

University of Massachusetts Amherst
ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst

Williamstown and Williams College

University of Massachusetts Press: Supplemental
Material

2018

Notes for Williamstown and Williams College

Dustin Griffin

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/umpress_williamstown

Griffin, Dustin, "Notes for Williamstown and Williams College" (2018). *Williamstown and Williams College*. 1.
Retrieved from https://scholarworks.umass.edu/umpress_williamstown/1

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the University of Massachusetts Press: Supplemental Material at ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Williamstown and Williams College by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.

Notes for Williamstown and Williams College

Chapter 1: The 1746 Attack on Fort Massachusetts

page

- 3** *one of the survivors:* And in Benjamin Doolittle's *Short Narrative of Mischief done by the French and Indian Enemy, on the Western Frontiers of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay* (1750). Francis Parkman's account appears in the final chapter, entitled "Fort Massachusetts," of the penultimate volume, entitled *A Half-Century of Conflict* (1892), of his multi-volume *France and England in North America* (1865–92). Arthur Latham Perry's first account was in "The Siege and Surrender of Old Fort Massachusetts," a paper delivered in 1888, incorporated later in his *Origins in Williamstown* (1894).
on the site in 1933: John Spargo, *The Epic of Fort Massachusetts* (1933).
- 5** *proposed expedition to Canada:* Perry (*Origins*, 3rd ed., p. 126), who says it had often been stated that Williams was in Albany, but that no evidence proves it, notes that Sergeant Hawks "supposed" that Williams was in Deerfield. Wyllis Wright (*Colonel Ephraim Williams: A Documentary Life*, 1970) notes that he is not named in any document as being in Deerfield, and may have been in Boston: "His exact whereabouts during these days is completely unknown" (19).
nine hundred of them: Norton estimated that there were "eight or nine hundred" men in the attacking party.
One defender was killed: Casualties on the French side are uncertain. Doolittle says "near fifty" (*Short Narrative*, 13), but the reports sent up by Rigaud to officials in Paris almost five months later (15 January 1747) said one killed and twelve wounded (*Documents Relative to the Colonial History*, X, 77).
- 6** *in Vermont in 1600:* Colin Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600–1800* (1990).
Deerfield and Northfield: There were Mahicans to the south around present-day Stockbridge: a mission was begun there in 1734, and these Indians were regarded as "friendly." There were reportedly some Mahicans hunting in the fall in the area around what are now Bennington and Pownal and spending the winter in the Hoosac and Housatonic Valleys (Calloway, *Western Abenakis*, 15).
practice Catholicism: 'Montcalm and Wolfe, ch. 26, in *France and England in North America*, vol. 2 (Library of America, 1983), 1371.
"traditional belief systems": Calloway, *Western Abenakis*, 51.
as early as 1540: Grace Greylock Niles (*The Hoosac Valley: Its Legends and Its History*, 1912) says they were there as early as 1524–42 (15).
- 7** *Albany in 1624:* The earlier Fort Nassau was established near the same site in 1617–18.
- 8** *beginning of the century:* This is what Parkman means by *Half-Century of Conflict*.
cattle were killed: Benjamin Doolittle, *A Short Narrative of Mischief done by the French and Indian Enemy on the Western Frontiers of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay* (1750, repr. 1909), 9–10.
along the Mohawk Trail: They extended from Fort Shirley west to Fort Massachusetts. Fort Shirley, the easternmost, in North Heath, was about 5.5 miles west of the existing fort in Colrain. Next came Fort Pelham, in Rowe, about 5.5 miles west of Fort Shirley. Then Fort Massachusetts, in what is now North Adams. Fort Shirley and Fort Pelham were connected by a primitive "military road" hacked out of the wilderness (Perry, *Origins*, 98).

- 9** “*incroaching thereon*”: *Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives*, February 29 and June 22, 1743.
- defend the Western Frontiers*: Wright, 20. Frontier here means the boundary between two distinct countries (or colonies), rather than (as it did in later American contexts) the line defining the furthest “edge” of (European) civilization.
- rather than New York*: Perry saw “some tinge of defiance as well as of determined colony pride in its christening” (*Origins*, 79). “Conflicting claims and baffling negotiations often attempted became one reason for the building of Fort Massachusetts in 1745” (*Origins*, 70).
- moves by the French*: Doolittle’s *Short Narrative of Mischief* insists that the French, who declared war first, are fighting an offensive war, the English merely defending themselves.
- supply the forts*: Doolittle, a minister from Northfield, implies that some English—presumably those back in Boston—thought the war with France was “an Advantage” to the settlers on the frontier, and did not appreciate that “Their Case is most distressing” (*Short Narrative*, 26–27). Cf. Calloway on “complaints . . . about the cost of defending the frontiers” (*Western Abenakis*, 153).
- “in the Western Frontiers”*: *Journal of the House of Representatives*, March 18, May 30, and August 15, 1746.
- raids on the frontier*: Without constant scouting, widely spaced eighteenth-century forts were ineffective in preventing raids. On this, see John K. Mahon, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 45 [1958], 261.
- instead of settlements*: Steven Eames, *Rustic Warriors: Warfare and the Provincial Soldier on the New England Frontier, 1689–1748* (2011), 68.
- 10** *defend only his own province*: Walter Crockett, “Fort Dummer and the First English Settlement in Vermont,” *Yearbook of the Society of Colonial Wars in Vermont* (1919), 32–33. Perry suggests that “it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the colony, curtailed as it had been in its territory, was now determined to maintain what was left to it a al hazards and against all comers” (*Origins*, 78).
- belonged to New Hampshire*: A July 1744 letter from John Stoddard to William Williams instructs him to build the first of the line of forts “in or near the line run last week by Col Timo Dwight” (William Williams Papers, Berkshire Atheneum, Pittsfield).
- 11** *reselling it to new settlers*: See Kevin Sweeney’s 1986 Yale dissertation, *River Gods and Related Minor Deities: The Williams Family and Connecticut River Valley, 1637–1790*. See also Michael Coe, who draws on Sweeney: “Williams had every intention of making his Hoosac Valley bastion the center for a large and successful real estate operation” (*The Line of Forts: Historical Archaeology on the Colonial Frontier of Massachusetts* [2006], 30).
- Canadian provincial forces*: According to French records, the combined forces of Rigaud and de Muy included two captains, one lieutenant, three ensigns, two chaplains, ten cadets from regular French troops, eighteen militia officers, three volunteers, 400 colonists, and 300 Indians (*Documents Relative to the Colonial History*, X, 35). His force later grew to about “500 Frenchmen and 400 Indians” (X, 59).
- Indian irregular troops*: According to French records, his force included five ensigns, six officers of militia, ten cadets, forty-eight settlers, and about 400 Indians, some “domiciled” and some from the “upper Country” (*Documents Relative to the Colonial History*, X, 34).
- their seasonal income*: The French regulars looked down on their own provincials as untrained, undisciplined, and unwilling to fight in open battle. But the provincials were good marksmen, good at guerilla warfare (*la petite guerre*). See Martin Nicolai, “A Different Kind of Courage: The French Military and the Canadian Irregular Soldiers During the Seven Years’ War,” *Canadian Historical Review*, 70:1 (1989), 53–75.
- 12** *de Muy leading them*: He is said by Perry to have had “remarkable influence” over his troops (*Origins*, 143). Did the French mostly regard the Indians as cannon fodder? At a battle earlier in August Rigaud’s forces suffered three killed, all Indians,

and fifteen wounded, eleven of them Indians (*Documents*, X, 35).

