strong convictions and was never afraid of expressing his opinions. The few who knew him intimately miss him as a wise counsellor and a man of sterling integrity.

Mr. Daniel Gage, one of our oldest and most substantial citizens, died on the 8th of February, 1901, at the age of 72 years. Mr. Gage was widely known as a dealer in ice, wood and coal. He was born in Pelham, N. H., and came to Lowell in 1855. He was a man of ample means, faithful and honest in business always, and the recipient of the esteem of the community. He was never ambitious for public office but always attentive to his rights and duties as a citizen. It seemed as if everybody knew and respected "Dan" Gage for his honesty and his thorough reliability. He was generous in a great degree but never anxious to make a display of kindly acts. He was a familiar character on the street, and when he died men said "A good man has gone." There is no better eulogy than this.

Mr. James B. Trueworthy died at his home, 614 Bridge Street, April 15, 1901, at the age of 72 years and 11 months. Mr. Trueworthy was born in Unity, Me., and came to Lowell in 1848, where he lived continuously until

the time of his decease. During the last years of his life he was entrusted with large responsibilities as a collector of rents and duties kindred to this calling, and in this position was highly prized as a strictly accurate, conscientious man. As a citizen he was quiet and unassuming and greatly esteemed for probity and excellence of character.

This is a brief record of the five of our associates who have passed away since our last annual meeting. One by one our members leave us as the years roll by, and the world moves on seemingly forgetful of personal qualities once highly prized. But the memory of a life of integrity is never wholly lost. The record of individual good citizenship is the standard by which the character of a community is judged. For each of them, when the time shall come, may the record read, "He was faithful to the end."

Respectfully submitted,

SOLOX W. STEVENS.

President.

Annual Report of the President of the Old Residents' Historical Association for 1901-1902.

May 28, 1902.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION OF LOWELL.

It becomes my duty to again submit an annual report relative to the work and welfare of this Association during the year now reaching its close.

It is not necessary to recite here the incidents and results of the meetings which have been recently held with reference to the merging of this voluntary Association into a corporate body, for the records of the secretary and the reports of the committees which have been accepted and adopted will be brought to your attention at another time. It is a matter earnestly to be hoped for and worked for, that by the change which has taken place a new enthusiasm may be inspired, and a new activity manifested in carrying on the useful purpose for which the Association was organized and for which it has labored so long.

There have been, so far as is known, seventeen deaths since our last annual meeting. It is possible that the names of some who have passed away may have escaped official notice, but the following are the names of those whose decease has been recorded.

Mr. Asahel D. Puffer died at 62 Highland Street, August 19, 1902, at 81 years of age. He was born in Sudbury, Mass., May 20, 1820, and came to Lowell with his parents in 1825. He was educated in our public

schools, and in 1845 engaged in the grocery business; afterward a partnership was formed with Page & Fay. Later he established the firm known as A. D. Puffer & Son, at 109 Branch Street. He was one year a member of the Common Council, and in the year 1869 he was a member of the Legislature. Mr. Puffer was widely known and highly respected both in business and in social circles. He was for many years a Trustee and Vice-President of the Merrimack River Savings Bank.

Hon. Jeremiah Crowley died at his home in this city, on September 22, 1901, at the age of 69 years and 8 months. Mr. Crowley was born in Lowell on January 12, 1833, and attended the public schools of this city until his thirteenth year, when he went to work on the Lawrence Manufacturing Corporation. In 1860 he entered the office of Timothy A. Crowley, Esq., as a law student. In 1861, when President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand troops, he promptly volunteered and joined the old Sixth Massachusetts Regiment with which he marched through Baltimore at the time of the memorable assault made by inhabitants of that city upon Massachusetts' soldiers. When his regiment was mustered out of service in August of that year, Mr. Crowley sought to re-enlist but was rejected on account of physical disability. He was admitted to the bar in 1868, and at once entered upon an active practice. He was a member of the Board of Aldermen in 1873-74-77-78-84-86-93-96, being Chairman of that Board in the years 1874-77-86. He was State Senator in 1881, and was Mayor of the City of Lowell in 1899 and 1900. Mr. Crowley's career is an object lesson in illustration of the result of an education which a man may give himself under adverse circumstances

when he is determined and persistent in his efforts. He had hosts of friends, and died leaving behind the record of an honorable, brilliant, and useful life.

Mr. Artemas S. Tyler died at his home on Fairmount Street, October 14, 1901, at the age of 77 years. He was born in what was formerly known as Middlesex Village, Nov. 2, 1824, and was the son of Silas and Fanny Stanley Tyler. He was educated in the public schools of Lowell. At sixteen years of age he entered the employment of the late Hon. John Nesmith, who then carried on, under the name of the Chelmsford Company, the plant formerly run at the Navy Yard by the Merrimack Woolen Company, the mills at West Chelmsford and the old Whitney Mills. Four years later he was employed as clerk in an office in Taunton, and while there, on attaining his majority, he received and accepted an offer to be a clerk in the Railroad Bank at Lowell under the late Samuel W. Stickney, the cashier. In 1850, in connection with others he started the Prescott Bank as a State bank, which institution was then located at the corner of Central and Market streets. He was the first cashier of the Prescott Bank. In 1854 he started the Five Cent Savings Bank and became its first treasurer. Mr. Tyler conducted both of these institutions for seventeen years and in 1871 resigned as cashier of the Prescott Bank. In 1873 he was a member of the Common Council of Lowell and in 1874 and 1875 he represented this city in the Legislature.

For more than twenty years he continuously filled the position of vestryman of St. Anne's Church and was regarded as one of the most influential members of this time-honored parish. In his long experience of more than forty years as Treasurer of the Five Cent Savings

Bank, Mr. Tyler earned the enviable reputation of a skillful financier and an able adviser. He was a genial, lovable man and gained the respect and affection of hosts of friends. Indeed, he commanded the esteem of all who knew him. He was not only an enthusiast in but an intelligent critic of music, and in the early days of Lowell was a member of the Sinfonia Society and later an honorary member of the Lowell Choral Society. But nowhere is he more lovingly remembered than here in the Old Residents' Historical Association. He was a member of its Executive Committee, and was always zealous for the promotion of its welfare. He was a true gentleman and he will be sadly missed not only in his delightful home but in his church and in this community as a citizen of unblemished character.

Mr. Horatio Wood, Jr., died at his home on Liberty Street on Oct. 12, 1901, at the age of 66 years. He was born in Walpole, Oct. 21, 1835, and came to Lowell in 1844. His death was the result of injuries received the day previous when alighting from an electric car on Westford Street. Everything that medical skill could suggest was done for his relief, but all to no avail. Mr. Wood was educated in the public schools of Lowell and graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1857. For about five succeeding years he served as tutor in Yonkers, N. Y., and in Taliaferro, Va. From 1862 until 1875 he carried on, with Miss Elizabeth Haven Appleton, a large and flourishing school for young ladies in Cincinnati, Ohio. Upon relinquishing this position he returned to live in Lowell. He was a man of quiet habits, refined tastes, and of excellent literary attainments. In his student days he was a superior classical scholar, and during life he maintained

familiarity with Greek and Latin authors of whose writings he was particularly fond. He was a thorough gentleman and a true friend. By those who knew his worth and had tested his enviable qualities he will long be affectionately remembered.

Mr. George F. Offutt, one of our most prosperous business men, died at 313 High Street on Nov. 2, 1901, at the age of 63 years. He was born in Southampton, N. H., in 1838, and was of English ancestry. After leaving the public schools of Lowell he was engaged as a clerk in the office of Mr. Person Noyes of this city in 1859, and remained in this position until 1866. He then went to work for his father in the furniture business on Prescott Street. For a few years he was associated with Mr. George W. Faergroves in partnership in business, and afterwards with Mr. David Whittaker. This partnership was dissolved in June, 1895, whereupon the firm of Offutt & Pierce was established. Mr. Offutt was a quiet, unpretentious, honest, Christian man, and will be lovingly remembered by those who knew his many excellent qualities.

Mr. Ira M. Chase died at his home on the Mammoth Road, Nov. 27, 1901, at the age of 80 years. He was born in Deering, N. H., May 11, 1821. Mr. Chase was one of our oldest and most highly esteemed citizens. The writer of this report has been unable to obtain any details of his business life, hence no record of that kind is attempted here. But Mr. Chase was widely known as a man of strict integrity, of honest dealings and a kindly disposition, and as such he will long be remembered.

Mr. Lafayette Richardson died, according to the published reports, from accidentally shooting himself in

December, 1901. He was for many years employed in the Lowell Machine Shop as a shipping agent. He lived at No. 15 Grand Street, and was 61 years of age. He is spoken of by those who knew him as a warm-hearted, genial man.

Mr. George Webster died in Centralville on December 11, 1901, at the advanced age of 91 years. Mr. Webster was one of our oldest and most highly esteemed citizens. Although more than four score and ten years of age, his general health was remarkably good until a few days preceding his death, caused by the rupture of a blood vessel produced by an accident when stepping out of a sleigh. Mr. Webster was born in Newburyport, and came to Lowell in 1823. He became associated with his father in the construction of mill property and was well known among the mill men of that time. He was married to Miss Sarah Shepard in 1835, and for the greater portion of his life lived in Centralville. He was a man of refined tastes, quiet in his habits, firm in his convictions, and of unblemished character. He came to Lowell at the time when the town was about to merge into a city, and lived to see it grow to a population of upward eighty thousand people. It will be remembered, perhaps, that he occupied a seat on the platform during the exercises appertaining to the seventy-fifth anniversary of the organization of the town of Lowell, held in Huntington Hall in March, 1901, and that a pleasant allusion to his presence at that time was made by the speakers on that occasion.

Mr. Edwin Cornock died at 28 Blossom Street, on January 8, 1902, at the age of 63 years and 9 months. Mr. Cornock was widely known as a dealer in boots and shoes. He was born in Gloucestershire, England, and

came to this country in 1868. He was connected with several fraternal organizations, in addition to his membership in this society. He was known and respected as an upright citizen, and a straightforward, honest business man.

Mr. Sam Chapin died on the 12th of January, 1902, at his home, 198 Mammoth Road. He was born in Acton, Mass., in June, 1834, and came to Lowell in early youth to engage in mill work, in which line of employment he continued for the greater portion of his life. For awhile he was identified with the Lowell Crayon Company. He served as alderman in 1899, and although active and influential in political circles, this is said to be the only office he ever held. He was in many respects quite eccentric, independent in thought and action, but was always regarded as honest and sincere. He was greatly esteemed by those who knew him well, and he is remembered as an upright, conscientious citizen.

Mr. Isaac Cooper died January 26, 1902, at the home of his son-in-law, Mr. Joseph B. Goodwin, after a long and useful life of upward 95 years. Mr. Cooper was born in Stockport, England, and came to this country when two and one-half years old, and came to Lowell from West Boylston in 1835. His life was mainly identified with the manufacturing interests of Lowell. For more than forty years he was an overseer on the Lawrence Corporation, and in this capacity he won the universal respect of those under his charge. He served at one time as a member of the Common Council and at another as a representative in the State Legislature. He was an old school gentleman, strictly upright in all his

dealings, genial in his intercourse with his fellow men, and a reliable friend. He was widely known and universally respected.

Mr. J. Frank Page died in Lowell, February 16, 1902. He was born in Lowell, March 10, 1836, hence his age was nearly 66 years. Mr. Page lived in this city the greater part of his life, was educated in our public schools and was known as a bright, genial man, respected highly by his many friends.

Mr. Daniel W. Horne, one of our best known citizens, died on April 1, 1902, at his home on Bellevue Street. Mr. Horne was born in Rochester, N. H., May 4, 1823, and was of Scotch ancestry. He came to Lowell when about seventeen years old, as an apprentice to the late Edward F. Watson, to learn the carpenter's trade. After following this line of work for about twenty-five years, he engaged in the roofing business, in which he continued about twenty years, since which time he has been actively interested in the coal business, under the firm name and style of Horne & Son. He was a public-spirited, enterprising business man, widely known and highly esteemed for his honesty and integrity.

Mr. Daniel M. Niles died April 9, 1902, at his home on Middlesex Street, aged 88 years and 5 months. Mr. Niles was of revolutionary stock, being the son of Mr. Thomas Niles, who saw active service in the war of the Revolution and lived to be 106 years old. Mr. Niles came to Lowell in 1838, and obtained employment on the Lawrence Corporation, and was for many years the overseer of its largest weaving room. He was unobtrusive in his habits, but a close student of municipal affairs,

although never ambitious to hold public office. He had great faith in the future of his adopted city, and to the last of his life took deep interest in its welfare. He was most highly esteemed as a citizen and as a man.

Mr. William H. Anderson, one of the ablest lawyers in Middlesex County, died at his beautiful home on Andover Street, April 14, 1902, at the age of 65 years. Mr. Anderson was born in Londonderry, now known as Derry, N. H. After his preparatory course at Kimball Union Academy, in Meriden, N. H., and at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., he entered Yale College in 1855 and graduated in 1859. After a brief residence in Natchez, Mississippi, and in New Orleans, Louisiana, he came to Lowell and began the study of law in the office of Isaac S. Morse and George Stevens, and continued there until his admission to the bar in 1862. On the dissolution of the firm of Morse & Stevens, Mr. Anderson became a partner with Mr. Stevens, which business relation was continued until 1875, when it ceased because of the election of Mr. Stevens to the office of District Attorney for Middlesex County. The firm known as Stevens & Anderson were the first tenants in the building known as Barristers Hall, after its conversion from religious to secular uses, and Mr. Anderson continued to use the same offices up to the time of his death, a period of more than 39 years. He was a member of the Common Council in 1868 and 1869 and served in the State Legislature in 1871 and 1872. Since that time he devoted himself exclusively to his profession. He had a judicial temperament, was deliberate, dignified, patient and thorough, and because of these qualities he took high rank among the foremost lawyers of this

county. He was affable, courteous, considerate, lovable, kind, and always a gentleman. Behind a serious exterior he had a vein of humor and a love for fun to which, when free from business cares, he gave generous indulgence when amid congenial surroundings. He was a tireless worker in his profession, a wise and judicious counsellor, an able advocate, and faithful to the interests of his clients to the last. He was universally esteemed for his integrity and loved by those who knew him intimately. He will be sadly missed by his associates in the legal profession and by the community at large, because of his ability and his unsullied character.

Mr. J. Tyler Stevens died at his home, corner of Park and Andover streets, on March 13, 1902. He was born in Ware, Mass., Dec. 20, 1844. He came to Lowell in 1874. He was the assistant of his grandfather, the late Jonathan Tyler, in the management and care of large real estate interests, and at the time of Mr. Tyler's death he became his successor in this line of business. Mr. Stevens was widely known in business and social circles and was highly esteemed in this community. He was active in political organizations and was a member of the Common Council in 1881-82. He will be greatly missed by large numbers of relatives and friends, as an upright, enterprising business man.

Mr. James Howard, one of the oldest and most highly esteemed of our citizens, died on Sunday, May 25, at the age of upward 80 years. Mr. Howard was born in Weare, N. H., in 1821, and came to Lowell in 1838. He first entered the employment of the late Horace Howard, for many years known prominently in the coal and lumber business. Afterward he became the chief accountant in

the office of A. L. Brooks & Co., where he remained for thirteen years. He then, for the following seventeen years, served as clerk for Mr. William H. Ward of this city. He was for twenty years treasurer of the Eliot Church, of which he was an ardent and devoted member. He was quiet and unostentatious in his habits, strong in his attachments, and of strict integrity of character. He will be sadly missed in the narrow home circle, in the church which he loved, and in this community.

Although Mr. John Davis, a well known and highly respected lawyer who died on March 11, 1902, was not a member of this Association, it has been considered appropriate that a brief obituary notice be embodied in this report. Mr. Davis was born in Hubbardston, Mass., March 4, 1831. In his early years he came to Lowell and lived with the late Edward F. Watson, who, with the late Elijah M. Reed of Tewksbury, cherished a strong friendship for Mr. Davis. Mr. Davis was widely known throughout the County of Middlesex as a lawyer, having been in practice for more than forty years. After leaving the Lowell High School he entered Dartmouth College, and after completing his course of study at this institution he entered the law office of D. S. and G. F. Richardson as a student. Since his admission to the bar he acquired a large practice, especially in conveyancing and in matters particularly within the jurisdiction of the Probate Court. He died suddenly on the morning of March 11, in his office in Central Block. He was at one time President of the Old Lowell National Bank, and later attorney for the Mechanics Savings Bank of this city. By his will, after the payment of debts and the disposition of about \$5000 in specific legacies, he left all the rest, residue and remainder of his estate, real, personal and mixed, to the

Trustees of the Lowell City Library. Mr. Davis was an indefatigable worker, devoted to his profession, and universally respected as an able, upright, conscientious man. His home was in Tewksbury, whence he was buried. His age was about 71 years.

The Hon. Charles Augustus Ropes Dimon was not a member of the Old Residents' Historical Association, but the prominence of his official position and his recent death while in active service as Mayor of our city afford appropriate reason for a brief obituary notice in this report. Mayor Dimon was born in Fairfield, Conn., in 1841. He died in this city on May 21, 1902, at the age of 61 years. He was prominent as a business man, a veteran soldier, a faithful municipal magistrate, a devoted husband, and a genial gentleman. When the tolling bells announced his death the first words which came to the lips of the listener were such as these: "The little children and the poor people of this city will miss him sadly." It is difficult to speak a better eulogy of a man than that. He was soldier-like in his struggle with his insidious disease, and gallantly yielded to the inevitable in the prime of his years. In business, political, and official life his motives were sincere, and his conduct conscientious. As a political opponent he was honorable, courteous, and fair. He did his duty in public life as he understood it, without fear and without hope of favor. He will be missed as a citizen, and as a faithful public officer. In private life he was lovable, companionable, and worthy of confidence. May his many virtues be lovingly and long remembered by his countless host of friends.

When, on the third day of May, 1869, Dr. John O. Green, the first President of the organization, welcomed

his associates to the First Annual Meeting of the Old Residents' Historical Association, he congratulated them that a complete organization had been made certain and that it was in readiness to engage in any appropriate work. He made note of the fact that the city of Lowell was at that time thirty-three years old, with a population of forty-five thousand inhabitants. During the thirty-three years which have elapsed since this first annual meeting the population of Lowell has more than doubled in number. This Society came into existence in the December of 1868. In the interim of a score and fourteen years it has stood in readiness to do its appropriate work, which work was, in the language of its constitution as then written, 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." Five published volumes of data relative to the welfare of our beloved city, with material enough for the publication of another volume, are offered as evidence of some of the "appropriate work" which has been accomplished under the auspices of this organization. If under the law of evolution it shall merge into a new and larger organic structure upon a broader basis and with increased responsibilities, let us zealously labor with renewed enthusiasm to increase its usefulness and enlarge its sphere of influence.

But what of the noble, stalwart men who instituted this old Association? The most of them, nearly all, live but in memory now. Their names are synonyms of unsullied character, unswerving loyalty, tireless enterprise,

and splendid personal worth. Impressed by the appalling frequency of the solemn admonitions whereby so many of our prominent citizens have recently passed away in obedience to the summons which none can disobey, I cannot more appropriately conclude this report than by quoting the words which Dr. Greene uttered in allusion to those whose toils and duties were ended during the first year of his administration:—

“Happy will be for us, when our summons comes, the consciousness that our professions have been practised under the solemn sanctions of Christianity, and their last exercises closed with a reasonable, religious and holy hope.”

Respectfully submitted.

SOLOMON W. STEVENS.

President.

Lowell, May 28, 1902.

*The Last of the Sachems of the Merrimac River
Indians. By Charles Courley, LL. D. Read
May 28, 1891.*

It was fortunate that the first English settlements on the shores of Massachusetts Bay were postponed, from various causes, until after the year 1617, when the Indian population had been greatly reduced in number by La Grippe. It was also fortunate for the colonists that several of the principal sachems who were then in authority here were men of a peaceable disposition, and bade them welcome to these shores. Such was Massasoit, the friend of Winslow and the Pilgrims of Plymouth; and such were Passaconaway and his son Wammalanct, whose career we review today. A brief sketch of the father will form a fitting prelude to that of the son.

Passaconaway was the chief sachem of the Indians in the Merrimac Valley when the first English settlers came. He was born in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and died in the reign of Charles the Second; but neither his birth-date nor his death-date is known to us. His name in English means "The Child of the Bear;" and if he acquired that name in his maturer years, according to the Indian custom, we may infer that he was supposed to possess some of the characteristics of the bear.

The Merrimac River made its first appearance to Europeans in 1604; unless the Norsemen of Norumbega heard of it (as the late Professor Horsford supposed) six hundred years before. We learn from De Monts that, while talking with the Indians on the banks of the River St. Lawrence in the summer of 1604, Champlain was

Previously read before the Massachusetts Society of Colonial Times, and the New England Historical Genealogical Society.

told by them that there was a great river far to the south, which flowed into the sea, which they called the Merrimac.

How long the waters of the Merrimac had murmured to the Indians' ears before Passaconaway's time we do not know; but a few years ago Mr. Charles W. Prescott of Concord, Mass., uncovered upon his farm in that town two Indian fireplaces, which have been visited by geologists, who, judging from the depth of earth accumulated upon them (some four or five feet), conjecture that they may be four or five thousand years old. These fireplaces were round in form and consisted of stones, which were heated by burning wood upon them; and by the heat of these stones, after brushing aside the fires, the Indians baked their cake and cooked their venison. When the Lowell and Nashua Railroad was built in 1836, quite a number of Indian fireplaces were uncovered, several feet below the surface of the soil.

During the first twenty years of the seventeenth century, various navigators visited the adjacent coasts: Gosnold, Pring, Champlain, Weymouth, Smith, Vines and others. (The short-lived Popham colony, planted in 1606, was within Passaconaway's domain.) These navigators and colonists, of course, communicated with some of the Indians; but no records now extant show that they had any communication with Passaconaway. If the men who settled on the Saco in 1623, or those who settled at Dover Neck, N. H., in the spring of 1624, had any communication with Passaconaway at the time of their settlements, there is no record of the fact extant. His name appears for the first time in the summer of 1624, in the narrative of Captain Christopher Lovett's voyage from Bristol in

old England to New England, in the ship *Archangel*, edited by the Hon. James Phinney Baxter and published by the Gorges Society at Portland, Maine.

Entering the Piscataqua River near Odiorne's Point, where Gorges' colony had landed a few months before, Captain Lovett lay at anchor several days, and there, among others, met Passaconaway, whom he calls Conway — perhaps because he supposed that to be his surname, or perhaps because he wished to please Lord Conway, who was one of the promoters of his enterprise in England.

There is nothing in Lovett's narrative to indicate that Passaconaway was surprised to see white men or the ships of white men. He or his people had probably seen some of the French and English vessels which had previously touched upon his domain. Captain John Smith, who explored the adjacent coast in 1614, wrote of it as follows:—

“*Naiemkeck*, though it be more rocky ground, for *Angouan* is sandy, not much inferiour neither for the harbour, nor anything I could perceiue but the multitude of people: from hence doth stretch into the sea the faire headland *Tragabigzanda*, now called Cape *An*, fronted with the three Isles wee called the three Turkes heads; to the north of this doth enter a great Bay, where we found some habitations and some fields, they report a faire River and at least 30 habitations doth possesse this Country. * * * * * but the French having remained here neere six weekes, left nothing for us to take occasion to examine the Inhabitants relations, *viz.* if there be three thousand people upon those Isles, and that the River doth pierce many daies iourney the entrailes of that Country.”*

John Smith's "The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, etc." (London, 1632) pp. 214, 215.

This "faire river" could have been no other than the Merrimac; and the Indians whose "report" Smith mentions were in amity with Passaconaway, if not actually subject to his authority.

After Lovett's visit, Passaconaway was frequently mentioned by writers of his time — by Thomas Morton in his "New English Canaan," by Governor Winthrop and by many others. He had doubtless heard of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth four years before; and they had doubtless heard of him and of the tribe of which he was chief.

It was, perhaps, about the year 1628 that Passaconaway gave his daughter Weetamoo in marriage to Wimperket, the Sachem of Saugus. John G. Whittier has sung of this marriage in the "Bridal of Pennacook," in which he thus describes Weetamoo: —

"Child of the Forest! strong and free,
Slight-robed, with loosely flowing hair,
She swam the lake or climbed the tree,
Or struck the flying bird in air."

This "King's Daughter" was married with festivities which have never been surpassed in the Merrimac Valley; and of course Wannalancet "assisted" at them. A report of this "swell wedding," such as would appear in the newspapers, if it took place in our time, would be very interesting, but none has come down to us.

A gay and festive throng escorted the lovely bride from her father's rendezvous at Pennacook, now Concord, N. H., on the Merrimac, to her husband's home on the Saugus. Some time after, the young wife made a visit to her father, and her husband furnished her with an escort worthy of a queen. But when she was ready to return,

her father, for some reason which has never been explained, instead of furnishing her with an escort such as came with her, sent a messenger to Winnepurket to come to Pennacook and take her back. His son-in-law resented this indignity. "When she departed from me," said Winnepurket, by a messenger to Passaconaway, "I caused my men to escort her to your dwelling as became a chief. She now having an intention to return to me, I expected the same courtesy in return." Whereupon Passaconaway became angry too, and Drake, the historian of Boston, thinks that "this terminated the connection of the new husband and wife." But it would be chilling to think that two loving hearts should be separated on such a punctilio. And yet, even among ourselves, trifles light as this have sometimes started married couples on the road ending at the divorce court.

In 1629, as chief sachem of the Merrimac River Indians, Passaconaway is said to have joined with Rumawit, the sagamore of Pawtucket, and two other sachems, in a deed conveying to the Rev. John Wheelwright and four others all the land lying between the Merrimac and Piscataqua Rivers, east of Pawtucket Falls. For nearly two hundred years the genuineness of this deed was not disputed; but in 1820, James Savage denounced it as spurious; and there were others who concurred with him. The arguments for and against this deed are ably marshaled in the memoir of Wheelwright, prepared by Governor Charles H. Bell of New Hampshire, and published by the Prince Society at Boston: but they cannot be considered here. In later years, Passaconaway and Wheelwright, the Pagan and the Puritan, met many times; and it is due to both of them to say that, so far as

the records show, they met and they parted always as friends. Wheelwright was a friend of Oliver Cromwell in his college days, and continued his friend until his death.

In 1655-56, he visited England, of which Cromwell was then "Lord Protector," a king in fact, though never crowned; and was Cromwell's guest at Whitehall, and probably gave him an account of Passaconaway, as he afterwards gave Passaconaway a very interesting account of Cromwell and Cromwell's public and domestic life.

In 1631, Governor Thomas Dudley wrote a letter to the Countess of Lincoln, whom for many years he had served as steward, in which he says: "Upon the river Merrimac is seated a sagamore (Passaconaway) having under his command four or five hundred men;" meaning, of course, men capable of fighting, and implying that the whole tribe numbered from fifteen hundred to two thousand souls. Dudley also informs the Countess that, for about eight years previously, divers merchants of Bristol and other ports in the West of England had sent ships to this coast every year during the fishing season to trade for beaver.

Dudley's letter gives us a hint of the want of household accommodations which the colonial sires and colonial dames then suffered, saying that he had no table to write on, and no place to sit but by his kitchen fire, and that he had to write upon his knee.

Passaconaway's friendliness to the colonists was shown on many occasions, sometimes under very trying circumstances. In September, 1632, one Jenkins of Cape Porpoise, in Maine, having been murdered while asleep in a wigwam of one of his tribe, Passaconaway at once caused the murderer to be arrested and delivered to the colonial

authorities for trial and punishment, without waiting for any requisition, although Cape Porpoise was upon his extreme limits.

In September, 1638, certain commissioners were appointed to lay out the northern boundary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, including New Hampshire. They ascended the Merrimac Valley three miles beyond the junction of the Pemigewasset and Winnepissiogee rivers, where the city of Franklin now stands, and cut a deep mark in a great pine tree; but their expedition was otherwise without recorded incident.

In 1642, upon a suspicion that a conspiracy was forming among the Indians to extirpate the English, armed men were sent out to arrest some of the principal sachems. Forty men were sent to arrest Passaconaway, but failed to find him. They however arrested Wampanoet, and led him with a rope in a most insulting manner. He contrived to loosen the rope and escape, but was fired upon, and retaken. His squaw was also captured.

Upon ascertaining that the conspiracy, which they had suspected, had no existence, the colonial authorities sent excuses to Passaconaway for their rash conduct, and an invitation to come to Boston and confer with them. His reply shows how he appreciated the outrage done to Wampanoet and his squaw: "Tell the English, when they restore my son and his squaw, I will talk with them."

In the same year (1642), Darby Field of Portsmouth, N. H., made the first ascent of Mount Washington ever made by a white man.

In 1644, Passaconaway signed an agreement which is still extant, placing himself under the colonial authorities.

In 1647, the Rev. John Eliot made his first visit to Pawtucket Falls for missionary work among the Indians.

It was in the fishing season, and a great multitude of the natives was there. Passaconaway and two of his sons were there; but they withdrew on Eliot's approach, fearing, perhaps, a repetition of the outrage perpetrated upon them in 1642.

But when Eliot visited Pawtucket in 1648, Passaconaway and his sons remained, and listened with respectful attention to his preaching. Eliot's text was the ninth verse of the first chapter of Malachi, which he paraphrased thus: "From the rising of the sun, to the going down of the same, thy name shall be great among the Indians; and in every place prayers shall be offered to thy name, pure prayers, for thy name shall be great among the Indians." Then and there began a friendship between Eliot on the one hand and Passaconaway and Wampanoag on the other, which was broken only by death. In a letter, dated October 29, 1649, Eliot says that Passaconaway, after hearing him again, "did exceedingly earnestly and importunately invite me to come and live at his place and teach them." After this, Passaconaway and Wampanoag heard Eliot again and again, not only where Lowell now stands, but also at Nashua, at Manchester, and perhaps at other places.

In 1650, Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, wife of Governor Bradstreet and daughter of Governor Dudley,

"The *bas bleu* of that ancient time,"

published in London a volume of her poems, in one of which she refers, though not by name, to the Merrimac River, on whose banks she then dwelt in Andover. She is described as the "Tenth Muse recently sprung up in America."

She found New England, as many others have since found her, like

"Caledonia, stern and wild,
Meet nurse for a poetic child."

In 1652, Captain Simon Willard, Captain Edward Johnson, and two others, under a commission from Governor Endicott, ascended the Merrimac River in a boat to Lake Winnepisseogee. Whether they met Passaconaway or not, we do not know; but Whittier, in his legendary "Leaves from Margaret Smith's Journal" (pp. 173-174), gives us the following report as coming from Captain Willard:—

"The companie, consisting of the two Commissioners, and two Surveyors,* and some Indians as guides and hunters, started from Concord about the middle of July, and followed the river on which Concord lies, until they came to the great Falls of the Merrimac, at Pawtucket, where they were kindly entertained at the Wigwam of a Chief Indian who dwelt there. They then went on to the Falls of the Amoskeag, a famous place of resort for the Indians, and encamped at the foot of a Mountain, under the shade of some great trees, where they spent the next day, it being the Sabbath. Mr. Johnson read a portion of the Word, and a Psalm was sung, the Indians sitting on the ground a little way off, in a very reverential manner. They then went to Annahookline, where were some Indian cornfields, and thence, over a wild hilly countrie, to the head of the Merrimac, at a place called by the Indians Aquedahean, where they took an observation of the latitude, and set their names upon a great rock, with that of the Worshipful Governor John Endicott. Here was the great Lake

* One of these was John Sherman, an ancestor of the late John Sherman and of General William T. Sherman.

Winnepisseogee, as large over as an English county, with manie islands upon it, verie green with trees and vines, and abounding with Squirrels and Birds."

They must have known of the great northern trail by which the Indians traveled from the Valley of the Merrimac to the Valley of the St. Lawrence, and by which many a white captive traveled with weary feet and aching heart in the later wars with the Indians; but they preferred to follow the line of the Merrimac River. They were probably the first Europeans who ever penetrated those boundless parks of spreading oak, birch, walnut and maple, or those sweet-scented groves of pine, spruce and fir, which then abounded on the Merrimac.

There is a prevalent supposition that in those days New England was well-nigh covered with an impenetrable forest. Such, however, was not the fact. Mr. Warren H. Manning, Secretary of the National Forestry Association, most justly observes that when the first settlers came hither "there were extensive open areas, beaver meadows, river meadows, extensive Indian cornfields and open woodlands, which were burned over yearly by the Indians to encourage the growth of grass as well as to make hunting easier. These fires, under favorable conditions, destroyed the undergrowth, scarred many trees and even destroyed the trees themselves. Certain sections, burned bare of trees by such fires, grew up again to dense growth after the settlement of the towns."

Six plaster casts of this Endicott Rock in Lake Winnepisseogee were taken by the late James B. Francis, one of which may now be seen in Memorial Hall, Lowell. It formerly belonged to the Middlesex Mechanics Association.*

* See Dr. Samuel A. Green's paper in volume 5 of the Contributions of the Old Residents' Historical Association, pages 321-332.

In 1653, the towns of Billerica (including Tewksbury) and Chelmsford (including Dracut) were settled by the English. Through Eliot's instrumentality, the Wamesit reservation was established for Eliot's Indian converts. Four similar reservations had previously been created, at Natick, Stoughton, Grafton and Marlborough, and two others were afterwards added, at Concord and Ashland. Thus were seven Christian Indian villages founded, each of them having a log edifice which was used for religious purposes on Sundays, and for school purposes on other days.

The log edifice erected at Wamesit stood about where the Eliot Church now stands. It remained through all changes until 1823 or 1824. The picture of it which is shown herewith was prepared from the recollections of the late Sidney Davis, who often saw it when a boy.

In 1656, Daniel Gookin, one of the Assistants, was appointed Superintendent of all the Indians who had submitted to the colonial authorities.

In 1659, Passaconaway's oldest son, Nanomocomuck, was imprisoned for a debt of about forty-five pounds sterling, due to one John Tinker from an Indian for whom he had become surety; and he had nothing with which to pay this debt. Wannalancet and others, by leave of the colonial authorities, generously sold Wickasauke Island, now Tyng's Island, in the Merrimac River, near Tyngsboro', containing about sixty acres, to John Evered, alias Webb, and thereby raised the necessary money to pay his brother's debt.*

* Mass. Col. Records, Vol. IV, Part 1, page 403. Suffolk Deeds, Liber III, page 307. Wannalancet's name there appears as Wamanankasuck, and his father's as Passit Conaway.