has been disputed: A Half-Century of Conflict, in *France and England in North America*, vol. 2, 732. Calloway says that Cadenaret (sometimes called Cadenuit) was killed not on the Hoosac but on the River Kakecouthe (Contoocock) in southern New Hampshire (*Western Abenakis*, 151).

the Abenakis' idea: According to one report, the Indians vetoed an earlier plan to attack Schenectady, for fear of meeting some of their kinsmen.

in the provincial forces: English forces in Massachusetts included: 1) regular British army; 2) provincial forces, enlisted and paid for a defined term, who staffed forts and went on expeditions; 3) militia, a volunteer home guard, unpaid, a sort of ready reserve, used for defense. It is not clear whether Ephraim Williams was then serving as captain of militia in charge of the line of forts, or captain in the regular army assigned to recruiting (Wright 18).

influence in the colony: The members of the Williams family were very involved in military matters in Western Massachusetts in the mid-eighteenth century: his father, Ephraim Sr. (1691–1754) was a major, and his uncle the Reverend William Williams was a Lieutenant-Colonel. His brother Elijah was also a captain, and his first cousins Israel Williams a colonel, and William Williams a commissary of Western Forces, as well as his cousin's son "Bill" (1713–84). On the Williams family "kinship network," see Gregory H. Nobles, *Divisions Throughout the Whole: Politics and Society in Hampshire County, Ma., 1740–1775* (2004), 32–33. See also Kevin Sweeney, "The River Gods in the Making," in Kerry Wayne Buckley, ed., *A Place Called Paradise: Custom and Community in Northampton, Ma.* (2004), 75–90.

he built a mill: When timber was needed for the fort, Williams ordered his men to cut wood on land that he owned, billed the province for timber, and got his land cleared for free (Nobles, *Divisions Throughout the Whole*, 127).

Connecticut River valley: Perry thinks many of the men were Presbyterian Scotch-Irish, recent immigrants to Massachusetts, though it is not obvious that any of the twenty-two names are Scotch-Irish.

13 *to buy their own land*: Fred Anderson, "A People's Army: Provincial Military Service in Massachusetts during the Seven Years' War," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 40:4 (1983), 499–527. See also Anderson's *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War* (1984). At least one soldier at Fort Massachusetts claimed later that he was encouraged to enlist by Colonel Stoddard, who said he had no doubt that after he served the General Court of Massachusetts would "grant us land to settle on" (Perry, *Origins* 120).

in Hampshire County: In 1756 a provincial soldier was paid 32 shillings per month plus per diem amounting to 20 shilling per month, for a total of 2 pounds 12 shillings per month. You might also get an enlistment bonus of one month's pay. Soldiers complained that their wages were not paid regularly. Anderson argues that soldiers regarded their military service as a contractual agreement, and expected terms of service to be observed ("Why Did Colonial New Englanders Make Bad Soldiers? Contractual Principles and Military Conduct during the Seven Years' War," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 38:3 [1981], 395–417).

land in the area: They include most of the original proprietors of West Hoosuck (later Williamstown).

on Lake Champlain: *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, compiled by John Romeyn Broadhead, ed. (and tr.) by E. B. O'Callaghan, vol. X (Albany, 1858), 77.

14 *[by the English] impossible*: William Kingsford, *History of Canada*, III, 332.

in parties and armed: *Documents*, X, 77.

or how frequently: In a letter of April 10, 1747, Governor Shirley emphasized importance of keeping "a constant scout from one blockhouse to another to give proper advices and signals of the appearance of the enemy" (Wright 21).

15 *invited the defenders to surrender*: See Eames, *Rustic Warriors*, 66–67, on siege strategy.

into the fort from above: Norton confirmed that the French and Indians were able to shoot down into the fort from the north.

on one side or another: A point made in the *History of Berkshire County*, I, 77–83. Perry in fact thought that “its position was well chosen” (*Origins*, 108), in a meadow within the oxbow, so as to “command” both the old Mohawk trail and the river ford.

“want of Ammunition”: Doolittle, *Short Narrative* (1750), 1909 edition, 13.

keep up defensive fire: His petition to the House of Representatives is reprinted in Perry, *Origins*, 187. Soldiers also complained that they lacked supplies.

along the Hoosic River: Official French reports say all the settlements within a circle of 12–15 leagues—i.e., 40–50 miles—were burnt (*Documents*, X, 77), but this is misleading: there were no settlements on the Hoosac upstream of Dutch Hoosac.

kind treatment of captives: See Parkman’s account (based on Norton) for the humane treatment of captives by French and Indians (*Half-Century of Conflict*, 743). Perry notes that the captives “were extraordinarily well treated” (*Origins*, 146).

- 16** *“than when they surrendered”*: According to one early report, by a fellow prisoner in Canada, terms were: “their families Should Live together, without any Molestation by ye Indians, and that their women Should not Be Exposed to march, nor any of their people deliverd into ye hands of ye Indians” (*The Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr.* [1896], 95).

French authorities in Montréal: Rigaud promised rewards if the Indians “would be kind and carry [the prisoners] through the journey” (Samuel Drake, *A Particular History of the Five Years French and Indian War* [1870], 265).

carefully interrogated: *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. 10.

on Deerfield in 1704: Cf. an attack on Deerfield, just two weeks later, on August 25, 1746, when Indians killed five, carried off one captive, and struck one girl in the head with a hatchet (reported in Perry, *Origins*, 174).

in a vulnerable spot: Perry says nobody knows who was responsible for siting the fort.

fort properly supplied: Perry: “It has never been precisely cleared up, and never will be, why Captain Williams was absent from all his forts at this particular juncture, and why the most advanced one—the very outpost—was left with only a sergeant in command, and virtually with no means of offence or defence in case of attack, in men, or stores, or ammunition” (126).

“stors and amenition”: *Journal of House of Representatives*, February 15, 1747.

- 17** *destitute of Ammunition*: *Journal*, August 27, 1747.

“of [the western frontiers]”: *Journal*, September 11, 1746.

Representatives several times: *Journal*, April 10 and July 17, 1747.

“towards Fort Pelham”: *Journal*, Dec. 3, 1747.

in May 1747: Wright, 22.

at the fort at that time: The page is preserved in the Williams College Archives.

- 18** *(West Hoosuck) in 1749*: It had been surveyed in May 1739.

with French officers: Wright, 30–32.

Chapter 2: The West Hoosuck Blockhouse, 1756–1761

- 21** *quickly killed them*: Since they were going downhill toward the Hoosic River, the men probably left the blockhouse by the northern gate in the palisade, but the detail about the “northern portal” is not found in any document prior to 1916.