Wampanoet afterwards obtained from the legislature a grant of one hundred acres of other land, "because he had a great many children, and no planting grounds." But in 1665, he relinquished this grant in consideration that Wickasauke Island was bought back from Evered for his use; and thus Wampanoet was enabled to resume his occupancy of Wickasauke Island. Still, the white man, as usual, got the best of the bargain: for, in exchange for the sixty acres of Wickasauke Island, Evered received five hundred acres adjoining other land of his own.

Certain early writers tell us that in 1660 Passaconaway made to a vast assembly a farewell address, which they pretend to report at some length. But the story is largely if not wholly apocryphal. If Passaconaway uttered any last words at all, they were uttered later than 1660, for on May 9, 1662, he sent a petition to the legislature to give him back a part of the land in what is now Litchfield, New Hampshire, which he and his people had formerly occupied. The legislature granted this modest petition, which indeed could hardly be refused. Twenty years had not yet passed since the old chief submitted himself to the colonial authorities, and now he was a beggar, supplicating for a small strip of land in what had formerly been his own domain; that domain of which Whittier sang:—

“Here the mighty Bashaba
Held his long-unquestioned sway,
From the White Hills, far away,
To the great sea’s sounding shore.”

No record of the time or place of Passaconaway's death has been found, and as in the case of Moses, "no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day."

Wannalancet succeeded him in the sachemship, his older brother having died before his father. The same amicable relations between the English and the Indians, which had existed during Passaconaway's reign, were continued during the reign of his son.

Like his father before him, Wannalancet had a rendezvous on Sewall's Island at Concord, N. H., and a fort at Sugar Ball Hill near by; another rendezvous at Amoskeag Falls, Manchester, N. H.; another on an island at Litchfield, N. H.; another at Nashua; another on Tyng's Island; another at Pawtucket Falls, where Lowell now is; and another at Pentucket, where Haverhill now is. The Merrimac Valley had powerful attractions for the Indians — game in the forests, fish at the falls, and corn in the intervals.

From 1663 to 1671, a savage war raged between the Indians of the Valley of the Merrimac and the Mohawks of Northern New York, which proved very destructive to both parties, particularly to the Merrimac River Indians.

In 1669, fearing further aggressions from the Mohawks, Wannalancet came to where Lowell now stands, and built a fort on the hill which is now Rogers Park, and surrounded it with palisades. He remained in that fort until the danger had passed. Traces of that fort were visible until within sixty years.

From the close of the war with the Mohawks until 1674 the life of Wannalancet was without recorded incidents.

At stated times, Gookin held his court at Pawtucket or Wamesit, and Wannalancet sat upon the bench with him and assisted in the administration of criminal justice, in a log structure where is now the Boott canal. Eliot



FIG. 1. MEE-NUSHOW-AV'S WOODSHED, FEBRUARY 20, 1880.

sometimes accompanied Gookin and preached; and when Eliot was absent, Numphow, one of his converts, preached.

The contrast between the wooden benches without backs, on which the Christian Indians sat in their log meeting-house, and the cushioned pews now occupied by the attendants at the Eliot Church, was very great; but the first meeting-houses of the English settlers were no better than those of the Christian Indians. The preachers, however, both English and Indian, often preached against the growing prevalence of luxury, just as did the Presbyterian preachers of Scotland when Boswell visited that country. Boswell, however, thought there was no occasion for such preaching in the church which he visited, for he says there were not three pairs of shoes in the whole congregation.

On the fifth of May, 1674, Eliot and Gookin made one of their customary visits to Pawtucket, and were the guests of Wampancett at his wigwam, near where the Ayer Home for Young Women and Children is situated. In the evening, Eliot preached to as many Indians as could be gathered to hear him, on the parable of the marriage of the King's son (Matthew 22, verses 1-14). Wampancett gave close attention to the sermon, and in answer to a request from Eliot, on the following day, as reported by Gookin, he said:—

“Sirs, you have been pleased, for years past, in your abundant love, to apply yourselves particularly to me and my people, and to exhort, press, and persuade us to pray to God. I am very thankful to you for your pains. I must acknowledge, I have been used to pass all my days in an old canoe, and now you exhort me to change and leave my old canoe, and embark in a new one, to which I



LOWELL AS IT WAS IN 1841

have hitherto been unwilling; but now I yield myself to your advice, and do engage to pray to God hereafter."

Such is the simple story of Wannalancet's conversion. We are assured by General Gookin that he afterwards lived up to his professions.

In 1675 came King Philip's War, and if Philip did not visit Wannalancet in person and endeavor to effect an alliance with him, it is certain that he sent emissaries to him again and again for that purpose. There is nothing improbable in the conjecture that Philip, who had horses of great speed and endurance, rode from Pocanoket to Wamesit and had an interview with Wannalancet, either at Pawtucket Falls or on Fort Hill,* and exerted all his powers of persuasion to win him to his side. That meeting, whether real or legendary, would form a fine subject for a painter.

Wannalancet and some of his people, perplexed in the extreme, took to the woods; but this only intensified the fears of the colonists; and messengers were sent to persuade them to return. Failing to reach Wannalancet in person, the messengers forwarded to him their written message by some of his tribe, and returned to Boston. Hence, perhaps, it may be inferred that Wannalancet had learned to read and write.

Captain Moseley and a hundred armed men were then sent to find Wannalancet. They marched to Concord, N. H., but found the fort deserted. They then barbarously burned all the wigwams, and destroyed all the dried fish which the Indians had cured for their winter's food.

* There is no evidence that Philip ever stood on the rock on Fort Hill which some have called King Philip's Rock, though he and Wannalancet may have smoked their pipes there. That rock has been suggested as a base for a statue of General Butler.

Wannalancet and his men must have had the patience of Job, or they would have levelled their guns upon Captain Moseley and his men, and shot at least some of them. Gookin says that some of the young Indians were inclined to do so, but Wannalancet restrained them from firing a gun, and kept them concealed in the woods. To avoid further molestation, Wannalancet and his men withdrew still farther into the wilderness, and passed the winter of 1675-76 about the headwaters of the Connecticut, where moose, deer, bear, and other wild animals abounded. It required no small effort to keep out of the conflict. Gookin says, "Wannalancet had messengers sent to him more than once from the enemy, urging him to join with them; but he always refused." Time would fail to relate what persecutions were endured, and what barbarities were perpetrated upon those helpless Indians. On all such, today, let the curtain fall.

In July, 1676, Wannalancet and his people returned to Wickasauke Island, where they were placed under the guardianship of their friend Jonathan Tyng of Tyngsboro'. He called on the Rev. John Fiske of Chelmsford, and enquired whether that town had suffered much during the war. Mr. Fiske replied that they had been highly favored, and had not suffered much, for which he thanked God. "Me next," exclaimed Wannalancet, intimating that, next to God, they should thank him for the peace they had enjoyed.

Nor did his friendly offices cease with the close of King Philip's War. In the following March, only six months after the treacherous massacre of thirty Indians in his presence at Dover, N. H., Wannalancet called on Captain Henchman at Chelmsford to inform him of the approach of a party to Litchfield, a few miles up the river.

The condition of Wannalancet and his people was now most pitiable. Eliot says the colonists had "ploughed and sown all their lands, and they had but little corn to subsist by." A party of French Indians (of whom some were of the kindred of this sachem's wife) fell upon this people, being but few and unarmed, and partly by persuasion, and partly by force, carried them away to Canada, September 19, 1677. Religion may have played a part here. The Jesuits had begun missionary work in Canada forty years before Eliot began his work in Massachusetts, and had persisted in it without interruption ever since. Wannalancet's wife's brother had become a convert to Roman Catholicism, and his oldest son had followed his example. "The only wonder is," as Judge Potter observes, "that Wannalancet had not retired long before and made common cause with the enemy."

How long Wannalancet remained in Canada we do not know; but we do know that soon after his departure and the return of peace such of Eliot's converts as had not been dispatched to the "happy hunting grounds" beyond the clouds were gathered in four towns: Natick, Stoughton, Grafton, and Wamesit; and probably Wannalancet's sojourn in Canada was not a long one. The St. Francis Indians were generally more impressed by the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church than by the simple services of the Puritans. During this first sojourn in Canada, Wannalancet's wife, of whom little is recorded, drops entirely, as Carlyle would say, "from the tissue of our history."

It is the opinion of many who have devoted themselves most closely to the study of the Indians, that the relative position of their women was higher before the white settlements than it afterwards became. The baser

traits of the white people were more readily adopted than their better traits. Wampanoet's wife was probably not much different from other Indian women. We do not even know her name. There is but a single anecdote to be told relating to her, and even that is none too well authenticated. It runs as follows: In a mixed company of English and Indians the prevalence of a diversity of opinions was spoken of as something to be regretted. Wampanoet dissented, saying that for himself he was glad all men did not think alike; for, he said, "If all men thought alike they would all want my squaw." She is understood to have been one of those who, when they attended the Puritan form of worship, thought it good, but afterwards, when they attended the Roman Catholic form of worship, liked that better.

On the eighth of September, 1685, the authorities of Massachusetts, which then included New Hampshire, made at Concord, N. H., a treaty with the Indians, in which, among other things, they agreed to reward Wampanoet and others for past services; and on the seventeenth the sum of ten pounds, in money and clothing, was distributed among them.

In 1686, Wampanoet and the Indians at Pawtucket, Wamesit, Nashua, Merrimack and Litchfield sold their lands in those places to Jonathan Tyng and others, reserving only their rights of hunting and fishing.

Soon after this sale, it is understood that Wampanoet, and those participating with him in that transaction, joined the St. Francis Indians in Canada. Six years elapsed before we hear of him again. He had befriended the colonists during King Philip's War; he had befriended them during the war which followed the death of Philip; and though his services had been well recognized by such

men as Eliot and Gookin, they had been tardily and poorly appreciated by the authorities; and many of the colonists made no distinction between them and the hostile savages, and held, like General Sheridan in later times, that "the only good Indian is the dead Indian."

Thucydides somewhere speaks of the "blessed art of forgetting." The gentle Wannalancet certainly practiced that "blessed art" to perfection.

But there are limits to human endurance. Although Wannalancet had forgiven and forgotten, or tried to forget, the barbarities inflicted upon himself and his people, there were kinsmen and tribesmen of his who could neither forgive nor forget those barbarities; and they would have been less (or more) than human if those barbarities had provoked no reprisals in the conflict known as King William's War—the war between the adherents and allies of the Stuarts and the supporters of William of Orange.

Remembering the help which they had received from Wannalancet during King Philip's War and the wars which followed the death of Philip, the colonists, particularly those in the frontier towns, yearned for the presence and help of Wannalancet once more. So, in 1692, messengers were sent to Canada to persuade Wannalancet to come back to Massachusetts to "the help of the Lord and His saints." He came, and as long as that war lasted he was diligent in season and out of season in the service of the colonial sires and colonial dames of his time. His presence gave them a sense of safety and security which they had not enjoyed during his absence in Canada.

But where now were the friends of his earlier years? The saintly Eliot had gone to his grave in the old Roxbury Cemetery two years before. General

Gookin had gone to his grave in Cambridge in 1687. The Rev. John Fiske had gone to his grave in Chelmsford in 1677. The "praying town" now lived only in memory.

The log meeting-house and school-house at Wamesit remained standing (as we said) until 1823 or '24. The log court house disappeared long before, we know not when or how. It may have been torn down or burned; it may, like the "rude bridge" at Concord, of which Emerson sang, have gone

"Down the dark stream which seaward creeps."

That Eliot's Indian reservation might have flourished and continued for generations is evident from the fact that other Indian reservations have continued to this day—six in Western New York, five in the Indian Territory, others in Canada, one on the Pamunkey River in Virginia, and others elsewhere. The best elements among the colonists, the most benevolent colonial sires and dames, deeply regretted the maltreatment which the Indians received from the baser whites, and which ended in their extinction or exile.

In the writings of the various authors who have referred to Wannalancet heretofore, little or nothing has been said of the last four years of his life. Judge Potter, perhaps more than any other writer, made Wannalancet the subject of careful study. But there were several interesting facts in the life of the chief which eluded the researches of the learned historian of Manchester. So far as Judge Potter could ascertain, the record of the last of the sachems of the Merrimac River Indians closes with his first retreat to Canada. But in one of the many historical notes with which the learned editor of the *Province Laws*,

Hon. Abner C. Goodell, has enriched the seventh volume of those Laws, we find a document which for nearly two hundred years had been buried in the Archives of Massachusetts, and which shows us Wampanoag a solitary and pathetic figure, subsisting on the charity of the Province in a land which was once his own. It is the petition of Colonel Jonathan Tyng, one of the first settlers of Tyngsboro', then a part of Dunstable, stating that Governor Sir William Phipps, in compliance with Wampanoag's request, had sent him to Tyng's house and had requested Tyng to supply him with provisions, and promised that they should be paid for by the Province. Tyng further states that for almost four years he had supplied Wampanoag with food and a good part of his clothing, and that upon his death, in 1696, he had buried the remains of the old chief. "He having showed himself friendly to the English in the former war, and now [in King William's War], authority would not suffer him now in his old age to be ill-treated." Tyng was allowed £20.*

Four years had passed since Wampanoag's final return from Canada, where the other survivors of his tribe found a home, and where their descendants still live. It became the practice of the colonial churches to admit Indian converts to membership where there was no Indian church to receive them; and if the records of the church at Dunstable, which then included Tyngsboro', could be recovered, they would probably show that Wampanoag was a member of that church, and a regular attendant at its services.

As Wampanoag trod the banks of the Merrimac during those four lonely years, he must often have been

*Province Laws, vol. 7, pp. 152 and 559. Massachusetts Archives, vol. 31, p. 426.

visited by thoughts like those which the Georgia poet puts into the mouth of the Seminole chief, Osceola, when pining away a prisoner in Fort Moultrie:—

“ My life is like the prints which feet
Have left on Tampa's desert strand :
Soon as the rising tide shall beat,
All trace shall vanish from the land,
Yet, as if grieving to efface
All vestige of the human race,
On that lone shore loud moans the sea :
But none, alas! to mourn for me.”

When the end came, Wannalancet was doubtless buried in the private cemetery of the Tyngs, it being the custom for those having such cemeteries to bury their guests, and their servants, whether bond or free, whether white, black or red, as well as their own kith and kin, in their private burying grounds.

About six months after Wannalancet's death, Hannah Dustin halted at Tyng's house over night, on her way back to Haverhill, from which she had been captured a few days before.

About fifty years after the passing of Wannalancet, the Rev. George Whitefield visited what is now Tyngsboro', and preached, on the hillside in front of the Tyng house, where he was entertained, to a large concourse of people from all the region round about.

The Tyng house was then occupied by Eleazer Tyng, Jonathan's son, whose grave is to be seen in the old Tyng cemetery.

The Colonial Dames of Georgia have honored the memory of Ticolomichi, the Indian chief with whom

Whitefield established friendly relations in South Carolina and Georgia, by placing a boulder, suitably inscribed, over the spot in Court Square, Savannah, where he was buried, Governor Oglethorpe following his remains as chief mourner. Will not the Colonial Dames of Massachusetts honor the memory of Wannalancet in a similar way?

Mr. Henry James and others have lamented the lack of historic inspiration for prose or verse in this country. Lord Byron, on the other hand, turning in disgust from the shams and hypocrisies of the old world, contemplated the uncorrupted heroes of the new world, white, black, and copper colored, with buoyant hope; and Rufus Choate, seventy years ago, extolled the colonial age as the heroic age of America. The epoch of King Philip's war, Wannalancet's own epoch, had special charms for that matchless orator. More than once, with an eloquence which no living man approached, did Mr. Choate express the ardent wish that some such genius as Sir Walter Scott would "undertake in earnest to illustrate that early history by a series of romantic compositions in prose or verse, like *Waverley* and *The Lady of the Lake*." Certainly every lover of New England, every lover of literature, would concur with Mr. Choate in the desire to see our natural scenery invested with the same interest and enriched with the same glamour which Scott has given to the Highlands of Bonnie Scotland. In our mountains and lakes there are many scenes which rival, nay, surpass the hills and lakes of Caledonia:—

"Land of brown heath and slaggy wood,
Land of the mountain and the flood."

Some such purpose seems to have moved John G. Whittier to write his "Leaves from Margaret Smith's

Journal," a novel full of the facts and the characters of the colonial era, but almost devoid of that Promethean heat which alone can illumine those facts and make those characters live again. Its characters, like most of those in Cooper's novels, are white men with Indian names. The genius which Choate's prophetic eye foresaw will yet appear. In the verse of Philip Freneau and in the prose of Francis Parkman we find abundant indications that the Walter Scott of New England is surely coming, and none will greet him more warmly than the Colonial Dames.

WAMMALANCT MEMORIAL TABLET

Shortly after the reading of the foregoing paper before them, the Massachusetts Society of Colonial Dames patriotically resolved to place a bronze tablet upon one of the boulders lying near the colonial mansion house of Colonel Jonathan Tyng, to perpetuate the memory of the gentle, peace-loving sachem who was Tyng's guest during the last four years of his life, and who may have spent those years in the same house which now stands on the adjacent hill. Certainly, this house sufficiently marks the place of Wammalanct's last abode, and is very near to the town cemetery, originally the private cemetery of the Tyngs, and where, no doubt, the remains of Wammalanct were buried.