- 22** *“and destroyed it”*: July 20, 1756, Williams to Andrew Oliver, Israel Williams Papers.

and September 1761: The proprietors were called to a meeting “at West Hoosuck Fort” on September 17, 1760.

at the new blockhouse: The commander of Fort Massachusetts, he notes, was “naturally a stickler for the precedence of the

older and larger fort” (*Origins in Williamstown* [3rd ed., 1904], 105).

from the colony of Connecticut: Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, 413–14. Rising Lake Morrow (*Connecticut Influences in Western Massachusetts and Vermont* [1936], 9–10) relies wholly on Perry’s *Williamstown and Williams College* (1904). R. R. Brooks, in *Williamstown: The First Two Hundred Years* (1953), simply notes “friction between Fort Massachusetts and Fort West Hoosac” and “irritation between the Bay Colony settlers and the newer arrivals from Connecticut” (7). Coe (*The Line of Forts*, 47) follows Perry in seeing a conflict between “natives of Connecticut” in West Hoosac and “Bay” natives at Fort Massachusetts.

defense of the frontier: See letters (28 Sept 1754, 16 Dec 1754, and 3 February 1755) between Williams and Pitkin (Israel Williams Papers). In 1755 Connecticut soldiers helped build the fort at Pontoosuck that was maintained by the province of Massachusetts Bay (*History of Berkshire County*, ed. Joseph Edward Adams Smith and Thomas Cushing [1885], I, 96). In March 1756 Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts instructed Colonel Israel Williams to go to Hartford to ask Connecticut to raise and send troops to Stockbridge and Pontoosuck, on the grounds that they would serve equally for the protection of Massachusetts and Connecticut. (*Correspondence of William Shirley*, II, 422–23). As the authors of the *History of Berkshire County* summarize, the colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts were “cordially uniting for the common defense” (I, 139).

23 *the province in Boston*: Kevin Sweeney’s 1986 Yale dissertation, *River Gods and Related Minor Deities: The Williams Family and the Connecticut River Valley, 1637–1790*, regards the conflict at West Hoosuck as largely a political one.

is hard to tell: Petition from the West Hoosuck proprietors, dated April 22, 1757, in the Israel Williams Papers.

killed in the ambush: He left a legacy to “the poor, distressed, and improvident Captain Elisha Chapin” in his July 1755 will.

24 *present-day North Hoosick*: On August 3 Captain Elisha Chapin (in command at Fort Massachusetts) wrote to Colonel Israel Williams that 400 enemy had burned “all afore them” at St. Croix. He probably refers to the attack of May 29, but may refer to a separate incident.

25 *their former homes*: Niles (*Hoosac Valley*, 122) assumes that all the English settlers were from Connecticut, and that they still regarded Connecticut towns as their “homes.”

settlers thought there were: Lieutenant-Governor James DeLancey of New York assumed that the attacking Indians were “entirely under the direction of the General of Canada” (*Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York*, VI, 909).

The historian of Berkshire County concluded that while the French had encouraged the Indians in this attack, “no French soldiers accompanied the expedition” (*History of Berkshire County*, I, 94). One source (Sylvester, *Indian Wars of New England*, 489) says there were French officers; another (Calloway, *Western Abenakis*, 167) says the French tried to prevent the raid.

Housatonic River toward Stockbridge: It is possible that the Indians followed the *west* branch of the Green River, traveling south through the Hancock Valley before crossing over a low pass to Pontoosuck.

“large opening”: See the c. 1875 “Map of the Boundary between New York and Massachusetts.” On August 31 Williams had been reappointed commander of the provincial forces in Worcester and northern Hampshire County.

two additional forts: Shirley to Williams, September 26, 1754 (*Correspondence of William Shirley*, ed. Charles Henry Lincoln, 2 vols., II, 91).

“building forts anywhere”: Sept. 28, 1754, to Col. William Williams (Israel Williams Papers). Instead, he had “my orders renewed for the strengthening the frontiers and raising a greater number of forces for that purpose, and scouting, if I judge needful.”

rest of the province: The petition is transcribed in Perry, *Origins*, 402. An image of the petition is found in Lockwood.

houses in West Hoosuck: The signatories included six of what Perry calls the thirteen “original settlers” of West Hoosuck:

Seth Hudson, Benjamin Simonds, Thomas Train, Ezekiel Foster, Allen Curtiss, and Gideon Warren. Why the others did not sign is an unanswered question.

raising more troops: See Sept. 3, 4, 20, and 23 letters from Governor Shirley to Colonel Williams (Israel Williams Papers).

26 *“you were ordered to build”*: *Correspondence of William Shirley*, II, 139.

other four remaining families: Although the other families are not named, they presumably included four of the following eight who had built houses by Sept. 1754: Wyman, Hudson, Simonds, Train, Foster, Ebenezer Graves, Chapin, Moses Graves (six of whom were stationed at Fort Massachusetts).

later became Cornwall Bridge: *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, ed. James Hammond Trumbull and Charles Jeremy Hoadly (1874), 575.

and then to Waterbury: When he married a widow with seven children in 1726, her siblings went to court in Farmington, Connecticut, to secure guardianship of the children, claiming that Chidester was “a poor, shiftless man” (Charles W. Manwaring, *Digest of the Early Connecticut Probate Records*, vol. 2, *Hartford District, 1700–1729* [1904], 570). His later history suggests that he was enterprising.

recognition of his seniority: Jabez Warren, born about 1700, was 56. Hudson, born about 1705, was 51. The other leaders were much younger: Simonds was born in 1726, Josiah Horsford in 1727, William Horsford in 1731. Wyman was born in 1724.

27 *Silas Pratt, and Isaac Searl*: Of the eleven who signed the October 1754 petition for a fort in West Hoosuck, only “five or six”—probably Chidester, Hudson, Jabez Warren, Isaac Searl, Isaac Vanarnem, and Williams Chidester Jr.—took part in building it seventeen months later, according to an April 22, 1757 (document in the Israel Williams Papers). Train’s absence is explicable, but not that of Ezekiel Foster, Oliver Avery, and Jonathan Meacham. (Jabez Warren perhaps represented his kinfolk, Gideon and Jabez, Junior, who had signed the petition. Allen Curtiss may have gone back to Connecticut.) Four of the eight helpers were relative newcomers to the settlement. The April 22, 1757, document states that in addition to the “five or six” who built the blockhouse, “other Proprietors provided money.”

built on Chidester’s lot: When Connecticut soldiers were sent to assist in building a fort at Pontoosuck in 1755, they were used instead to fortify the house of Colonel William Williams (*History of Berkshire County*, I, 97).

another unanswered question: Perry only names seven helpers, omitting Pratt and Searl. A subsequent petition (June 9, 1756) declares that ten West Hoosuck proprietors “obtained Liberty” to build the blockhouse and were “at great Cost in erecting” it.

40 by 40 feet seems cramped: Most towns in the Housatonic River Valley had blockhouses, typically designed not for “general defense” but as a “place of refuge” (*History of Berkshire County*, I, 97).

28 *belonging to Ephraim Williams*: According to Perry, *Origins*, 423. At full strength, when it was assigned ninety men, some of the soldiers would have been accommodated in the two houses. It is not clear why Williams arranged to have houses built on his lot. Silas Pratt, a soldier at the blockhouse, lived in one of them (Perry, 424).

fall to one of them: On March 9 the General Court had ordered that the defenders of the blockhouse be inhabitants of West Hoosuck, including the men who built it. Wyman seems to have ignored this order.

his family, and his goods: According to a deposition made by Seth Hudson on April 25, 1757 (Israel Williams Papers).

29 *was to return to England*: *Correspondence of William Shirley*, II, 428. Shirley did not return to England until October 1756. He was succeeded as commander in chief by John Campbell, Lord Loudoun, and as governor by Thomas Pownall. Shirley made a large number of “lame-duck appointments” (Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* [1990], 288).

specifically naming them: Seth Hudson, Benjamin Simonds, Jabez Warren, Isaac Searle, Silas Pratt, William and Horsford, and James and William Chidester Jr. A copy of Shirley’s commission was sent to Salah Bernard, in temporary command at Fort Massachusetts, and then forwarded to Col. Williams. (It is found in the Israel Williams Papers.) Bernard’s cover note

suggests to Williams that Shirley's order "will make some Difficulty as to the men that are now at the west fort," including Taylor, Abraham Bass, and William Meacham.

fort on the Square: An image of the subscription list is reprinted in Lockwood.

helped build the blockhouse: On June 10 William Chidester, obviously coordinating with the fifteen householders, filed a separate petition asking that two swivel guns, no longer in use at Fort Massachusetts, be transferred to the blockhouse.

- 30** *also from Connecticut*: Josiah Dean Jr., Samuel Kellogg, Elnathan Ashmun, and Seth Kent (all from Canaan); Jonathan Kilborn and Solomon Buell (from Litchfield). Of the fifteen signatories, it has not been possible to identify the place of origin of one: Jesse Sawyer.

new fort at the Square: Tyras and Noah Pratt and Elisha Higgins.

did not sign either petition: Ezekiel Foster, Ebenezer Graves, Allen Curtiss, Elihu Curtiss, Silas Pratt, and Darius Mead.

had failed in his duties: Israel Williams was "determined never to restoer Capt. C to his butlership. He has almost ruined the garrison . . . the soldiers were debauched &c. Wyman behaves well—has restored good order & government and things are now to satisfaction" (12–16–54, in Wright, 84).

thought well of him: Shirley thought he had "courage" and said he wanted to offer Chapin a commission as soon as one became available. Williams wrote on Nov. 21, 1754 that he thought Chapin would be restored to "the chief command" of Fort Massachusetts (Wright, 82).

(Ephraim Williams in 1751): On January 29, 1755, Chapin, who had just lost his post as commissary, wrote to Ephraim Williams that he thought Graves had slandered him.

activities at Fort Massachusetts: Wyman's report and his manuscript "Journal," with entries from May 17 to July 10, are found in the Israel Williams Papers.

- 31** *"council of war" in Albany*: The minutes of the council are reprinted in *Correspondence of William Shirley*, II, 452–60. Shirley, not yet officially relieved, was in attendance.

the summer of 1756: In July Colonel Israel Williams wrote to Governor Shirley that "the enemy are discovered dayly . . . in almost every part of our Frontier." Perry (*Origins*, 283) notes that "in no other letter extant of Israel Williams is there seen so pervasive a spirit of despondency as in this."

in search of their cows: In his July 20 letter to Governor Shirley, Colonel Williams repeated the charge that Chidester and his colleagues had been "imprudent" and were guilty of "carelessness."

- 32** *"any further for redress"*: From a petition in the Israel Williams Papers, referring to Chidester's death and to events "this Summer past." Although undated, it clearly was written between July 1756, when Chidester was killed, and October 1756, when Taylor was relieved, and probably in late September/early October.

relieved of his responsibilities: October 3, 1756, letter from Selah Barnard, at Fort Massachusetts, to Israel Williams.

province-wide political matter: Sweeney (*River Gods*, 547–53) provides the best account of the political phase (1757–58) of the conflict.

"Affair of West-Hoosuck": *Journals of the House of Representatives*, vol. 34, part 1, 196. Elsewhere in the *Journals* the reference is to the "Hoosuck Affair" or "Affairs" (199, 201, 219, 220, 221).

- 33** *one of the inhabitants*: The Court appointed a committee of Colonel Lawrence, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Stone to consider the petition and make a recommendation (from *Journals of the House of Representatives*, Jan. 8, 1757, vol. 33, Part II, 239).

three new names: Archelaus Temple was from Massachusetts, Isaac Vanarenem [Van Arnam] probably from New York. Isaac Searl formerly lived in Northampton, MA.

four months earlier: Between Shirley's departure in October 1756 and Thomas Pownall's arrival as governor in August 1757, executive authority was exercised by the lieutenant-governor, Spencer Phips, and (from April 1757) by the twenty-eight-

member Council.

the “facts alleged”: Lyman was a political opponent of Israel Williams. The politics of William Richardson (1731–1814) are not known. When the Council concurred with the decision of the General Court, it added James Minot (a member of the Council) to the committee. Minot had acted as a surveyor in West Hoosuck in 1750.

- 34** *treatment of the local Indians*: Both Woodbridge and William Williams were justices of the peace in Hampshire County. Woodbridge (1709–74) is to be distinguished from the Timothy Woodbridge (1712–70) who served as pastor of the church at Hatfield, Israel Williams’s home town, from 1739 to 1770.

iceberg of resentment: The petitioners complained of the incident in 1754 when the West Hoosuck settlers had fled to Fort Massachusetts and were turned away; and further that in March 1756 while the blockhouse was being built, the soldiers from Fort Massachusetts assigned to guard the builders declined to help in any way. The petitions are transcribed in Perry, *Origins*, 417–18.

court of its order: Hudson’s petition is dated April 12. It was “brought down” to the General Court by William Brattle on April 25. Brattle, from Cambridge, was a member of the Council. The Court appointed a committee of Colonel Murray, Colonel Moses Marcy, and Colonel John Jones (representative from Hopkinton) to investigate. See also a letter from Hudson to Israel Williams, April 25, 1756, Israel Williams Papers.

direction of the investigation: He was assisted by Captain Samuel Livermore and Colonel Moses Marcy. Lyman, Richardson, and Minot were apparently relieved of responsibility. Marcy (1702–77) was a representative from Sturbridge, Livermore a representative from Waltham. He too had taken part in the 1750 survey of West Hoosuck.

doing some service: Some repairs were apparently carried out under Captain Wyman in 1757.

- 35** *(an old family friend)*: Sweeney describes Catlin as one of the “favorites” of the Williams family (*River Gods*, 505).

expenditures he recommended: On “expansionist” and “nonexpansionist” political factions in Boston in the 1750s, see Marc Egnal, *A Mighty Empire: The Origins of the American Revolution* (1988, 2010), 6–10.

had its limits: Egnal notes that in the mid-1750s Shirley’s “dealings with the expansionists were at times marked by outright bitterness” (*A Mighty Empire: The Origins of the American Revolution*, 42).

defense of the western frontiers: Pownall wrote three separate letters of instruction on August 6. On August 20 he wrote a more ingratiating letter, assuring Williams that “I shall always think it my Duty to throw every power and Influence into the Hands of Gentlemen who use it so truly and so well for their Country’s Good as Col. Williams” (Israel Williams Papers).

at Fort William Henry: They were to serve—i.e., be paid—until October 1.

- 36** *classmate of Williams*: Hutchinson would become Lieutenant-Governor in 1758. Williams gave loyal support to Hutchinson for three decades.