Colonel Tyng continued to reside here till 1713, when he removed to Woburn, where he died in 1721. His son Eleazer succeeded him, and, in 1782, was himself succeeded by his daughter, Mrs. Sarah Winslow, who was instrumental in causing Tyngsboro' to be so named in

honor of her grandfather, Jonathan Tyng. By her last will, probated November 1, 1791, Mrs. Winslow bequeathed to her cousin, Dudley Atkins Tyng, of Newbury, this mansion-house in Tyngsboro', and the great farm adjoining the same, with all the buildings thereon, together with her interest in Tyng's Island.

In the summer of 1902, a committee of the "Dames" visited this house and cemetery, and selected the largest boulder near to both of them as the site of the proposed tablet.

Tradition said that the Rev. George Whitefield had preached one or twice in Tyngsboro' before it was set off from Dunstable, and had been entertained at the Tyng house, then the best in the town; and the Honorable Samuel A. Green, of Boston, found among his papers a copy of the Boston Gazette which fully confirmed that tradition. Whitefield preached in the open air with a boulder for his pulpit, but his visit was some fifty years after Wannalancet's death; and the "Dames" thought it best not to mar the unity of their work by coupling that incident with the memory of Wannalancet.

Delays ensued in obtaining for the town conveyances from the proprietors of the land on which the boulder stands. The tablet was then prepared, and securely riveted to the boulder, and dedicated November 21, 1901.

Mrs. George S. Hale, president of the Society, was prevented by sickness from attending the dedication and making the dedicatory address. Mrs. Clarke, the vice-president, had recently died; and Miss Rose E. Lamb, the Society's secretary, had charge of the dedication. Among the "Dames" present were Mrs. Henry R. Dalton, Mrs. William Tudor, Mrs. Frank O. Parker, Mrs. Barrett Wen-

dell, Miss Adeline Bigelow, Mrs. Sarah H. Crocker, Mrs. Joseph G. Eaton, Mrs. Harold C. Ernst, Mrs. Charles Smith, all of Boston; Mrs. Cummings, of Portland; Miss Cushing, of Newburyport; and Mrs. Tuckerman, of New York.

The Village Improvement Society assisted at the dedication, its vice-president, Rev. William Brown, presiding.

The Rev. E. Victor Bigelow, pastor of the Eliot Church of Lowell, which marks the spot where the Indian log meeting-house once stood, and others of that church; the Rev. Sarah A. Dixon, pastor of the Congregational Church in Tyngsboro', and others of that church, were present. Members of the Old Residents' Historical Association, now the Lowell Historical Society, and members of Passaconaway Tribe of the Improved Order of Red Men, were also present. Notwithstanding the prevalent sickness, the attendance was large, and included Misses Melinda and Charlotte Mitchell, of Lakeville, the only living descendants of Massasoit, the sachem of the Pocanoket Indians, and friend of the Pilgrims of Plymouth. The younger of these sisters wore the costume of an Indian princess.

Last but by no means least, Chief Joseph Laurent, the present chief of the St. Francis Indians, came from his distant home at Pierreville, in the Province of Quebec, to assist in doing this honor to the memory of the former chief of the ancestors of many of those who own his gentle sway.

After visiting the boulder bearing the tablet and the cemetery where the dust of Wampanoet mingles with the dust of the Tyngs, the assembled people repaired to the Tyng mansion on the adjacent hill.

The Rev. William Brown, pastor of the Unitarian Church in Tyngsboro', called the meeting to order, and introduced Judge Charles Cowley, of Lowell, who made the dedicatory address, as follows:—

The purpose of the memorial tablet, which the Massachusetts Society of Colonial Dames has now placed upon this boulder, is to recall the memory, and perpetuate the record, of certain interesting events in colonial history which were associated with this place, and which have made it, in a real sense, a historical shrine.

The fact that, in 1686, Wampanoet and other Indians in the valley of the Merrimac transferred their lands to Jonathan Tyng and other English settlers, and soon afterwards joined the St. Francis tribe in Canada, has been pretty well known ever since it took place; but the facts that, six years later, in 1692, Wampanoet was requested by the Provincial authorities to return to Massachusetts, and did return, and resided here with Colonel Tyng until his death in 1696, and was buried by Tyng here by the river which he loved so well—these facts, strange to say, were lost sight of by historians for several generations, but were again brought to light by the Honorable Abner C. Goodell, of Salem, a few years ago, while editing the Province Laws.

In selecting a recipient for their bronze, the Colonial Dames have shown much discrimination and a wise preference for a remote antiquity. They cast about for the oldest "settlers," and in the boulders on this hill they found "squatter sovereigns" far older than any white settlers—far older than the red men whom the whites displaced; pilgrims from afar, borne hither by the glaciers thousands of years before the Mayflower ploughed the

waters of Massachusetts Bay. What better setting could be given to any historic tablet than the brow of this ancient immigrant, which carries the mind back to remote geological periods, when the waters of the Merrimac first began to wear a channel to the sea!

“Beautiful for situation,” as was Zion’s Hill, is this early home of Colonel Tyng. Still more beautiful was the friendship which was formed between Tyng and Wannalancet, which endured as long as they lived. The Mingo chief, Logan, bereft of wife and children, in contemplation of death, pathetically asked, “Who is there to mourn for Logan?” But no such question was asked by Wannalancet. Joe English was living to mourn for him, and doubtless there were others of his own color to mourn for him. Tyng buried him. Tyng mourned for him. Other white men and white women mourned for him, as well they might; for as long as Wannalancet lived here with them, on what were then the frontiers of civilization, his presence gave them a sense of security from hostile Indians which they never had during the wars which followed his death.

Daniel Webster loved to describe to his friends the place of his birth on the frontiers of civilization, and loved to tell them that the smoke of his father’s chimney ascended nearer to the North Star than that which arose from any other chimney south of Canada. So it was with the smoke from Tyng’s chimney, the smoke of the fire by which Tyng and his wife sat with Wannalancet during the long evenings of four lonely winters, regaling each other with incidents of the past. Of course, they loved the river: from it they gathered abundance of fish; and, no doubt, they loved the solitude of the wilderness which this

place then was, full of game, full of mystery, and full of peace, bringing to their minds those thoughts of which Milton had sung:—

“Those thoughts that wander through Eternity.”

For what they have done to renew these memories and make a permanent memorial of them here, the patriotic ladies, the Colonial Dames, deserve the gratitude of the people of the Merrimac valley.

Solon W. Stevens, Esq., was introduced as president of what is now the Lowell Historical Society, and spoke as follows:—

Mr. Chairman: It is not by way of repeating a hackneyed excuse, but in the utterance of a positive truth when I say I am completely taken by surprise when asked to say anything at this interesting hour. This certainly is a historic spot and the scene of many interesting events which form a prelude to the beginning of the growth of the thrifty and prosperous city of Lowell and its adjacent towns. Some of us are so familiar with it in its present appearance that we do not realize how many historical associations cluster around it.

The name of the man Wampanoet, to whose memory this tablet has been placed on yonder boulder by these enterprising ladies, carries us back in imagination through more than two centuries of time, when this locality was the frontier of civilization in this region. It takes us back to the time when the son of Passaconaway, of whom it was said “he could make the trees dance and water burn,” was not only a friend to the white people but their defender against the savage Mohawks and other

tribes. And this, too, because the man whose memory we commemorate today had been brought under the influence of Christianity by John Eliot, who trained the Indian to be a law-abiding citizen.

This spot is also historic because it is said with great probability of truth that the zealous preacher Whitefield proclaimed the gospel to the people living in this section in later years. And perhaps this very boulder which has been marked today was the pulpit from which his utterance was given.

It is both interesting and profitable amid such surroundings as these to bring to mind such trains of thought as those suggested by Mr. Cowley's address, for in this way we can get a little glimpse of the great process of evolution which is going on not only in changing the face of nature but in lifting the human race from a lower to a higher plane.

Much credit is due these representatives of the "Colonial Dames" for interest in this event. For it is by the simple act of marking these historic spots that the people of future days may know that history is not a myth, and that facts cannot be erased by speculation or argument.

Judge Samuel P. Hadley was introduced. "I have taken a good deal of interest in colonial affairs," he said, "and I am glad to be here on this occasion. In my days of youth the boys and girls took more interest in historical matters than they do at the present time. They knew about our Indian history. It was perhaps from this very boulder that Whitefield preached. In my boyhood we could find Indian arrow heads and arrows in some places.

and it was not at all uncommon to take home with me some Indian relics after a visit to Tyng's Island. There were in those days an Indian fort and an Indian burying ground near Lowell, and I regret that there are no traces of them today."

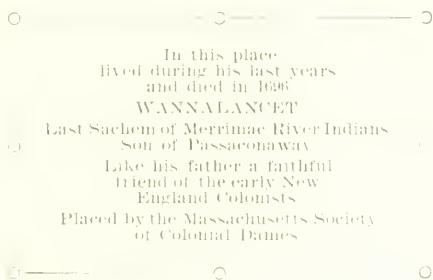
Joseph H. Guillet, Esq., of Lowell, president of the Franco-American Historical Society of the United States, then introduced Chief Joseph Laurent, who was greeted with great applause, for which he returned thanks. As the present chief of the St. Francis tribe, which embraces all living descendants, so far as known, of the tribe of which Wampanoet was chief, he said he felt that there was a peculiar fitness in his assisting in thus honoring Wampanoet's memory. By request he told the story of a silver medal, three inches in diameter, which he wore round his neck, and which was given to his grandfather by King George III of England. He told the story in English, and the ladies asking for a little talk in the language of his people, he gave the same thing in the Indian tongue. He then gave it in French. No one present understood the Indian speech, but all pronounced it very musical. The "Dames," most of whom understand French, pronounced the chief's French perfect. In reply to questions, he said he was born on the St. Francis Reservation about sixty-two years ago, and became chief on the death of his father in 1879, and has held that office ever since. He has been twice married, and has had ten children.

The chief said he did not speak English very well. In his younger days when he might have mastered the tongue, he said, he was busy earning a living for his family; then he had hunted for twenty years, an occupation that was not conducive to the study of language.

The Rev. E. Victor Bigelow expressed his pleasure at being present, and his keen interest in local history; but curtailed his remarks on account of the shortness of the time. For the same reason others, who would have been heard, refrained from speaking.

J. Franklin Bancroft, Esq., of Tyngsboro', in behalf of the town, returned thanks to Judge Cowley for his valuable contribution to the history of the town and for originating the project of the tablet; to the Colonial Dames for adopting that project and placing the tablet on that boulder; and to the proprietors of the land on which the boulder rests for giving that land to the town. Light refreshments were then served by the ladies of the Village Improvement Association, the cups and saucers being of the approved colonial blue. The company then separated.

The inscription on the tablet reads as follows:—



Miss Harriette Rea, of Lowell, well known for her studies in geology, says: "The boulder with the Wannalancet tablet is one of a long series of granite boulders that seem to have come down in a line. I think I made it from northeast to southwest. There are other boulders scattered about promiscuously and they are all granitic. Some have more quartz than others; but there is one line running across that field behind the barn, where immense ones have

been dropped. The ledge is probably quite a way up north. There are ledges nearer the village, but I hardly think they were originally the home of these travellers. The hill is picturesque with the rocks and trees, and the soil seemed good for pasturage. Isn't that old house a treasure! Only it is dilapidated. It ought to be preserved. The tablet is in a charming spot. This granitic rock or gneiss means an early formation, probably Cambrian."

* CHIEF JOSEPH LAURENT'S RECEPTION.

The Passaconaway Tribe of the Improved Order of Red Men, of Lowell, took much interest in Wannalancet's history; sent a delegation to the meeting in the Unitarian Church at Tyngsboro', May 5, 1901, the anniversary of Wannalancet's conversion, when Judge Cowley read his paper on the old chief; and also sent a delegation to assist in the dedication of the tablet to his memory. In the evening following the dedication, Passaconaway Tribe gave a public reception to Chief Joseph Laurent in Memorial Hall. Mr. Oliver A. Libby, Sachem of the Tribe, spoke as follows:—

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a great pleasure to me, as Sachem of Passaconaway Tribe of the Improved Order of Red Men, to welcome at this time the chief of the descendants of the red men who once made their home on these hunting-grounds, but who, having been dispossessed of their lands, and having become reduced in numbers, joined the Abenaki tribe of St. Francis, Canada, and became amalgamated with them. The ritual of our Order is based upon the ceremonies practiced by the

aboriginal red men in their religious and other observances, and is intended to impress its members with the lofty ideals and noble character of the primitive red men.

The Improved Order of Red Men is the oldest fraternal organization in existence, of purely American origin. It is the lineal descendant of the Sons of Liberty, who, for more than ten years prior to the Declaration of Independence, by their active work paved the way for that immortal act. In 1771 to 1800 many of the societies of Sons of Liberty were merged into societies of St. Tamina, and in 1813 it took on another form in the Society of Red Men. In 1833 it was reorganized as the Improved Order of Red Men. It is true that the societies existing prior to 1813 made no use of the name "Red Men" as a part of the title by which they were known. "St. Tammany's Society" was the frequent appellation in the Middle and Southern States. The organization at Boston and elsewhere of 1765 and later, known as the "Sons of Liberty," preceded the Tammany Societies, and was organized with the same spirit and to perform the same service. They frequently referred to each other as "the Indians," and the well known fact will be recalled that, on a certain important date, a party of men "disguised as Indians" rushed down to the wharf by the waterside and pitched into Boston harbor the tea which had been imported, but which the colonists refused to receive. The men who constituted the famous Boston Tea Party were members of the Sons of Liberty of Boston and vicinity.

Instinctively they turned to the uncultivated field of Red Men's mysteries for their ceremonies and secret work, and in the sublimity and grandeur of the unsullied characteristics of the aboriginal race, drew inspiration from their mystical lore.

But you are here for the purpose of listening to a *real* Indian chief, rather than to me, the imitation, and to others who can better entertain and instruct you; and it gives me great pleasure at this time to present to you, as the presiding officer of this meeting, one who is always welcome to a Lowell audience. His Honor, Mayor C. A. R. Dimon.

Mayor Dimon said he esteemed it a privilege and an honor to preside at this reception of the very worthy guest. While in the military service in North Dakota after the close of the Civil War, he had been brought into intimate and often very pleasant relations with the Indians. He knew something of the trials and hardships through which they passed, and felt a deep interest in their welfare. During his visit to Lowell, the Chief had been his guest at the Yorick Club, and he had learned to appreciate his sterling qualities. The Mayor was suffering from the painful disease (cancer) of which he died in the following May; he spoke with difficulty, and therefore briefly; and closed by introducing the Rev. John M. Greene, D. D., pastor emeritus of the Eliot Church, who spoke as follows:—

It is a great privilege, I am sure we all feel, to have with us and to hear one who is a direct successor of that great and good man who was a ruler, a veritable king, over the primitive inhabitants of this place. That "there is no good Indian but a dead one" is proved to be false by the life and character of Wampanoet. He was the white man's friend, made so in part at least by the instruction of his dying father; and no force of temptation, either

threats or promises, could turn him from his purpose of friendliness. Not even the abuse and injustice of the whites turned him from his amicable treatment of those to whom he had pledged loyalty and friendship.

To get a clear and full idea of Wampanoet's steadfastness of purpose to be true to the English, we need to recall the facts of King Philip's War. In the years 1675 and 1676, about six hundred whites had been killed by the Indians, and as many dwelling houses had been burned. One eleventh of the militia of the colonies had been sacrificed in this effort to put down the uprising of the Indians who, under the leadership of King Philip, had determined to exterminate, root and branch, the white race. It was a life and death struggle. In every part of the colonies war and bloodshed and fire did the work of destruction. The massacre at Bloody Brook, the burning of Hatfield and Hadley and Springfield, the disturbances in Worcester county and in Plymouth, as well as throughout Connecticut and Rhode Island, showed that there was concerted action, a definite plan on the part of the Indians, to rid themselves of the whites, and recover and hold the land as their own. But there were few and only slight attacks made upon the people of this section. Why? They had a *friend* in Wampanoet who warned them of the approach of their enemy. Wampanoet stood between the hostile Indians and the newly settled whites, and protected the latter in their hours of danger. Like his father, the good Passaconaway, he saw what the march of Providence meant. He seemed to understand by passing events that it was the Great Spirit's purpose that the white man should live and rule him; and he was willing to help bring this to pass. The whites distrusted and even abused Wampanoet; but he never faltered in

his kindly purpose or betrayed his friends. Of the two actors in King Philip's War, the one who played the nobler part here was the Indian chief of Wamesit.

Glad am I that we have a monument erected to his memory. His tribe and his race have disappeared, and it is most seemly that the descendants of those whom he befriended should preserve his name and defend his character. We are told that "the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance;" and I believe the good, the faithful and conscientious Wannalancet was on earth, and is in heaven, among the righteous.

Hon. Samuel P. Hadley, Standing Justice of the Lowell Police Court, spoke as follows:—

I certainly feel like expressing my thanks to my friend, Judge Cowley, who conceived and has carried out the details of this novel and interesting occasion, which has afforded us such real pleasure. I am quite sure the like has never before occurred in the history of the country. It has the merit of great originality, we must all agree. The descendants of the first English settlers in that part of the valley of the Merrimac known as Pawtucket Falls and John Sagamore's Plantation, here, on this old Wamesit Reservation, and within a half-mile of the site of John Eliot's church, meet and welcome, and offer the hospitalities of the City of Lowell to the present chief of the tribe of St. Francis Indians, who received and cared for the chief of the tribe of Pawtuckets, Wannalancet, the former owner of this territory, after he left New England.