“interest of the whole”: Hutchinson to Williams, August 25, 1757.

consider his report: Woodbridge and Pownall had had an opportunity to meet at the Albany Conference in June–July 1754. Pownall had maneuvered to replace Shirley, and turned to a new set of advisors. As Thomas Hutchinson later put it, “In a short time most of the chief friends to Mr. Shirley became opposers of Mr. Pownall, and most of Mr. Shirley’s enemies became Mr. Pownall’s friends” (*History of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay* [1762], 1828 edition, III, 57). Pownall later established better relations with Israel Williams.

needed its confidence: See John Schutz, *Thomas Pownall, British Defender of American Liberty* (1951), 211, on Pownall and “the rights of the subject.” Pownall probably thought Williams too imperious—too much like Lord Loudoun, another military leader. (Pownall had served as Loudoun’s secretary in 1756.)

- 37** *Catlin, Bernard, and Hunt*: According to a memo-to-self in his papers of his appointment of Catlin “to Command the Garrison” at West Hoosuck. The memo also mentions a commission to Wyman (to continue in command at Fort

Massachusetts) but not the commissions to Barnard and Hunt. A veteran soldier who had served at Fort Shirley and Fort Massachusetts, Catlin raised a company of men in Deerfield on Sept. 13, with Selah Bernard as lieutenant, Jonathan Hunt ensign, Seth Catlin drummer, and forty-nine men. He arrived at West Hoosuck on Sept. 17 “to take charge of the defenses” (*History of Deerfield*, I, 654). He reported to Williams on September 17 that “I find the Fort a very poore place of Defence,” and (implicitly responding to a key recommendation of the Woodbridge report) set about making repairs.

governor and secretary: Pownall implied that the order was issued to reduce expenses, but it also appeared that the threat of French invasion had passed. On January 4, 1758, the force level at West Hoosuck was set at 19, including three officers (*Journals*, vol. 35, 23).

understood, against himself: He apparently did not see the charges until after Sept. 30, when Oliver wrote to Williams that he was making copies of “the Papers relating to West Hoosuck . . . to inform you of the Nature of the Complaint.”

hearing of other men: The confession was witnessed by two Fort Massachusetts soldiers, Eleazer Burt and Moses Graves, both of them Hatfield neighbors of Israel Williams. Burt had served as commissary in Ephraim Williams’s regiment at Lake George in 1755. The “reproaching and vilifying” of Williams does not appear in the depositions taken by Woodbridge or in his report.

ninety new soldiers: See the letter from John Wheelwright to Israel Williams, dated August 27, 1757, a copy of which is found in the Israel Williams Papers.

a quid pro quo: It is not possible to say whether Searl’s confession was submitted to the General Court.

38 *service at Fort Massachusetts*: Gad Chapin had served at Fort Massachusetts at least since 1752. He was not a brother of Captain Elisha Chapin. Simonds, a West Hoosuck man, seems to have had divided loyalties.

Israel Williams’s brother: Curiously, Taylor and Simonds returned on October 25 to state before William Williams, JP, that Hudson’s “General Character is, that he frequently takes things in a clandestine manor, in other words is a Thief; and as a Miller was universally complained of for taking unlawfull Toll.” Taylor separately states that Ephraim Williams told him that “Dr. Hudson offered to give him an order for his Wages as Doctor, for Rum that was Stole at Fort Massachusetts while Dr. Hudson was there.”

support of his superiors: As reported in *Massachusetts Officers in the French and Indian Wars, 1748–1763*, ed. Nancy S. Voyer (1975), No. 6370. No documentation is provided, but Sweeney accepts this report as fact (*River Gods*, 553n), and suggests that the reinstatement of Hudson was galling enough to cause him to resign. But it is not clear that Williams resigned: Voyer’s compilation is incomplete—it contains no entry for Williams’ commissions in January and April 1758. Williams may have threatened to resign: in the summer of 1756 he had complained to his friend Thomas Hutchinson that he was “quite fatigu’d and tir’d of the troubles I have, and wish for retirement, [and] care not now soon I receive . . . dismissal from all military command” (quoted in *River Gods*, 552, from *Sibley’s Harvard Graduates*, ed. C. K. Shipton, VIII, 310).

West Hoosuck soldiers: *Journals of the House of Representatives*, vol. 34, Part I, 180. The matter was referred to a committee.

39 “*large Debate thereon*”: *Journals of the House of Representatives*, 13 December 1757, vol. 34, Part I, 199.

guilty as charged: *Journals of the House of Representatives*, vol. 34, Part I (1757), 201, 218–21.

was so entitled: *Journals of the House of Representatives*, vol. 34, Part II, 165. Elijah Williams had earlier testified on February 19, 1757, that as commissary he was told by the commanding officer at West Hoosuck that he did not have room for three months’ provisions, so that provisions were transported back to Fort Massachusetts.

withholding provisions: *Journals*, vol. 34, Part II, 264.

for further hearings: *Journals*, vol. 34, Part II, 260.

petition as “groundless”: *Journals*, vol. 34, Part II, 298.

impose any penalties: They formed a new committee, consisting of Mr. Sparhawk, Colonel Nichols, and Mr. Flucker, to report further on the provisions for the West Hoosuck blockhouse.

- 40** *powerful Colonel Israel Williams*: Decisions of the House of Representatives required approval of the other legislative branch, the Council. They could be vetoed by the Governor.
- at the blockhouse*: On January 19 the General Court ordered that ten men “of the Inhabitants, if so many Settlers there are,” be put on the rolls, and “if there are more than ten Settlers, they to do Duty alternately ten at a time” (*Journals*, vol. 34, Part II, 286).
- on a short leash*: It is not certain that Pownall knew of Chapin’s deposition: as noted, Williams may have kept it in his pocket.
- tolerate any “Independency”*: Williams was ordered to inform them “that I expect they will yeild all due obedience to you and other [of] their officers” (Pownall to Williams, Jan. 24, 1758, Israel Williams Papers).
- invasion of Canada*: Jan. 31 (with a commission), April 9 (renewing the commission), April 22 and 29, June 29, July 10, and September 4 (Israel Williams Papers).
- inhabitants of West Hoosuck*: *Journals*, vol. 34, Part II, 432 (April 27). Isaac Searl, seeking to take advantage of the increased numbers at the blockhouse, petitioned for permission to sell liquor to soldiers marching through West Hoosuck on their way to Canada, but the Court dismissed the petition (*Journals*, vol. 34, Part II, 430 [April 28]).
- 41** *his own muster roll*: Soldiers who served at the blockhouse in 1758 and 1759 included Benjamin Simonds, Jabez and Gideon Warren, and Jabez Warren Jr; John, Josiah, and William Horsford; Isaac Searles; Elisha Higgins; Noah and Silas Pratt; Isaac, Jonathan, and Luke Vanorum; Derrick Webb; Jonathan Kilborn; Nehemiah and Jedediah Smedley; Medad Curtis; David Southwick; and Isaac Allis (*History of Berkshire County*, I, 104).
- in October 1759*: *Acts and Resolves, 1757–58*, chs. 118, 130, 149, 330, 387; *1758–59*, chs. 9, 56, 225, 284; *1759–60*, chs. 100, 398, 406; *1760–61*, chs. 474, 243. Perry, *Origins*, dates the decline from Sept. 30, 1758 (421).
- were from Connecticut*: Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, 12–13.
- 42** *Chidester and Elisha Chapin were dead*: Chidester’s wife, Eunice, died in West Hoosuck in 1760. His sole surviving son, William Jr., died there in 1766.
- in the early 1760s*: Of this group of seven, only two had come (like Chidester) from Connecticut. Of the other soldiers serving at the blockhouse at the time of the attack, Isaac Searl became a substantial landowner in Williamstown, Silas Pratt lived in one of the houses within the stockade until 1762, when he moved to Pownal.

Chapter 3: A Short History of Treadwell Hollow

- 44** *“glens and deep recesses”*: William B. Browne, *North Adams Transcript*, 5 February 1940. Browne’s article, part of a regular feature entitled “Over Pathways of the Past,” was later compiled into his book, *Over Pathways of the Past: Familiar Features of our Valley, How They Originated, What Happened Along the Way*, published by the *North Adams Transcript*.
- south of Berlin Pass*: On old maps this is called Haley Brook. It is fed by three tributaries (one of them called Beckley Brook, another South Branch) which join at the state line.
- shoulder of Berlin Mountain*: Thanks to David Dethier, Professor of Geology at Williams College, for helping me with Google Earth images of Treadwell Hollow.
- “natural bowl”*: *Williamstown: The First 250 Years, 1753–2003*, ed. R. R. R. Brooks (1953, rev. ed., 2003), 412.
- farms and erect dwellings*: Thanks to Henry W. Art, Professor of Biology and Environmental Science at Williams College, for providing a color copy and CD of this and nine other historical Williamstown maps from his collection.
- 45** *Connecticut in the 1790s*: Some local people distinguish between Treadwell Hollow and “Freddy Goodell Hollow,” the latter referring to the side valley drained by a tributary of the North Branch of Hemlock Brook. Fred Goodell may have been a tenant on the old Leet farm before 1925, scratching out a living by selling firewood and butter on Spring Street. A Fred

Goodell lived as a farmer on Berlin Road in 1925 and on Bee Hill Road in 1931. He is probably not the same as the Fred H. Goodell who lived in a number of places and held various jobs as a laborer in Williamstown from at least 1896 to 1918. (“Goodell Hollow” has also, at least since the 1900, referred to the area off Route 7 drained by Roaring Brook and reached by Roaring Brook Road.) “Freddy Goodell Hollow” was once called “Leet Hollow.” See notes from page 48 below.

a family’s house: The nineteenth-century maps showing the location of houses need to be used with caution, since (like most maps) they are not without errors. The 1858 Walling map (H. F. Walling, *Map of the County of Berkshire* [1858]), for example, shows a “School” near the intersection of Berlin Road and Treadwell Hollow Road. (The old Hemlock Brook School was in fact at the intersection of Berlin Road and Oblong Road.)

- 46** *first wave of settlers*: An 1829 history referred to a “deep valley, called ‘The Hollow’ and sometimes ‘Treadwell Hollow’, of such extent and population as to compose a small school district” (David Dudley Field, *A History of the County of Berkshire, Massachusetts* [1829], 398).

South Branch along Berlin Road: Along the North Branch, lots #20–21, 38–40, 52, 53; along the South Branch, Lots #43–49. See map of 8th Division.

connecting Albany with Deerfield: Claude Joseph Sauthier, *Chorographical Map of the Province of New-York in North America* (1779), showing a road from Albany to Fort Massachusetts.

“on the west mountain”: *Vital Records of Williamstown, Mass., to 1850*.

more than a hundred years: The Fosters had nine children, but only one, David Jr. (1783–1859), settled in Williamstown. According to the 1885 *Gazetteer of Berkshire County* (405), David Foster came from Rhode Island. In 1885 four of David Jr.’s six surviving children lived in Williamstown, one in North Adams.

Born in 1766: March 29, 1766, in Fairfield, Ct. (*New England Families, Genealogical and Memorial*, 3rd Series, vol. II [1915], 1004).

- 47** *chestnut, maple, and birch*: Early land deeds cite chestnut, ash, birch, and beech trees as boundary corners.

(cleared by that date): John Mills, *A Map of the Town of Williamstown* (1830). An original of the map is found in the Massachusetts Archives in Boston.

rough cloth for clothing: See Keyes Danforth, *Reminiscences of Boyhood* (1895), 38–39.

neighbors on Berlin Road: Signs of old charcoal pits survive today along the Williamstown Rural Lands Foundation “Loop Trail” off Berlin Road.

and Huldah until 1874: Polly Treadwell Foster died in 1841. Huldah married a man named Skinner.

belonged to a Treadwell: Henry F. Walling, *Map of the County of Berkshire* (1858).

burned down in 1885: Perry (*Origins in Williamstown*, 23) reports that the fire took place on March 4, 1885, but there is no mention of it in the local papers (the weekly *Berkshire County Eagle* and *North Adams Transcript* for Mar. 5 or 12).

- 48** *called “Leet Hollow”*: For “Leet Hollow,” see a 2 February 1898 article in the *North Adams Transcript*. A few locals now refer to it as “Freddy Goodell Hollow.”

the old Albany Road: Perry (*Origins*, 26) says Jared Leet’s house was at the foot of Leete Hill, between the Hill and Dodd’s Cone. The (separated?) wife of Henry Maynard lived “up in Leet Hollow” in 1898. A little further south along the Crest were the Macomers [pronounced MAY-cum-ber], whose farm included grazing land on the top of Berlin Mountain, then called Macomber Mountain. (Cows were still being grazed on the top of Berlin Mountain a hundred years later.) Also near Berlin Pass, on the north side of the road, lived Enos “Turnip” Briggs (1757–1825), who sold turnips—which tolerate cold, and like the local acidic soil—on Spring St. in Williamstown from c. 1800 to c. 1820.

Williamstown in 1794: *Gazetteer of Berkshire County* (1885), 404–5. Perry says he was the grandson of Governor Leet, but this is an error: he was a great-grandson.

planted apple trees: The house appears on the 1843 Coffin map.

his death in 1803: Noble (1744–1803) was also a Connecticut man, but from a higher class. He graduated from Yale in 1764, arrived in Williamstown in 1770, and set up a law practice, later became a successful merchant, and acquired large land holdings. In time he became a judge and a trustee of Williams College. Noble was from New Milford, Leet from Guilford (near New Haven).

“. . . With devils to eternity”: Quoted in Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College* (1904), 175. Noble lived in a two-story brick house on Main Street.

sold to William Cain: Cain’s widow sold to John Brookman, who sold it to Sanborn Tenney in 1899. (Tenney may have rented the Leet Farm to Freddy Goodell or Frederick Pease). For details on the Leets, see Edwin L. Leete, *The Family of William Leete* (1884) and the Leete Family website (“Leete Family, 1505–1985”).

still called Leete Hill: A spelling preferred by some members of the family.

Taconic Crest Trail: Bill Rice of Williamstown remembers half a dozen cellar holes in this side hollow—or the main hollow—from the days (the early 1960s) when he camped there as a teenager. The central part of the Leet farm had not yet reverted to forest at the time of a 1940 aerial photo of Williamstown.

49 *was the Birchards*: The name is sometimes spelled with a “u,” but some “Burchards” are apparently a separate family.