We are here to acknowledge and atone for, at least so far as kind welcomes and cordial greetings may serve,

the wrongs done by our forefathers to the protégé of the St. Francis tribe. It is rather late in the day, no doubt, but better late than never.

I think the children of today, so far as I have observed, take very little interest in the history of the race of men who inhabited this country before the arrival of the white man, compared with that felt by the children of sixty years ago.

The reason for this is doubtless found in the fact that, sixty years ago, numberless traditions and stories relating to the Indians were matters of common knowledge, and were the common subjects of conversation at the fireside and in the school. The population, being comparatively sparse, was largely composed of the descendants of the early settlers, who shared in the perils and dangers of those early times. The child of today, even if his ancestors were among the early settlers, is probably more interested in events which occurred since the beginning of the last century, which is not a matter of surprise when the tremendous importance of those events is considered.

It may interest some of my young friends here to know that the boy of sixty years ago knew men who were soldiers in the revolutionary war as the boy of today knows the soldiers of the civil war, and also knew aged persons who could tell of events connected with Queen Anne's war, in which the Indians played no inconsiderable part.

When I was a lad, the Indian was an interesting and especially attractive object to the youthful American. We did not believe in the scalping knife and tomahawk, to be sure, but there was much in his free life, in his close intimacy with nature, in his primitive ways of living, and pursuit of game, in his natural eloquence of speech, his courage, his endurance, his ideas of natural justice,

which strongly appealed to the youthful mind and won its admiration. The Indian of three score years ago was not the unfamiliar object he is today. In those days, Indian families in considerable numbers, members of the Penobscot tribe, were accustomed to come every year in the summer season to this vicinity, and pitch their tents in the neighborhood of their old fishing place on the river at Pawtucket Falls. They used to camp upon Musquash Island, near the present location of the Lawrence Corporation, among the pines near the Guard Locks, and on the land of the Canal Company, at Middlesex Village.

With these opportunities at hand, you may be sure we boys became pretty well acquainted with the Indian and his ways. Many times, when a boy, I have sat in an Indian tent and watched the squaws weave their baskets, while they kept up an animated conversation in their musical, liquid tongue. We used to play with the Indian boys, and try our skill in handling the bow and arrow, in which game the young Indian boys always beat us. Speaking of the bow and arrow reminds me of the fact that the boy of sixty years ago prided himself on possessing a good walnut or hemlock bow and a stock of smooth, well balanced arrows, and knew how to use them. How many boys of today know how to make and use a bow and arrow skilfully? I cannot remember when I last saw this Indian weapon in the hands of a boy. Has the bow and arrow disappeared with the Puritan Sabbath? Again, the literature of our reading books in school, sixty years ago, had many selections relating to the Indian, which were indelibly impressed on the young mind, as early reading lessons usually are. Every school boy of sixty years ago knew the speech of Redjacket and of Logan, the lament of the Oneida chief, and many other similar selections, as

well as he knew the alphabet. I recall one of these selections, often declaimed by the boys of my time, and I will try to repeat it, although I have not seen it since I declaimed it at the old Lawrence Academy, in Groton, about fifty-five years ago. It is a selection from Sprague's oration before the people of Boston, in 1825. I do not know where to find it. At all events, I am going to recite it as I remember it, and I wish the boys of sixty years ago who are present would follow me and prompt if I make a mistake. You will agree with me that this selection, while decidedly florid, and somewhat strong in metaphor and antithesis, is truthful and pathetic, worthy of being recited on this occasion. With this I close these rambling observations.

Not many generations ago, where you now sit, encircled with all that exalts and embellishes civilized life, the rank thistle nodded in the wind, and the wild fox dug his hole unscared. Here lived and loved another race of beings. Beneath the same sun that rolls over your heads, the Indian hunter pursued the panting deer; gazing on the same moon that smiles for you, the Indian lover wooed his dusky mate. Here the wigwam blaze beamed on the tender and the helpless, the council fire glared on the wise and the daring. Now they dipped their noble limbs in your sedgey lakes, and now they paddled the light canoe along your rocky shores. Here they warred; the echoing whoop, the bloody grapple, the defying death-song, all were here; and when the tiger strife was over, here curled the smoke of peace. Here, too, they worshipped; and from many a dark bosom went up a pure prayer to the Great Spirit. He had not written his laws for them on tables of stone, but He had traced them on the tablets of their hearts. The poor child of nature knew not the God of revelation.

but the God of the universe he acknowledged in everything around. He beheld him in the star that sank in beauty behind his lowly dwelling, in the sacred orb that flamed on him from his midday throne; in the flower that snapped in the morning breeze, in the lofty pine that had defied a thousand whirlwinds; in the timid warbler that never left its native grove, in the fearless eagle whose untired pinion was wet in clouds; in the worm that crawled at his foot, and in his own matchless form, glowing with a spark of that light to whose mysterious Source he bent, in humble though blind adoration. And all this has passed away. Across the ocean came a pilgrim bark, bearing the seeds of life and death. The former were sown for you, the latter sprang up in the path of the simple native. Two hundred years have changed the character of a great continent, and blotted forever from its face a whole, peculiar people. Art has usurped the bowers of nature, and the anointed children of education have been too powerful for the tribes of the ignorant. Here and there a scattered few remain; but how unlike their bold, untamed, untamable progenitors. The Indian of falcon glance and lion bearing, the theme of the touching ballad, the hero of the pathetic tale, is gone, and his degraded offspring crawl upon the soil where he walked in majesty, to remind us how miserable is man when the foot of the conquerer is on his neck.

As a race, they have withered from the land. Their arrows are broken, their springs are dried up, their cabins are in the dust. Their council fire has long since gone out on the shore, and their war cry is fast dying away to the untrodden west. Slowly and sadly they climb the distant mountains, and read their doom in the setting sun. They are shrinking before the mighty tide which is pressing

them away; they must soon hear the roar of the last wave, which will settle over them forever. Ages hence, the inquisitive white man, as he stands by some growing city, will ponder on the structure of their disturbed remains, and wonder to what manner of person they belonged. They will live only in the songs and chronicles of their exterminators. Let these be faithful to their rude virtues as men, and pay due tribute to their unhappy fate as a people." *

Joseph H. Guillet, Esq., president of the Franco-American Society of the United States, who had spent some years in Canada, spoke on the history of the St. Francis tribe as follows:—

In 1603, Samuel de Champlain, while exploring the St. Lawrence River, had his attention attracted to a small river running into the southerly side of Lake St. Peter, of which he gives a very minute description. Continuing, he says, "On the same side of Lake St. Peter there is another small river running into a small bay which may be three or four leagues in width." This is the Bay of St. Francis, and the river is the St. Francis River, which has its source near the boundary lines of New Hampshire and Maine.

Six years later, the same explorer, describing anew the country lying at the southerly side of Lake St. Peter, said, "These rivers are in a good and rich country and abound with all sorts of fish."

In January, 1635, Charles Huault de Montmagny, then Governor of New France, granted to Francis de Lauzon this vast and rich tract of land, extending from

* Roscoe Conkling pronounced this the finest passage by any man of his time.

the River St. Francis to what is now called Chataugay River, on the St. Lawrence, with a depth of over 150 miles.

Between the years 1638 and 1676, the privileges of the Lauzon family were abolished, and this vast domain was cut up into smaller fiefs or grants.

On the third day of April, 1642, a son was born to Christopher Crevier and Jeanne his wife. This child was named Jean, and to this Jean Crevier the domain of St. Francis was granted by letters patent, July 23, 1673, and duly approved by the King's Council in 1674. Thereafter Jean Crevier was called the Baron or Seigneur of St. Francis.

In 1676, by an ordinance of the King of France, all the lands adjoining the Crevier domain were united to it, making it to measure five miles along the river St. Lawrence on each side of the St. Francis, with a depth of several miles inland, including all the islands in the river.

From 1668 to 1684, peace reigned in New France. The Iroquois, intimidated by the troops, had buried the tomahawk.

Several other grants near the St. Francis River were settled. Prosperity and peace flourished everywhere in New France. The Abenakis Indians, a people from Maine and Acadia, had made an alliance with Baron St. Castin and other French commanders, about the time Acadia was returned to France by virtue of the treaty of Breda in 1664. Frontenac, knowing the rich character of these Indians, cultivated their friendship.

In 1672, at a meeting of the three orders at Quebec, a large number of Abenakis asked to be allowed to take the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the King of France.

In 1677, a large band of Abenakis was settled at Sillery, near Quebec. In 1679, the Sokokis, a tribe of New Hampshire Indians, unable to agree with the new order of things, were driven away from their native land by the British colonists and joined the Abenakis in New France, where they found the refuge and protection which were denied them in their own land.

The establishment of these Indians in New France dates from that time, and in 1680 we already find a large number of them settled at Becancourt, under the auspices of the Robineau family. In the same year quite a large number of these Abenakis and Sokokis, who were then merged into one family or tribe, went to the St. Francis and sent a delegation to the *Sieur Crevier* to tell him that they had decided to make their home in his domain. *Sieur Crevier* was somewhat startled at this announcement. He told them that the land was his, and that he could not very well allow them to remain. The Indians felt displeased at this answer, and *Sieur Crevier* to appease them told them they could have all the milk they wanted and in the mean time he would see what could be done for them. The Indians were satisfied for the time being and went a mile and a half up the river and erected their wigwams.

King Philip's war in New England, which had ruined so many families, was now terminated. Captain Church had cut off King Philip's head, and had displayed it on the palisades at Plymouth. The chief's son was sold into slavery in Bermuda, and the dynasty of Massasoit, who welcomed the Pilgrims to Plymouth and remained their constant friend throughout his long life, was thus ended, and a temporary peace existed in the colonies.

Wannalancet, son of the great sachem Passaconaway and the last chief of the Merrimac River Indians, left the shores of the Merrimac and led his little band of Indians to the new home of the Abenakis at St. Francis. Those friendly Indians were kindly received as brothers, and with the Abenakis and the Sokokis they formed one family, now called the Indians of St. Francis.

James II went down with the Stuart dynasty in England. William and Mary were placed on the throne, and now commenced that terrible war between the British and the French colonists in America, which devastated so many rich and prosperous settlements in New England and in New France.

The Abenakis had been dispersed. Many joined the army, and, like the Iroquois of New York, they helped to make the war still more horrible.

At the close of King William's war the Abenakis and their friends went back to St. Francis.

Jean Crevier had been carried away by the Iroquois and died at Albany as the result of tortures inflicted upon him by these Indians. Joseph Crevier, his son and heir, succeeded to his father as Seigneur of St. Francis, and being pleased with the fidelity and good behavior of his protégés gave them a tract of land a mile and a half wide on each side of the River St. Francis and three miles long up river, together with all the islands in the river and the right to fish, "for them and their heirs and successors for as long as there shall be maintained a mission among them."

In the same year the Seigneur of Pierreville added to this grant four and one-half miles more of land. These two grants, forming a lot six miles wide along the river with a depth of three miles, are the existing reservations of

the St. Francis Indians. As soon as these Indians were settled in their new possession they commenced the construction of their new mission church, which was speedily finished and dedicated to the worship of God.

The 4th day of May, 1702, commenced in Europe the war called the war of the Spanish succession, or Queen Anne's war. France and England found themselves involved in it. The French and British colonies in America thought they would follow suit, and each resumed hostilities. New England as well as New France suffered terribly from the Indians. The frontier towns of Massachusetts and New Hampshire were frequently assailed and a great many captives were carried away from rich and peaceable settlements. Among these captives was a young lad named Samuel Gill, who had been captured at Amesbury. This lad was allotted to the Indians of St. Francis. In 1715 these Indians decided that it was time for young Gill to be married. They deliberated a long time to ascertain whether he should marry a white or an Indian woman. While they were so deliberating, Father Aubery, their missionary priest, knowing of a young white captive, a Miss James, the daughter of a minister who had been captured in Amesbury, Massachusetts, went in all haste to consult with this young lady about her being married to Gill. Both being in accord on the subject, the good priest married them without further delay, and informed the still deliberating Indians of the occurrence. The tribe was greatly pleased, as it possessed in that way an English-speaking family in their midst, used to the life and customs of the children of the woods.

Now a most remarkable and interesting fact is that of this Samuel Gill, who was carried away a captive from Amesbury in the time of these terrible raids, there are

over forty descendants now living among us in Lowell, a few miles only from the place of their origin in America.

Another circumstance not less interesting: Among the descendants of the *Sieur Crevier*, this seigneur of the old régime—first owner of the grant of St. Francis and father of Joseph Crevier, who so generously gave the St. Francis reservation to the Abenakis, Sokokis and the few Pawtucket Indians united—there are four or five families living in Lowell. And Mr. A. J. Blazon, a law student and a member of the Board of Registrars of Voters of this city, is a direct descendant through his father and mother of this old time nobleman.

The St. Francis Indians have remained to this day the loyal and faithful allies and friends of their benefactors. Under the guidance of their good missionaries and able chiefs they have prospered and lived in peace and comfort. They certainly have met with reverses—for instance, their mission church has been burned four times since 1701. The last time, it was struck by lightning in July of last year. They are striving to rebuild that church, as they consider it their place of rendezvous—their home and the only tie which keeps and binds them together.

It is with pleasure that I also welcome among us today chief Joseph Laurent, the sachem of this interesting tribe.

Mr. George H. Marston, President of the Board of Trade, Mr. John A. Bailey and Mr. Allen Dodge followed, and the Rev. George M. Bodge, author of a history of King Philip's War, sent a letter, all expressing gratification over the honor paid to Wampanoet and the visit of Chief Joseph Laurent.

Judge Cowley, having been called to the chair upon the retirement of Mayor Dimou, spoke as follows:—

My acquaintance with the worthy chief who is our guest of honor tonight began during the pendency before Congress of the bill which has since become the Dingley tariff law, although I had visited his country some years previously. In former times, the St. Francis Indians, whose chief industry is basket-making, made their goods at Pierreville on the St. Francis River, and brought them into the United States duty free. But the Dingley tariff imposed so high a duty on these simple wares that Chief Laurent saw there must be a "change of base," or that branch of industry must perish. I prepared, with care, remonstrances to Congress setting forth the hardships to which these humble Indians would be subjected if that bill passed; but to these Congress turned a deaf ear.

Since the passage of the Dingley tariff, the St. Francis Indians still pass their winters in Canada; but every summer they come to Intervale, New Hampshire, and make their baskets there, and sell them wherever they can in the United States. I cannot help thinking that Congress stooped to pretty small business when it thus practically prohibited the importation of goods of this sort.

I was glad to have the chief present at the dedication this afternoon of the noble tablet to this chief of the ancient time; the Colonial "Dames" were glad, all were glad to look upon his honest, manly face, and to hear him talk in both his native tongues (for French and Indian are alike native tongues to him) as well as in English.

I must not omit to state that Chief Joseph Laurent is an author, having written and published a valuable book entitled "Abenakis and Indian Dialogues." I would

also say that the Smithsonian Institution at Washington is about to publish a more ambitious work of the same kind in the Natick dialect, which was largely the dialect of the St. Francis tribe. It will be seen from that book that the language of the aborigines of North America is by no means extinct.

We are much indebted to the chief for coming from his far-off forest home in Canada to assist in the dedication of the tablet at Tyngsboro', and to add to the many interesting memories which cluster around Memorial Hall. I hope that other visits to both these shrines will be made by him hereafter. I am sure that they will be as pleasant alike to the people here as to him.

That ancient mansion at Tyngsboro', the oldest now inhabited in this part of the Merrimac Valley, is signalized by its connection with two historic characters — Wannalancet and Whitefield. There Wannalancet lived the Gospel; there Whitefield preached the Gospel.

While we cannot affirm with certainty that Wannalancet dwelt in the gambrel-roofed house which now stands on the hill rising westward from Drake's Crossing (which possibly may have been erected after the old chief's death), we can affirm with certainty that Whitefield was once an honored guest in that house, and as it was Whitefield's practice to use boulders for his pulpits when preaching in the open air, it may be conjectured that, in his effort to renew the life of God in the souls of the people, he stood upon the identical rock on which the Massachusetts Society of Colonial Dames have placed their bronze memorial tablet to Wannalancet.

For all the kind words that have been uttered today touching my part in these affairs, I return my best thanks.

I will now ask the chief to repeat to you, in English, in Abenakis and in French, the substance of the remarks which he made this afternoon at Tyngsboro'; after which I shall be happy to present to him as many of you as may come forward to the platform.

It was noticed that many of those present who were of French-Canadian birth or parentage followed the chief very closely in each of his three languages with evident enjoyment. Among those who were presented to the chief was Madam Lemaitre, of Lowell, a sister of the late Judge Charles Gill, formerly Justice of the Superior Court at Montreal.

*W. Zina E. Stone. By Alfred P. Sawyer, Esq.
Read May 28, 1901.*

It is fitting, at this annual meeting which marks the first third of a century in the life of the Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell, that we should devote some time to reviewing the life and recalling the many kindly deeds of him who founded it, and was its strongest advocate and supporter—the late Zina Eugene Stone. Although Mr. Stone was not a native of this city, or of this commonwealth, yet the greater part of his life was spent here. As a journalist he came in contact with the people of his adopted city, he felt the daily impulse of her busy life, and kept in touch with all that was best in her progress.

Mr. Stone was born in Bethel, Maine, March 30, 1823. His parents, Luther and Hadassah (Kimball) Stone, removed to Paris, Maine, in 1828, and his boyhood was spent in that town, and it was there he received his early education in the common schools. At the age of fourteen, while yet unable to reach all the type in the case, he entered the office of the Oxford Democrat, published in Paris, and served four years in learning the printer's trade. It is said that he was a true boy, full of fun, not liking the work of the farm, but fond of books. These early years were evidently formative of his future life as a journalist, his literary tastes and ability, and his love of travel.

In 1842, while yet a minor, he came to Lowell, and entered the office of the Advertiser, but soon went to Concord, N. H., and worked in the office of the New Hampshire Patriot, published by the late Gov. Isaac Hill. Thence he went to Bradford, Vt., but returned to Lowell the following spring. That winter he spent in his old home in Maine, but in the spring he secured a position in a book publishing office in Boston, returning again to Lowell to work on the Vox Populi, then published by Samuel J. Varney. The Advertiser having been purchased by Messrs. Hildreth & Varney in 1845, Mr. Stone was made the foreman of that office, where he remained until he accepted an offer to become the foreman of the mechanical department of the Boston Weekly Museum. When Mr. Varney purchased the Lowell Daily Courier establishment in 1850, and leased the Vox Populi to Mr. John T. Chesley, Mr. Stone again became foreman of the Vox office.

Mr. Stone first commenced business for himself by purchasing the printing office of Leonard Brown in 1854, and starting, May 20th of that year, the publication of a weekly paper called The American Citizen. Later, he and Mr. Chesley bought the News, Mr. Stone purchasing the mechanical part of the establishment for use in his Citizen office, and September 10th, 1855, he brought out the first issue of The Daily American Citizen. This newspaper, which is still published under a shorter title, bore the motto, "Independent in Everything; Neutral in Nothing," and owed its success to the faithful and conscientious work of its editor and publisher, Mr. Stone. In April, 1856, he sold the Citizen to Brown & Morey for \$4500, and went to Chicago, visiting Kansas and other parts of the west. While in Chicago he was

engaged in editorial and newspaper work. Returning from the west in 1858, he bought the plant of The Lowell Trumpet, moved it to Haverhill, Mass., enlarged it, and January 1, 1859, issued the first number of The Tri-Weekly Publisher, and continued its publication for about one year.

Mr. Varney having died November 11, 1859, his executors sent for Mr. Stone, and on January 1, 1860, sold the Vox Populi to him and Stephen W. Huse, and April 16th of that year Stone & Huse also purchased the Lowell Daily Courier and the Lowell Weekly Journal, and managed the combined plants for seven years under the editorship of Mr. Stone. They sold the Courier and the Journal to Marden & Rowell, September 1, 1867, but continued to print both papers for about one year at the Vox Populi office. In 1869 they began the publication of the Saturday Vox Populi in addition to the Wednesday edition, and in 1870 the late N. J. N. Bacheller, who had long been the foreman of the office, was admitted to the firm, which then became Stone, Huse & Company. In October, 1878, after eighteen years continuous management of the paper, Mr. Stone with Mr. Bacheller retired from the firm, and were succeeded by the late John A. Goodwin, the firm becoming Huse, Goodwin & Company. Mr. Stone then formed a partnership with Mr. Bacheller and Ephraim D. Livingston, under the firm name of Stone, Bacheller & Livingston, and July 1, 1879, commenced the publication of the Lowell Morning Mail. They also published a semi-weekly edition which was subsequently changed to a weekly issue called the Saturday Mail. In 1882, the business of Stone, Bacheller & Livingston was transferred to the Morning Mail Corporation.

of which Mr. Stone was president and Mr. Bacheller treasurer, and the paper acquired more than a local reputation.

Some men are born journalists, and Mr. Stone possessed in a marked degree that attribute known as "the newspaper instinct." Trained in the business from early boyhood, "a graduate from the printer's case," he loved the work, he read and wrote much, and he brought into his profession an indomitable perseverance which made a success of whatever he undertook. He was a Republican in politics, and his papers, especially the Mail, which started in competition with the Lowell Morning Times, then the only Democratic daily in the city, always supported the principles of the Republican party. He never sought public office, but was elected in 1865 and 1866 a representative to the General Court from old ward six.

He was appointed a trustee of the Danvers Lunatic Hospital by Governor Greenhalge, and held the position at the time of his death. He was a member of Mechanics Lodge, I. O. O. F., and had taken all the degrees in Free Masonry except the thirty-third, and was a member of Pentucket Lodge, and of the Chapter, Council, Commandery and Consistory. He possessed deep religious convictions, but was broad in his views and unbigoted, and was tolerant of and respected the beliefs of others. The Shattuck Street Universalist Society, with which he became connected under the pastorate of Dr. Miner, always commanded his best services. He was chairman of the prudential committee for many years, but as the present pastor has said of him, "He never assumed to own the church nor to establish a one-man church. When things did not go to his liking he did not turn away, but remained the staunch supporter as before." When the church

removed to a more distant location and became the Grace Universalist Church, he contributed liberally to the erection and furnishing of the new edifice, and made generous provision for the church in his will. He believed in human advancement along educational lines. He was much interested in the Middlesex Mechanics Association at the time when the lecture platform commanded the abilities of the foremost thinkers and orators of the day, and he was influential as chairman of the lecture committee in bringing such men before the Lowell public.

No sketch of Mr. Stone's life could be properly written which did not mention his wife and their home. Miss Charlotte A. Shaw, to whom he was married December 31, 1846, was born in Sharon, Maine, August 6, 1825. She was a true helpmate, and assisted him in every way in the early struggles of his life. She was a model wife, and she possessed that indefinable charm which attracted people, which drew children to her, which made friends. She possessed a strong affection, even love, for animals, which was shown not only toward them as household pets, but was manifested in her keen sense of the injustice done and the pain so often inflicted upon them. It is very probable that Mr. Stone's generous bequests to the Lowell Humane Society and the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals were inspired by this love of his wife. She possessed fine musical tastes and was prominent in musical circles in this city, and was for many years the soprano in the choir of the Shattuck Street Universalist Church, and also sang in other church choirs. Their home, which during nearly all their life in Lowell was on Chestnut street, was ever open to their friends, who found in their pleasant home-life natures peculiarly fitted to attract and hold those who

are drawn by sterling worth and virtuous character. No children were born to them to bless and grace their home, and when Mrs. Stone died after a long and painful illness, October 27, 1886, the once happy home was desolate. Years afterward Mr. Stone said he had never known happiness since his wife died. His bequest to the Lowell General Hospital for the establishment of a free bed, "in remembrance of my late beloved wife, Charlotte A. Stone," tells pathetically how tenderly he cherished her memory and sought to perpetuate it in benefaction to the sick and suffering.

After the business of his firm had been transferred to the Morning Mail Corporation, Mr. Stone felt relieved from some of the pressure of active newspaper work. He had already been abroad and had travelled extensively in this country, his wife being his almost constant companion, and after her decease his winters were passed in Florida for several years, Mexico was visited and the West Indies, and he again went abroad. In later years California became his place of winter residence, but the journalistic instinct was always strong within him, and in addition to other contributions to its columns, his letters of travel which appeared in the Mail during all these years were instructive and entertaining. These letters bound in printed form he bequeathed to our City Library. Many books of travel have been written of far less interest than these compilations from his pen. He had a charming narrative style, and his powers of description enabled him to present to his readers a realistic word-picture of the scene before him, in language marked by its purity and simplicity. He was an easy writer, and the words which

flowed from his pen seldom needed revision. His editorials were clear and forceful, and left no doubt as to his meaning, his thoughts being always expressed clearly and cogently in "English undefyled." Our veteran printer, Mr. J. J. Judkins, who came to Lowell in 1837, and worked on the Advertiser with him in 1842, says that even then Mr. Stone wrote for the paper and was recognized as a young man of ability and promise. His tastes were essentially those of a student. He delighted in research, and devoted considerable time in later years to the investigation of his family records and history.

He came of good stock, and satisfactorily established his descent from Symond Stone, of Much Bromley, Essex, England, whose will, dated May 12, 1506, was probated February 10, 1510. Few there are, even in these days of ancestral trees, who can trace their descent from a known ancestor living when Columbus brought to the Old World the tidings of the New. Simon Stone, the fifth in descent from this Symond, was the founder of the family in America. He came with his family from London in the ship "Increase" in 1635, being fifty years old, and settled in Watertown on the banks of the Charles River, and was one of the largest landowners in the town. A considerable part of the land now occupied by the Mount Auburn and the Cambridge Cemeteries once belonged to him. In the latter, near the Charles River, is an old, twisted pear tree, carefully preserved, whose trunk is more than two feet in diameter, and a marble slab at its roots bears this inscription, "Tree set by S. Stone Who Came 1635." He was made a freeman in 1636, and took an active part in church and town affairs, filling various positions, being selectman for several years and also a deacon of the church. His son and grandson,

both named Simon Stone, were also deacons, and it is remarkable that this Watertown church for the continuous period of about seventy-five years had a deacon of that name. Mr. Stone's ancestor, Simon Stone, who settled in Groton in 1680, being the second in descent from "Simon the Pilgrim" who settled in Watertown, served in King Philip's War, and also in King William's War, and was severely wounded near Exeter, New Hampshire. Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (Vol. II, page 606), in a chapter upon "Several Rare Instances of Mortal Wounds upon the English, not proving Mortal," mentions an attack by the Indians, July 5, 1690, on Captain Hilton's garrison in Exeter, and says:—

“At this time there happened a remarkable thing,—one Simon Stone, being here wounded with shot in *nine* several places, lay for dead (as it was time!) among the *dead*. The Indians coming to strip him, attempted with *two* several blows of an hatchet at his *neck* to cut off his *head*, which blows added, you may be sure, more enormous wounds unto those *port-holes of death*, at which the *life* of the poor man was already running out as fast as it could. Being charged hard by Lieutenant Bancroft, they left the man without scalping him; and the English now coming to bury the dead, one of the soldiers perceived this poor man to fetch a gasp; whereupon an Irish fellow then present advised 'em to give him another dab with an hatchet, and so bury him with the rest. The English, detesting this barbarous advice, lifted up the wounded man, and poured a little *fair water* into his mouth, at which he coughed, then they poured a little *strong water* after it, at which he opened his eyes. The Irish fellow was ordered now to hale a canoo ashore to carry the wounded men up the river unto a chirurgeon; and as Teague was foolishly pulling the canoo ashore with the cock of his gun, while he held the muzzle in his hand, his gun went off, and broke his arm, whereof he remains

a cripple to *this day*. But Simon Stone was thoroughly cured, and is at *this day* a very lusty man.—And, reader," the Reverend Mather wisely adjures us, "that nothing may be despaired of, remember Simon Stone."

But while Mr. Stone was justly proud of his ancestry, he did not belong to any of the patriotic orders. He was a believer in the living present, and his researches in genealogy and kindred subjects were merely a means of recreation. He was progressive in his ideas and quick to perceive the advantages of new methods and inventions. He believed in the future of the telephone as a practical invention when others looked upon it as a toy, and his investments in telephone stocks proved highly remunerative. In addition to his newspaper interests, he was for many years a member of the bookbinding firm of Bachelor, Dumas & Company. He was one of the organizers of the Shaw Stocking Company, and was interested in various business enterprises, either actively or as an investor.

His discipleship to "The Art Preservative" led him not only to present to his readers the best that a newspaper might print, but also to preserve the papers with which he had been connected and those of local interest. With the bequest of his library to the Paris Public Library Association of his childhood's home, which owed its inception and much early aid to him, was included a bound volume of the Oxford Democrat, the newspaper on which he served his apprenticeship. The twenty-fifth article of his will is as follows: "I give and bequeath to the Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell, the bound newspaper volumes, not otherwise disposed of; the bound and unbound pamphlets and documents; all books written or published by residents or former residents of said Lowell,

intending in the above to give to the Association only books, etc., of local value and interest." Among the large number of books, pamphlets and papers so bequeathed will be found bound volumes of newspapers once published here, the very names of which are unfamiliar, if not forgotten. The Chelmsford Phoenix, published in 1825; The Lowell Mercury, 1830; The Lowell Observer, 1832; The Star and Palladium; The Lowell Patriot and Republican; The Middlesex Standard, edited by John Greenleaf Whittier; The Gazette and Standard; The Spindle City; The Lowell Trumpet; Palmer's Illustrated Life in Lowell; The Lowell Mirror, and The Lowell Herald, published at later dates, with many others, may be found in this collection.

Mr. Stone realized that if the old papers which might still be in existence were to be preserved, it must be by personal effort on the part of some one. As he paraphrased an old saying in one editorial on the subject, "What is everybody's business nobody looks after," and so he brought the matter before the public by editorials and notices in the *Vox*, and printed and sent out a circular, reproduced on the following pages, not only for the information it contains concerning the early printers and newspapers of this vicinity, but also to show the interest which Mr. Stone took in such matters.

1775 to 1845.

WANTED:

Old Books, Old Newspapers, Old Pamphlets, &c.

THE OBJECT OF THIS CIRCULAR is to interest those into whose hands it falls in my efforts to collect for preservation samples of the *Books, Newspapers, Pamphlets, Circulars and Handbills*, of all kinds, that were printed in, or for use in, Middlesex County, Massachusetts — especially in the Northern tier of towns — from the time of the settlement of Chelmsford and Billerica down to 1840 or '45.

In many families, we have reasons for believing, has been preserved printed matter of this kind. My object is to secure all that I can — make a collection as complete as possible — and then put them in a condition for preservation, for the benefit of people of future ages.

The first of the articles which follow gives a very brief account of the earliest Printing done in this region. The second relates more particularly to the Newspapers that have at various periods been in existence in Chelmsford and Lowell.

For contributions of Books, Newspapers, Pamphlets, &c., of the character specified above, I shall feel under many obligations. For certain works I shall be disposed to pay reasonable prices.

Will *persons receiving this circular* endeavor to assist me in completing the collection which I have undertaken to make? By so doing they will confer a favor which will be gratefully appreciated.

Address: Z. E. STONE,

Vox Populi office, LOWELL, MASS.

LOWELL, Sept. 24, 1877.

Early Printing and Authorship in Chelmsford.

There was something done in the way of making books, in this region, a great many years ago. The first printer in the region was Nathaniel Coverly, who in 1775 removed from Boston to Chelmsford, "and set up his printing press, in the south part of the town. Sundry pamphlets and small works were executed at his press, dated 'Chelmsford, New England,' &c." We have never seen any of Mr. Coverly's printing; but it is more than probable that some of it is in existence.

The first book *written* in the town of Chelmsford was a catechism, by Rev. John Fiske, who was born in Suffolk, England, in 1601, and came to this country in 1637. In 1655 he settled in Chelmsford. In 1657 he composed a new catechism for the use and instruction of the children of that town. It was printed at the expense of the people of the town, by Samuel Green, of Cambridge, and bore the following title: "Watering the Plant in Christ's Garden: Or, A Short Catechism. Enlarged by a three fold Appendix." It was dedicated "To the Church and Congregation of Chelmsford."

According to "Allen's History of Chelmsford" this first book written in that town contained the following introductory remarks, which are certainly original in expression, if they do not resemble the utterances of a famous fiction character created by Dickens and called "Jack Bunsby":

"Beloved, what is here presented to public view is yours. For looking to the poor penman, as relating to you; to the external moving cause as rising lustily and freely from you; to the end and use as centering in you; to the reason of the publishing hereof as resting with you; and to the care and costs as to that end expended by you; it must not otherwise be determined, than to be yours. Which being so, you have saved me the labor of

prefacing on behalf either of this so necessary and fruitful an exercise of catechising, or of this present draught, or of publishing it. The present encumbrances of our new beginning, you know to have declined me till of late from writing, and my own inabilities much more from publishing, being rather desirous of making use of some others' labors that way, or at least of acting my own feeble apprehensions in a more private manner among ourselves. But God hath moved your minds first to see, and seeing to cause, that it must be as it is."

Mr. Allen said: "The work is moderate in doctrines, catholic in its spirit, and well suited, as it was designed, to water the Olive plants in Christ's garden." We should be glad to obtain a copy of this ancient little book; and if any one in the town of Chelmsford possesses a copy, and will part with it, we will gladly purchase it at a fair price.

In 1706 a second work of this kind was written by another clergyman of Chelmsford, which leads to the belief that catechisms were a favorite kind of literature with the early settlers of the town. We have before us the title volume of 84 pages bearing the following as its title page: "A Catechism, containing the First Principles of Religious and Social duties. Adapted to the Capacities of Children and Youth, and Bound to the Heads of Families. By Hezekiah Packard, Minister of Chelmsford. Printed by Samuel Hall, No. 53 Cornhill, Boston, 1706."

On the front fly leaf written the following, which show who it was that first owned it: "Rebecca Bynn, Her Book—the gift of her mother, June 19, 1706." This book is now the property of Geo. M. Elliott of this city.

The first of the works we have named was printed one hundred and thirty eight years before Mr. Coverly "set up his printing press" in Chelmsford; and the

second catechism was printed twenty-one years later than the first. We should be glad to obtain a copy of either of them.

Allen's "History of Chelmsford" was printed by P. N. Green, of Haverhill, as late as 1820.