Berlin Road—in 1779: Book B, 272, North Berkshire Registry of Deeds. A Samuel Birchard (who may have been Joseph’s brother) also bought land in Williamstown in 1779 (Book B, 263, 292, 293, 295, 296).

born in Williamstown: According to the *Vital Records of Williamstown*, at least four Birchard daughters published their intention to marry here between 1802 and 1811, and Samuel and Elizabeth Birchard, husband and wife, both died here in 1814. For details about the family, see Harry Birchard, *Burchard-Birchard Genealogy* (1991).

bought land in 1795: From Samuel Clark (Register of Deeds, Book 4, 101).

Berlin Road in 1812: Joseph, Samuel, Daniel, Jabez, and Nathaniel “Burchard” are listed as residents on the 1790 census of Williamstown. The five households totaled 24 people.

close to Petersburg Pass: Amos must have inherited or been given property by his father and uncle: there is no record of him buying or selling land in Williamstown.

50 *“for passengers and bundles”*: The driver was “old Mr. Whelden” (Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College* [1899], 294–95). This was probably Salman Whelden or Wheldon (1792–c.1872), who came from what would be a longtime Williamstown family who lived on West Main Street.

the final six-tenths of a mile: The beginning of the present Berlin Pass Trail diverges from the original path of the road over the pass, which forked right from the present Berlin Road about 600 feet east of the parking area, and is visible today as a sunken road in the woods.

pass through his land: See Perry, *Origins in Williamstown*, 25. Agur Treadwell had previously given permission. Brooks (*Williamstown*, 293) says the refusal took place in 1800, but his version of the story, based as it is on Perry, has no independent authority.

perhaps as early as 1800: Brooks 115 implies—but does not quite state—that Petersburg Road reached Petersburg Pass before 1800.

“Lower Petersburg Road”: It is so named on deeds as late as the early twentieth century. It reaches the pass a few yards south of Route 2.

as late as 1906: See the Tenney Log, cited below, for August 24, 1906. The road was also used by hikers. A stone stateline boundary pillar was installed along the road in 1898. A pamphlet from the 1920s produced by the Williamstown Institute of Politics referred hikers to the road leading down from Petersburg Pass through “the beautiful ‘Hope Valley’”—a misnomer

suggesting that the name “Peace Valley” was not well established outside of Treadwell Hollow (*Short Walks in the Vicinity of Williamstown*, n. d., 5).

- 51** *south of Buffalo*: Daniel Burchard (the family seems to have changed the spelling of the name when they emigrated) settled on Lot 12 in 1822 (*History of Cattaraugus County*, ed. Franklin Ellis [1879], 296), and was on the tax rolls in 1824 (299). *died there in 1858*: By 1858 East Otto (where Burchard lived) had split off from Otto. Williamstown residents emigrated to Cattaraugus County in the early nineteenth century, Nathaniel and Mehitable Kellogg in 1816, Daniel Franklin Nichols in 1825–26, the latter possibly with the Burchard party. According to the *Burchard-Birchard Genealogy*, the emigrants included old Joseph Birchard, his sons Amos, Joseph, and Daniel, and his daughter Hannah and her husband. One of the children who remained behind, Rebecca Birchard, married Dan Galusha; their descendants still live in Williamstown. Galusha bought land from Joseph Birchard in 1828. Perry (*Origins*, 545) gives no details, reporting only the departure for Cattaraugus County. *was sold in 1830*: To Noah and Amy Smith (see below). Other emigrants, including Joneses and Reeds, held on to their land in Treadwell Hollow until 1868 (when they sold to DeWitt C. Smith and Sarah Smith).
- 52** *today’s Peace Valley Farm*: A map in an 1876 deed (136–563) shows apparently uninhabited houses on Lots 38 and 39. *born there in 1869*: Jane Walker, daughter of Alexander Walker and Jane (Jean?) Walker, died on June 15, 1866, in the gardener’s cottage at Castle Newe (*Strathdon Vital Records*). George Walker’s 1961 obituary notice indicates that he was born in Aberdeenshire on 15 April 1869, and emigrated at the age of one. *moving to Williamstown*: According to family report, he emigrated for his health, hoping that the mountain air would be good for his tuberculosis. His daughter Jane had died of a childhood wasting disease linked to tuberculosis. His daughter Jessie was born in New York State about 1872. *became a surveyor*: On the 1880 census he is listed as surveyor and gardener, living with his wife Jean, and five children: Maggie, Charles, Alexander, George, and Jessie.
- 53** *map of Williamstown*: *A Map of Williamstown, Mass.* (1889). A copy can be seen in the Williams College Archives. *closer to town*: *North Adams Transcript*, December 20, 1898. *settled with him on Berlin Road*: McDonald appears as a Berlin Road landowner on the 1894 “Miller map” of Williamstown in the *Atlas of the Towns of North Adams, Adams, Williamstown, and Cheshire, Berkshire County, Massachusetts*, by D. L. Miller. *town’s shade trees*: George was also as vigorous as his father, climbing Mt. Greylock every year until he was over ninety.
- 54** *banks of Haley Brook*: A surveyor’s plan from 1962, on file in the Registry of Deeds in Adams, Book 240F, 116. *Peace Valley Farm in 1862*: The name may have originally been “Pease Valley,” after Ralph P. Pease, whose name appears as an owner of land up Treadwell Hollow and on Oblong Road on the 1858 Walling map. On the 1860 census he is listed as landowner with real estate (near William Torrey) worth \$2400. Born in 1820 and married in 1848 to Rebecca S. Galusha, he sold land to Alpha Maynard Jr. in 1865 but was still listed as a farmer in Williamstown in 1869.
- 55** *(to bring the cows down)*: So reported William’s daughter, Phyllis Brookman Oleson (1921–2011), in a 2008 private communication to the author. A newspaper clipping from 1901 reports that the seven-year-old William, while up on Macomber Mountain, proudly killed what he thought was the fox that had robbed the farm’s chicken coop: the “fox” turned out to be a raccoon. William Brookman died in 1973. *moved out on his own*: George sold the land to Sanborn Tenney in 1903. He bought the 130-acre “Burdick Place.” *in South Williamstown*: John Brookman died at the age of ninety in 1917. George Brookman died about 1956, at the age of ninety-one. Details about the Brookman family come from clippings in the “People” file in the Williamstown Historical Museum, and from telephone interviews in September and November 2008 with Phyllis Brookman Oleson. She remembered wild orchids and ladyslippers on the Berlin Pass road about 1930.

from Grafton, New York: Odell, born about 1842, served in the Civil War, was in Williamstown by 1899, where he worked as a farmer and then laborer, and died in 1923. According to the logbook of the Tenney Camp (see below), Odell was living at Peace Valley Farm in May 1910, and was familiar with the history of Treadwell Hollow, and especially who had lived where. In 1912 and 1915 he lived on Petersburg Road.

56 *elsewhere on the property*: This house subsequently burned down.

his son, Harry, after him: Nancy Rice Bassi (b. 1942) remembers being driven to school by Elmer Haskins in an old wooden bus. In later years Harry Haskins drove a modern (yellow) metal bus.

Abby Amy Tenney: Abby Amy Tenney was herself a naturalist, coauthor with Professor Tenney of *Natural History of Animals* (eight editions between 1868 and 1895), and author of several books on natural history for children. Professor Tenney's father was a farmer.