Although Mr. Coverly came to Chelmsford in 1775 (if we are correctly instructed) it was not till 1824 that the first newspaper, in this vicinity, made its appearance. Books were few then, compared with the present time, and the number of newspapers throughout the country was small. Political and moral principles were discussed and disseminated through the aid of pamphlets and handbills, written for special occasions, and printed at the expense of those personally interested in their promulgation. Party electioneering was also to a large extent carried on in this way; and we judge

that on this kind of work Mr. Coverly must have largely relied for support.

The first newspaper attempted here was the *Chelmsford Courier*, which came before the public Saturday, August 13, 1824; at least there is no record of any one of an earlier date. At a later period the name was changed, to *Chelmsford Phoenix*; but before this — March 23, 1825 — a daring typo began the publication of the *Lowell Literary Friend*, which probably had but a short existence. When the manufacturing interests had got a good foothold in what afterward became Lowell, it is probable that the presses (if there were more than one, which is not likely) and material came here; but not a scrap of the first office, so far as is known, has been for more than a third of a century in existence in any Lowell printing office.

Early Newspapers of Lowell.

We have been for some years endeavoring to secure at least one number of all the newspapers that have been under taken in this city. Thus far we have succeeded very well. The following is a list of those now in our possession:

OUR PRESENT LIST.	
Chelmsford Courier,	- 1825
Chelmsford Phoenix,	- 1825
Ladies' Literary Friend (First Chelmsford),	- 1825
The Merrimack Journal,	- 1820
Lowell Weekly Journal,	- 1828
Lowell Daily Journal,	- 1831
Lowell Evangelist,	- 1831
Lowell Observer,	- 1832
Middlesex Telegraph,	- 1833
The Times,	- 1833
Journal and Mercury,	- 1835
Lowell Philanthropist,	- 1835
Journal and Bulletin,	- 1835
Lowell Messenger,	- 1836
Lowell Advertiser,	- 1837
Lowell Gasket,	- 1838
Zion's Banner,	- 1840
Literary Souvenir,	- 1840

American Wesleyan Observer,	- 1840
Star of Bethlehem,	- 1841
New England Christian Advocate,	- 1841
Middlesex Washingtonian,	- 1843
The Washingtonian,	- 1843
Middlesex Standard,	- 1844
The Operative,	- 1845
The True Reformer,	- 1845
The Scourge,	- 1845
Lowell Patriot,	- 1845
Lowell Republican,	- 1845
The Niagara,	- 1846
Lowell Patriot and Republican,	- 1846
Gospel Fountain,	- 1846
Lowell Gazette,	- 1847
Life in Lowell,	- 1849
The Daystar,	- 1850
Spindle City,	- 1851
Lowell Mirror,	- 1852
Lowell Tri Weekly American,	- 1853
Lowell Daily Herald,	- 1853
The Medical Expositor,	- 1854
The Christian Era,	- 1854
Daily Morning News,	- 1856
The Lowell Trumpet,	- 1857
Lowell Sentinel,	- 1861
Medical Miscellany,	- 1862
Middlesex Worker,	- 1867

Probably the greater number of the papers in this collection were received by him as the result of this personal effort. To this Association his loss is indeed irreparable. To him more than to anyone else does it owe its existence. He was its first secretary, and when he resigned on account of the pressure of business matters on his time, 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." Its purposes ever appealed to him. He was one of the most valued contributors to the literary work of this Association, no less than eight articles from his pen appearing in the six volumes of its "Contributions," and his careful verification of all facts and data in these articles makes them of great value to any one interested in the subjects to which they relate.

Of especial interest at this time is his paper entitled "The Old Residents' Historical Association: Its Origin and Its History for Twenty-Five Years," which was read by him before the Association, December 21, 1893, and appears with his portrait in the fifth volume of the Contributions. This article, which gives an accurate account of the origin of the Association and the history of the first quarter of a century of its life, is particularly interesting because it exhibits the author's innate modesty and his skill in writing of a subject so nearly autobiographical, with such slight reference to himself, the principal actor in it. While we may take pride in the past of this Association, and in the work done by Mr. Stone and its other founders, and resolve that its present may be worthy of its past, may we not hope that the closing words of his article, prophetic though they be, may reach early

realization! After recalling the literary work of the Association, and its collection of manuscripts, books, pamphlets, papers, etc., of peculiar value, he says:—

“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 today, for life is short, and time is fleeting; but may it not be among the possibilities now foreshadowed?”

Although Mr. Stone possessed the tastes of an antiquary, he was far from being a recluse. He was a most social man by nature, but modest to a fault regarding himself and his abilities and attainments. He was free from envy to a marked degree, and was quick to perceive and recognize worth in others. Honest and sincere himself, he had full faith in the honesty and sincerity of his fellow-men. He was ever generous and ready to help those in need. Especially was his kindness and assistance shown toward young men and women who were faithfully struggling under difficulties and in need of a helping hand. He was quiet and simple in his tastes, and possessed a gentle dignity which well became him. While a man of strong opinions and able to express himself with force and directness if occasion demanded, he had a natural refinement almost womanly. He looked upon wealth as a trust, and his testamentary disposition of his property manifests his realization of his stewardship. His bequest

of \$3000 to the Lowell Cemetery, the income of which, after caring for his lot and providing flowers at his wife's grave and his own, should be expended annually "in improving lots which have long been neglected by the unknown owners or in other ways beneficial to the cemetery," exhibits his thoughtful care for the memory of the neglected dead, and a delicate appreciation of the needs of the cemetery of which he had been a trustee for many years. His similar bequest of \$1000 for the care of the family burial lot in Maine, and the application of the surplus income "in improving the neglected places" in that cemetery, shows his filial love and his tender regard for the friends of his youth who have found their resting place in "that sacred spot," as he calls it in his will. His benevolence was inspired by love for his fellowmen, and his division of the residue of his estate between the Old Ladies' Home, the Ayer Home, and the Ministry-at-Large,—a provision for the aged, the homeless children, and the unfortunate in our midst,—constitutes a fitting memorial for a man whose life was pure and true, who honored the city in which he lived, and who left the world better by his having lived in it.

At the time of his death, June 26, 1899, at the age of 76 years, Mr. Stone was the Nestor of Lowell journalists. Few if any men in New England possessed a greater knowledge of practical newspaper work, and few achieved greater success in his profession.

He founded *The American Citizen* and the *Daily Citizen*, now published as a morning paper; he edited and published the *Lowell Daily Courier* and the *Lowell Weekly Journal* for seven years; he was at three different times, covering a period of more than twenty years, the conductor of the *Vox Populi*, of pleasant memory; he

founded the Lowell Morning Mail, and was actively engaged, as its editor and publisher until a few years before his death. A record which is certainly unsurpassed in Lowell journalism.

But a more enduring monument to his memory as a journalist, is the fact that in all he did, and in all he wrote during this long career, he was ever the generous, courteous gentleman. As one of his contemporaries wrote of him:—"He was a journalist of the highest character, and a writer of much power. He was emphatic but always just, and never feared to say what he thought was for the best interests of the people. He was in everything manly and truthful, and never wrote a line in his long newspaper career that he needed to recall." It is difficult to appreciate the wonderful influence of such a life in this community. For over half a century he was a citizen of Lowell, and during all those years he wielded a power for good or ill which few men realize,—the Power of the Press. It is the glory of Mr. Stone's career that he used this power for the public good, and was ever faithful to the higher ethics of his profession. He wrought his life-work well, and laid down the burden of his years in peace, without an enemy in the world, respected by all, and loved by many a friend.

*Report of Committee on By-Laws, December 26,
1901.*

At the annual meeting of The Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell held May 28, 1901, Alfred P. Sawyer, Esq., spoke of the necessity of some changes in the association and its management if it was to meet with continued success, calling attention to the gradual decrease in membership, the disadvantages of a voluntary association, and the fact that the library and other property of the association had never been brought together and catalogued. After some discussion the matter was referred to a committee consisting of Alfred P. Sawyer, Frederick Lawton, and Albert L. Bacheller, and this committee reported at a special meeting of the association held December 26, 1901, as follows:—

*To The Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell,
Mass.:—*

Your Committee to whom at the last annual meeting was referred the following motion, "That the matter of incorporating this association, of cataloguing its library, and of securing suitable rooms, be referred to a committee of three to be appointed by the chair, who shall report within six months," beg leave to submit the following report.

The Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell owes its inception to the desire of several gentlemen who were early residents of Lowell, to form an association which should be historical in its nature and should keep

alive their early recollections of the town. The one who was most active in its formation and who aided it in every way by word and pen, was the late Zina E. Stone, the then editor of the *Vox Populi*, whose sketch of the Association in volume five of the "Contributions" gives a full and accurate account of its organization and its history for twenty-five years.

It was a purely voluntary association limited in membership to a certain portion of the community. The by-laws fixing the qualifications of membership required a residence in Lowell at the time of its incorporation as a city in 1836, or a residence in Lowell for thirty three years, and an age limit of forty-five years. No attempt at incorporation was made, and the natural result of these conditions in a city of changing population like Lowell was that the membership tended to constantly diminish with small chance of increase. Notwithstanding changes in the by-laws, this tendency had become so marked that in 1893 the by-laws were again changed, and fifteen years residence in Lowell or adjoining towns and the age of twenty-one years was made the qualification of membership, but even this change has not resulted in any marked increase in membership or interest.

The original members, with but few exceptions, have either died or removed from town, and the results of the Association's existence are shown by six volumes of the "Contributions" already published, a collection of books, papers, pamphlets, etc., of local interest, and a fund of nearly \$700.

The membership, as reported by the secretary, is now one hundred and twenty-one resident and three non-resident members, and the income for 1900, largely from annual membership dues of \$1 each, was \$160.52.

The Association by the courtesy of the city of Lowell has the free use of a room in the Memorial Building for its meetings, and its books, pamphlets, etc., are stored in the city library in the same building.

The by-laws do not provide for a librarian to have charge of its collections, and its books are not catalogued or even preserved together in the city library, although there is a list of the large collection of books, papers, etc., given the Association by the will of Mr. Stone, so that they can be identified. Your committee earnestly advise that a temporary librarian or a committee be appointed to collect and arrange the books and other property of the Association and to catalogue them.

As has been stated, only a very few of the original members of the Old Residents' Historical Association remain. No marked gains in membership have been made in recent years, and unless some increase of interest shall be induced, it will cease to be self supporting, with the natural result of final dissolution. It is to this latter condition that your committee have given their greatest consideration, and during the time allotted them the members of the committee have visited several other historical associations, and by inquiry and by correspondence have endeavored to ascertain their method and purpose of organization, their methods of management, and the sources and reasons of their success or failure.

Massachusetts is rich in such associations. Her history, the early founding of her towns, and the illustrious services of her sons, furnish much material for the historian and the antiquarian. Many towns have their local historical societies, wherein are collected and preserved

books, manuscripts, objects of antiquarian interest, and whatever may illustrate the life and times of the early settlers of the town.

Boston has several, two of which, the Massachusetts Historical Society and the New England Historic Genealogical Society, have a national reputation; Worcester has two, the American Antiquarian Society and the Worcester Society of Antiquity; and similar associations at Watertown, Brookline, Dedham, Walpole, Taunton, Fitchburg, Lexington, Concord, Salem, Ipswich, Lynn, Gloucester, Newburyport, and Woburn, in this section of the state, may be mentioned. Providence has the fine building and the priceless collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society, and Concord, N. H., and other New England towns support such associations.

The Massachusetts Historical Society was organized in 1791, and incorporated by special act of the legislature in 1794. Its membership is limited to one hundred, and it is virtually a publishing society, issuing two series of publications, one of proceedings and the other of collections. It is richly endowed, and its elegant building, 1154 Boylston street, overlooking the Fen Way, containing its library of forty-eight thousand volumes, and a most valuable collection of paintings and relics, bears witness to the able management which has made it a typical Boston institution.

The New England Historic Genealogical Society was formed in 1844, and incorporated by special act in 1845. It owns a substantial granite building on Somerset street, opposite the new court house, and its library contains about twenty-eight thousand volumes and twenty-seven thousand pamphlets. It possesses a membership of nearly one thousand, divided into honorary, corresponding,

resident, and life members, the last two classes only being entitled to vote in the affairs of the society. The annual dues are three dollars, and its property, including a large number of funds, is valued at about \$160,000. It publishes the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, and issues from time to time pamphlets on various subjects relating to the purposes of its organization. Its recording secretary, Mr. George A. Gordon, is well known in this city, of which he was a former resident.

The fine quarters and extensive collection of the Essex Institute at Salem, as also the collections of the Concord and Lexington societies, are too well known to call for extended notice.

The two Worcester societies are in flourishing condition, and the fine building of the American Antiquarian Society is shown in the New England Magazine for January, 1901, while the leading and finely illustrated article in that number of the magazine is devoted to the Rhode Island Historical Society, at Providence, which was incorporated by special act of the General Assembly in 1822.

Coming nearer home, the Rumford Historical Association, of Woburn, which was incorporated for the purpose of holding and preserving the birthplace of Count Rumford in that city, has, in addition to the achievement of that purpose, accumulated a library of generous proportions, and holds funds for the maintenance and further advancement of its work.

The Ipswich Association is housed in an old historic mansion, and possesses an invaluable collection relating to the early history of the town, which was settled in 1634.

The Lynn Historical Society possesses ample quarters, consisting of hall, library, and ante-rooms, on the third floor of the fine building of the Lynn Institution for Savings, in

the central part of the city, and its rooms are open at stated hours. The annual dues are two dollars, and although a young society, it has already achieved more than a "habitation and a name." Instructive lectures are given in the winter, and excursions are arranged in summer to points of historic interest. The ladies of the society also endeavor to give the society standing and to make it useful in a social way. Your committee believe that there is much in this Lynn society worthy of imitation, in that, although not owning a building, the members of the society make the most of the advantages they possess.

The Dedham Historical Society, incorporated in 1862 by special act, owns its building, centrally located. It is of stone and fireproof construction, and has a vault for the reception of valuable records. Its library consists of five thousand volumes with card catalogue. The membership is about one hundred and fifty, limited to residents of that town and of towns formerly a part of Dedham, which was founded in 1636. The annual dues are two dollars, and it has no fund, but depends on its membership fees for maintenance. This society is a good example of success on such lines achieved by individual and united effort. Its vice-president and former secretary says there is no attempt to limit membership or to make the society exclusive, but every effort is made to make the people of the town feel that it is *their* institution. The library, in charge of an assistant librarian who is paid \$75 per year, is open daily at reasonable hours, and the public has free access to its shelves. A prize is offered by the society to the graduating class of the High School for the best paper on some local historical subject selected by the society. Invitations

are extended to other societies of a like nature to meet in Dedham, and in every way the public is kept interested in the society as a live, local institution.

It must not be supposed, however, that all historical societies are equally prosperous. Unless supported by public interest and the active work of its members, such a society will fail to accomplish the purpose of its organization, and sink into a moribund condition. The Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, incorporated by special act in 1855, after doing some very good work, as shown by its published volumes relating to Dorchester, has now been reduced to a membership of two, and the Dorchester Historical Society, incorporated in 1891, is occupying the field it once filled so well. The Cape Ann Historical Society, of Gloucester, has reached a somewhat similar condition. It has no rooms, and what property it possesses is stored in a building away from the business center of the city, although some of its nautical collections were sent as exhibits to the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo. The treasurer informs the committee that there seems to be no interest taken in the affairs of the society. Probably this is due in part to the comparatively isolated position of the town, but lack of public interest is necessarily fatal to the success of such an association.

It is to be observed that all or nearly all of the societies which have been referred to in this report are incorporated either by special act or under general laws.

It is not necessary to point out at length the objectionable features of a voluntary association, or the advantages of corporate existence. The former may, to a certain extent, be obviated by carefully drawn articles of association and by-laws, but it still remains a nondescript organization, possessing many attributes of a co-partnership.

with possible individual liability of the members for the debts of the association and for the acts of their agents. The title to its property is vested in the members, and their remedies are more frequently in equity than in law. No great degree of permanency attaches to such an association, and upon its dissolution its possessions become the property of the survivor or survivors, in the absence of any agreement to the contrary. A corporation is a creature of the law, entitled to its protection and subject to its requirements. No liability ordinarily attaches to its members, the title to its property is in the corporation, and its corporate existence, subject to legal dissolution, is perpetual.

Your committee believe that incorporation is far preferable to continuance as a voluntary association.

If it shall be decided to incorporate our association, it will be necessary to decide upon a corporate name; and while the name "Old Residents' Historical Association," or "The Old Residents," as it is more commonly called, was originally appropriate and possesses sentimental value, its continued use is misleading, and to a certain extent detrimental to progress as an "Historical Association."

The particular purposes for which the Association was organized, by the men who were resident here in 1836 or prior to that date, have been accomplished, and their recollections and reminiscences of the early days of the town have been embodied in the volumes already published by the Association.

Our by-laws as amended are sufficiently broad to enable all who would be interested in a local historical society to become members.

To many, however, the present name of the Association is objectionable because it implies age in its members, and as such belief, whether justified or not, exists, and will probably continue to exist, it would be well, in the opinion of your committee, to select some name descriptive of the purposes of the society and more general in its application. It will be observed that the name in general use is the name of the town coupled with the words "historical society." In several instances, however, the name is more specific where it is desired to perpetuate some particular name or locality, as the "Rumford Historical Association" of Woburn; the "Historical Society of Old Newbury;" the "Webster Historical Society" of Marshfield, now extinct, and the "Oak Tree Association" of Charlemont; and frequently the name indicates a broader scope, as the "American Antiquarian Society" of Worcester; the "Cape Cod Historical Society" of Yarmouth; the "Connecticut Valley Historical Society" of Springfield; the "Old Colony Historical Society" of Taunton; and the "Worcester County Historical Society" of Worcester, also extinct.

But whatever the name of the society, and whether incorporated or a mere voluntary association, it is the belief of your committee that some means should be adopted to bring it more in touch with the public and to make it more entitled to its support.

As has been stated, this Association has the free use of a room in the Memorial Building, but its occupation is not exclusive, as other societies share its occupancy, and its collections are in different parts of the building, not readily accessible, and not catalogued. A visitor in the city would have no means of knowing of the existence of the Association except by searching the city directory.

and even then our collections would not be accessible to him. In order to make our Association an institution of this city and known to its citizens, it seems to your committee that some different arrangement should be made, and that the Association should be brought more prominently before the public. The Lynn Historical Society seems to occupy a field somewhat similar to ours, in that it is supported in a manufacturing city of comparatively recent growth and with a changing population. Possessing no building of its own, it does not depend upon the courtesy of the city for its quarters, but shows its progressiveness and self-reliance by leasing rooms suitable for its purposes in a most public location, as has been described.

Your committee have given the matter of location and suitable rooms some consideration. They disclaim any intention of criticising the present quarters occupied by the Association, their belief being that they are inadequate for our needs if the Association and its library and collections are to be of value and practical use to the members and the public. The Memorial Building is eminently appropriate as a location for a society so closely connected with the history of the city as is this Association, and if we could have the exclusive occupation of rooms in this building so that they could be furnished and our collections brought together in them and made accessible and safe, such quarters would be sufficient for our present needs. The purpose of the committee is to bring before the Association the consideration of the question whether our present location and accommodations and the methods of conducting the Association, are best calculated to produce growth and future development and to arouse popular interest in its welfare.

From their examination of the condition of our Association and of the history and present status of other historical societies, as briefly outlined in this report, your committee have reached the following conclusions : —

That a society of this kind, unless sufficiently endowed, must rely upon public interest in its work, and upon popular support ;

That in order to reach the public it must occupy a prominent position among the institutions of the city, and be in touch with the people ;

That it must inspire confidence in its purposes and belief in its permanency as such an institution.

If the Association can inspire confidence in its purposes and belief in its permanency and success, it will undoubtedly become the proper custodian, by gift and bequest, of many articles of historic value and interest, and perhaps, if worthy of the trust, the recipient of gifts and bequests of a more substantial nature.

The Dedham Historical Society received its fine building by gift, after it had proved its usefulness to the community.

The Worcester Society of Antiquity, which has always been remarkably active and successful, received the land on which its building stands and liberal contributions toward its construction from the president of its rival, the American Antiquarian Society. In its building is a fine hall called "Salisbury Hall," after the Society's benefactor, and at the dedication of this hall Mr. Salisbury said : — "This Society started without endowment, nucleus, or properties which would serve as an inducement for wider exertion. Its possessions are almost entirely the result of the unaided devotion of its members to the purposes and

objects of their organization. How stable and satisfactory has been each step of progress under such conditions is demonstrated by the rapid growth and development of the Association."

The Worcester Society, by the activity and zeal of its members, has only realized for itself the fulfillment of the hopes and wishes of the founder of our Association in our behalf, as set forth in the closing lines of his Sketch of the Origin and History of the Old Residents' Historical Association before referred to:—"Is there not," he says, "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!"

An historical society in Lowell ought to be as successful as like societies in Lynn, or Dedham, or Worcester, if given like earnest support by its members and the public.

As a step toward such result, your committee believe that incorporation under an appropriate name, and the occupation of commodious quarters, where our library and collections, properly catalogued, may be readily accessible, are essential, and so report.

ALFRED P. SAWYER,
FREDERICK LAWTON,
ALBERT L. BACHELLER,

Committee.

Lowell, Mass., November 23, 1901.

The foregoing report was accepted, and it was voted to incorporate The Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell under the name of the Lowell Historical Society, and the committee appointed at this meeting to prepare for incorporation reported as follows at a meeting of the Association held April 24, 1902.

To The Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell :—

Your committee appointed to prepare for incorporation of the Association under an appropriate name, and to submit a draft of by-laws for such proposed corporation, beg leave to report that they deem it advisable to incorporate in accordance with the provisions of Chapter 125 of the Revised Laws of this Commonwealth, under the name of the Lowell Historical Society, and herewith submit the draft of by-laws accompanying this report as suitable by-laws for the proposed corporation.

ALFRED P. SAWYER,

Chairman.

BY-LAWS
OF THE
LOWELL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I.

NAME AND PURPOSE.

The Lowell Historical Society is formed for the purpose of collecting and preserving books, manuscripts, records, and objects of antiquarian and historical interest; of encouraging the study of local history; of maintaining a library; and of publishing from time to time whatever may illustrate and perpetuate the history of Lowell and adjacent towns.

ARTICLE II.

TITLE TO PROPERTY.

SECTION I. All books, maps, manuscripts, newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets; all pictures, paintings, and works of art; all relics and other objects of antiquarian and historical interest received by this corporation (excepting such articles as may be loaned to it) shall be received and held by it upon this trust and confidence, that in the event of its membership being reduced to five, or in the event of its dissolution, such of its personal property as above described shall in either of said events become the property of the City of Lowell, to be by it preserved in its Public Library or other suitable building; provided, however, if said city shall not so accept said property, this corporation may, for the purpose of dissolution, by the vote of three-fourths of its members, assign, transfer, and convey said property so received and held by it to some other historical society in said

Lowell, or within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, by which said property may be preserved for the benefit of the public; and provided, further, that the librarian, by the authorization of the executive committee, may from time to time exchange or sell any duplicate copies of such books, maps, newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets of this Society, which may come into its possession, and any personal property not appropriate to its library or cabinet.

SECT. 2. All books, records, papers, and vouchers, used and received by any officer of this Society in connection with its affairs, shall be and remain the property of the Society, and be delivered to his successor in office.

ARTICLE III.

MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. The Society shall be composed of resident, life, corresponding, and honorary members. Resident and life members only shall be eligible for office, or be entitled to vote, or to take part in the business of the Society.

SECT. 2. Any person, male or female, twenty-one years of age, resident in Lowell or in the adjacent towns of Billerica, Chelmsford, Dracut, Dunstable, Tewksbury, Tyngsborough, or Westford, may become a resident member of this Society.

SECT. 3. Application for membership in this Society shall be made in writing, accompanied with the admission fee, and referred to the executive committee; if approved by a majority of said committee, election shall be by ballot at any meeting of the Society.

SECT. 4. If any person elected a resident member shall neglect for three months, and if any person elected an honorary or corresponding member shall neglect for six months after notification of his election, to accept his membership in writing, such election shall be void.

SECT. 5. All members of The Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell are hereby declared to be members of this Society, provided they shall subscribe or assent in writing to these by-laws before July 1, 1902.

ARTICLE IV.

FEES AND DUES.

SECTION 1. Each resident member shall pay two dollars into the treasury at the time of his admission, and two dollars as annual dues on the first day of each July following one year from the date of his admission.

SECT. 2. If such member shall pay into the treasury fifty dollars in addition to his previous payments, he shall thereby become a life member and be thereafter exempted from the payment of annual dues.

SECT. 3. All receipts from life-membership payments shall be invested and held as a fund, and the income only thereof be used for the general purposes of the Society.

ARTICLE V.

WITHDRAWAL FROM MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. Any member may withdraw from the Society at any time, by sending his written resignation to the recording secretary, and paying all dues.

SECT. 2. Any member may be expelled for non-payment of dues, or for any other cause, at any meeting of the Society, upon the recommendation of the executive committee by a three-fourths vote of its members, ten days' notice in writing of such meeting and its purpose having been first given to such member.

ARTICLE VI.

MEETINGS AND QUORUM.

SECTION 1. Regular meetings of the Society shall be held in its rooms on the second Wednesdays of February, May, October and December of each year at 7.30 o'clock p. m.

SECT. 2. The regular meeting in February of each year shall be the annual meeting of the corporation, for the election of officers and the transaction of any other business which may legally come before it.

SECT. 3. Special meetings of the Society shall be called by the recording secretary, or in case of his absence or inability, by the corresponding secretary, at the request of the president, or of the executive committee, or at the written request of not less than five members of the Society.

SECT. 4. Written or printed notice of all meetings shall be sent by mail by the secretary to all resident and life members of the Society five days at least before the meeting, which notice shall briefly state the business to come before the meeting.

SECT. 5. Nine members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but a less number may adjourn.

ARTICLE VII.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

At all meetings of the Society the order of business shall be as follows, unless otherwise ordered:—

First. Reading of the records of the preceding meeting.

Second. The report of the corresponding secretary.

Third. The report of the treasurer.

Fourth. The report of the librarian.

Fifth. The report of the executive committee.

Sixth. The election of members from applicants approved by the executive committee.

Seventh. At the annual meeting, the election of officers and action on matters included in the call for the meeting.

Eighth. At special meetings, action on matters included in call for the meeting.

Ninth. The reading of papers.

Tenth. The unfinished business and the assignments of the last meeting, taken up in their order, and the transaction of other business.

ARTICLE VIII.

OFFICERS.

SECT. 1. The officers of the Society shall be a president, a vice-president, a recording secretary, who shall be the clerk of the corporation, a corresponding secretary, a treasurer, and a librarian, all of whom shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting, and shall hold their respective offices for one year and until others are elected in their stead.

SECT. 2. The foregoing officers, with six other members to be elected by ballot at the annual meeting for the term of one year, shall constitute the executive committee of the Society. The president shall be the chairman, and the recording secretary shall be the clerk, of the executive committee, and each member of the committee shall be entitled to one vote. The eldest in point of service of said six members of the executive committee shall not be eligible for re-election until the expiration of one year, at least, after the expiration of his term.

SECT. 3. Vacancies in said offices or in the executive committee shall be filled by election by ballot for the unexpired term, at the regular meeting next following the occurrence of such vacancy, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, but vacancies in said offices may be filled temporarily by the executive committee until such election.

SECT. 4. Immediately after the adoption of these by-laws the above officers and members of the executive committee shall be elected by ballot, and shall hold their respective offices until the annual meeting on the second Wednesday of February, 1903, and until others are elected in their stead.

ARTICLE IX.

THE PRESIDENT.

The president shall be the chief executive officer of the Society. He shall preside at all its meetings and at those of the

executive committee, and shall exercise a general supervision of the Society's affairs, subject to the directions of the executive committee.

In the absence of the president the vice-president shall preside.

ARTICLE X.

THE RECORDING SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The recording secretary, or in case of his absence or inability, the corresponding secretary, shall call all meetings of the Society and of the executive committee as herein provided.

SECT. 2. He shall attend all meetings of the Society and of the executive committee, and shall keep an exact record of the same.

SECT. 3. In the absence of the president and of the vice-president, he shall, if present, call the meeting to order and preside until a president or chairman pro tempore is chosen.

SECT. 4. He shall keep a correct record of the names and addresses of all members, alphabetically arranged, in a book kept for that purpose.

ARTICLE XI.

THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The corresponding secretary shall notify all persons of their election as members, and send to each a copy of the by-laws.

SECT. 2. He shall conduct all correspondence of the Society not otherwise provided for, and shall preserve all letters received and copies of all letters sent.

SECT. 3. He shall read at every regular meeting the communications he has received since the last meeting.

ARTICLE XII.

THE TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The treasurer shall collect and receive all money due to the Society, and be the custodian of its funds. He shall pay all bills which have been first approved in writing by the executive committee, and shall keep full and regular books of account which with his vouchers and invested funds, shall at all times be open to the inspection of the executive committee. At the annual meeting he shall submit a written report of all his doings for the preceding year and of the financial condition of the Society, but no report of the treasurer shall be received which has not been approved by the auditor appointed by the executive committee.

SECT. 2. When required to do so, he shall give bonds to the satisfaction of the executive committee for the faithful performance of the duties of his office.

ARTICLE XIII.

THE LIBRARIAN.

SECTION 1. The librarian shall have charge of all the property of this Society mentioned, described, and referred to in article second of these by laws.

SECT. 2. He shall properly arrange and keep said property in such place as may be designated by the executive committee, and shall cause a catalogue thereof to be made, which he shall revise and correct from time to time as occasion demands.

SECT. 3. No book or other article in the custody of the librarian shall under any circumstance be loaned or removed from the rooms of the Society, and he shall be held accountable for the safe-keeping of the property in his custody.

SECT. 4. He shall acknowledge every gift which may be made to the Society for its library or cabinets, and shall at all times do whatever is in his power to increase and preserve the collections in his care.

SECT. 5. At the regular meetings he shall report all accessions made to the property in his charge since the last meeting, and shall report at the annual meeting upon the condition and needs of the library, and shall furnish a detailed list of all gifts received during the year and the names of the donors.

SECT. 6. He may have an assistant, appointed by the executive committee, who shall aid him and the other officers of the Society in the performance of their duties, who shall receive such compensation therefor as the executive committee may determine.

ARTICLE XIV.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

SECTION 1. The executive committee shall superintend and conduct the prudential and executive business of the corporation; establish rules for the transaction of their own business; receive and report to the Society all applications, resignations, and forfeitures, with a statement of their recommendations thereon; provide all printed forms and books of record; appoint such subordinate officers or agents as they deem necessary; make all rules and regulations for the use of the library and rooms of the Society; and see that the by-laws are complied with.

SECT. 2. They may annually upon organization, appoint for a term not exceeding their year of office, and prescribe the functions of, such committees of their number, or of the members of the Society, as they may deem expedient to facilitate the administration of the Society's affairs. They shall so appoint a finance committee; a committee of the library; and a committee of membership.

SECT. 3. They shall report at every meeting of the Society, such business as they may deem it advisable to present, and at every annual meeting they shall present a detailed report of the affairs and condition of the Society since the last annual meeting.

SECT. 4. They shall keep exact records of all their meetings, which shall always be open to the inspection of any member of the Society.

ARTICLE XV.

THE CORPORATE SEAL.

The seal of the corporation shall be a circle with the words "Lowell Historical Society" enclosing the words "Incorporated 1902," and may be impressed upon any instrument by the proper officer of the Society. It shall be in the custody of the recording secretary.

ARTICLE XVI.

AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. No alteration shall be made in article two of these by-laws.

SECT. 2. Any other article of the by-laws may be altered, amended, or repealed, at any meeting of the Society by vote of two-thirds of its members present and voting; provided, a written recommendation of such change, signed by at least five members shall have been given at a previous meeting, and entered on the records, and the proposed alteration, amendment, or repeal is inserted in the call for the meeting.

*Acceptance of By-Laws and Certificate of
Incorporation, May 10, 1902.*

The subscribers to the agreement of association met May 10, 1902, and perfected their organization, adopting the foregoing by-laws, and the certificate of incorporation of the Lowell Historical Society was issued by the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts May 21, 1902.

The committee appointed to catalogue the library and other property of the association submitted its report, giving an itemized and alphabetical list of its books, papers, pamphlets and other property, and these were formally transferred to the Lowell Historical Society in accordance with and upon the terms of the following vote passed May 28, 1902:—

“That all property owned by The Old Residents’ Historical Association of Lowell be transferred, conveyed, paid over, and delivered to the Lowell Historical Society, a body corporate, located at Lowell, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as the successor of said Old Residents’ Historical Association of Lowell, but upon and subject to the following exceptions, trusts, and conditions:—

“1. That the treasurer of this Association shall from the money in his possession first pay all its outstanding indebtedness, and shall reserve a sum sufficient to pay for the preparation and publication of any remaining volume or volumes of the ‘Contributions’ of this Association, and then pay over the balance of its money to said Lowell Historical Society.

“2. That all books, maps, manuscripts, newspapers, magazines and pamphlets, all pictures, paintings, and works of art, all relics and other objects of antiquarian and historical interest, excepting duplicate copies of said books, maps, newspapers, magazines and pamphlets, shall be held by said Lowell Historical Society, and its successors and assigns, upon the trust and confidence set forth in section one of article two of its by-laws, namely, that in the event of the membership of the said Lowell Historical Society being reduced to five, or in the event of its dissolution, the personal property herein specifically described, and so transferred and conveyed to it, shall in either of said events become the property of the City of Lowell, to be by it preserved in its Public Library or other suitable building; but if said city shall not so accept said property, the said Lowell Historical Society may, for the purpose of dissolution, by vote of three-fourths of its members, assign, transfer and convey said property to some other historical society in said Lowell, or within said Commonwealth, by which said property may be preserved for the benefit of the public.

“3. That said duplicate copies of said books, maps, newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets, and any other personal property excepting said manuscripts, pictures, paintings, works of art, relics, and other objects of antiquarian and historical interest hereby transferred and conveyed, which may not be appropriate for the library or cabinets of said Lowell Historical Society, may be sold or exchanged by it, as provided in said article two of its by-laws; and that the president and treasurer of this Association are hereby authorized and empowered in the name of this Association to transfer, convey, pay over and deliver all said property of The Old Residents' Historical

Association of Lowell to the said Lowell Historical Society in accordance with this vote and upon and subject to the exceptions, trusts, and conditions herein contained, and to execute and deliver in behalf of this Association all proper and sufficient instruments in writing therefor."

The present volume completes the series of the "Contributions" issued by The Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell.

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