57 *raised four children*: Sanborn Gove Tenney, Jr. (1904–71); John Wool Griswold Tenney (1905–67), member of the Class of 1928 at Williams, and a lawyer like his father; Sara Tibbits Tenney (1908–98), who worked in New York and, after she returned to Williamstown in 1955, at the Clark Art Institute and the Williamstown Public Library; and Elizabeth Griswold Tenney (1913–71).

became the Taconic Trail: As of 1931, Mrs. Tenney was the second largest landowner in Williamstown—Amos Hopkins's widow owned 1678 acres (*New York Times*, Oct. 4, 1931).

to raise sheep: Bill Stinson reports that Tenney installed "Page Wire" sheep fence, remnants of which can still be seen. In 1925, according to the town directory, the tenants at Peace Valley Farm were Pietro (Pete) Donato and his wife Mary. But a startling 25 April 1925 story in the *North Adams Transcript* reports that the "occupant" is Joseph Donato, formerly of North Adams: a fellow farmer, Peter Verboom, visited Peace Valley Farm to collect money owed him for cattle purchased the previous year, drank several glasses of cider, and died the next morning at the North Adams Hospital.

from Cynthia Wheeler: The Wheeler to Tenney sale was recorded on April 11, 1905 (Book 271, 307). Wheeler had bought the land in 1894 from Melissa Walden (Bk. 218, 47), and Walden had bought it from Henry Sabin (Bk. 193, 287).

as a weekend camp: Except for haying, Tenney did no farming on his land in Treadwell Hollow: in 1911 he hired a man named Cummings—probably the great-great-grandfather of Albert J. Cummings, IV—to come in and cut hay and store it in his barn.

58 *bought it in 1905*: In 1876 D. C. Smith to Ayers (Bk. 136, 561), in 1878 Ayers to Tallmadge (152–90), in 1879 Tallmadge to Weed (157–27), in 1886 Weed to Belden (169–289), in 1889 Belden to Henry Sabin (177–463), in 1891 Sabin to Walden (193–287), in 1894 Walden to Wheeler (218–47).

rudimentary decorating: At some point they had the entire exterior, unpainted when they acquired it, painted white.

or indoor plumbing: As is clear from old land deeds, the Tenneys reserved the right to put in electricity and phone at some future date.

or just "camp": The guest books, or "logs," are in the possession of Judge Tenney's granddaughter, Helene Carter-Griswold Langtry. They cover the years 1905–10 and 1916–23.

at the top of the hollow: An entry in the log for 1910 notes that the "Cole Lot" was "at the head of the valley" and contained the Cole house.

to get fresh milk: Bill Stinson still catches good-size brook trout in the North Branch of Hemlock Brook.

partridge, or woodcock: Their dogs in the first years were named Stride-away, Junior, Girl, and Jimmy Blaine. The last of them was apparently named after James G. Blaine (1830–93), U. S. Senator from Maine and Secretary of State.

"Foxcroft Farm" on Petersburg Road: Foxcroft is to be distinguished from the Birch Hill Farm (long owned by the Donahue family), also on Petersburg Road, but closer to town. Foxcroft, owned by the Prindle family, then by

Dewitt Clinton Smith (it was long known as the “Clinton Smith Farm”), and later George Brookman, who bought it in 1891 from B. F. Mather. William W. Sprague seems to have been a tenant at Foxcroft Farm from the 1890s until at least 1906, but was gone by 1910.

from Hemlock Brook to the house: Sections of water pipe were still visible in 2009.

59 *in their Hupmobile:* Though not until after 1909, when that make of car was introduced.

a close family friend: Other guests included James Bissell Pratt (1875–1944), a Williams graduate (Class of 1898), and a member of the faculty (Department of Philosophy) from 1905 to 1943.

died in January 1923: Tenney “had been in poor health for a considerable period” (from an obituary notice in the Sanborn Tenney file, Williams College Archives).

60 *on the Massachusetts side:* Building the highway over a several-year period in fact disrupted tourist business. There was a small restaurant at the Pass until it burned in the early 1960s.

agreement fell apart: The tower reportedly replaced the one on Mt. Greylock, the view from which was often obscured by clouds. In 1915–16, one of the men who lived in the cabin on top of the tower on Berlin Mountain was a Berlin Road resident, Harry George. He and a colleague spotted fifty-six fires in the first two years.

request of the landowner: The cabin (which, according to the 1934 *Trail Guide for the Williamstown Vicinity*, was built in the fall of 1931 by John H. Leonard, Class of 1915, and members of the Outing Club) was located beside a branch of Hemlock Brook, about a ten-minute walk from the Haskins Farm, at the site of the present overturned outhouse. In the 1930s the brook was dammed near the cabin to create a swimming hole. The cabin was abandoned by hikers in the late 1960s.

61 *Filomena Burro of North Adams:* Mrs. Tenney spent some time in Europe in 1931 with her daughter Sally. Treadwell Hollow Road was “discontinued” on Feb. 9, 1931 from the “Brookman Farm Pond” to the state line (see Bk. G, 475 of town records). This was apparently an illegal action, since the town was not authorized to discontinue a road that crossed a state line, but in 1940 the road was still understood to have been “abandoned” (William Browne, “Over Pathways of the Past,” *North Adams Transcript*, 5 February 1940).

daughters could handle: Mrs. Burro had hoped to follow the example of her brother, Andrew Bernardi, who farmed on Oblong Road in Williamstown. An auction notice, announcing the sale on November 4, 1933, itemizes a house, barn, silo, horse barn, cow barn, bungalow, ten dairy cows, nine heifers, two horses, ten calves, 115 fowls, and “farming tools and implements too numerous to mention.” Thanks to Paula Wells, who has the original auction notice, for providing me with a photocopy.

stayed on as a tenant: After a hearing on July 17, 1939, George’s license to sell milk was revoked by the state milk control board on August 3, for selling milk below the fixed price. George appealed the order on August 22, and sought to have his license re-issued (*North Adams Transcript*, 23 August 1939).

to the larger farm: She had apparently decided to pass on some of her property to her children, for in 1942 she transferred title to the house on Park Street to her daughter, Sara. Albert Bachand was a tenant at Foxcroft Farm in the 1920s and ’30s—see the Bachand Family website.

62 *mostly for storage:* Albert Cummings Jr. was born in 1894. Albert Cummings III (1930–2010) remembered that Charlie Brookman (Phyllis Brookman Oleson’s cousin), then about twenty, was the lead carpenter on the job.

and for the trout: When examined in April 2009 most of the dam was washed away, probably as a result of high water in the spring some years earlier.

to keep the grass short: A June 1940 aerial photo of Williamstown shows a cleared area extending north and east from the Tenney house.

to pick blueberries: In 1948 the Taconic Hiking Club began work on the 29-mile long Taconic Crest Trail.

that branch off of it: Taconic Stables operated from 1954 to 1974. George also joined in the trail rides of the “Hobbyhorsemen,” a local group of men who rode up to the Taconic Crest several times a summer, especially to pick blueberries. George, son of Harry and Caroline George, was born in 1901 on the family farm on Berlin Road and lived there until the family moved to North Adams in 1919.

63 *in the early 1980s:* Bill Stinson reports seeing pits of quicksand—a brilliant blue clay the consistency of grease—beside the brook up in Treadwell Hollow and also below the garden at his farm. On one occasion he too went in up to his thighs.
perhaps as early as 1952: The house appears in the 1950 directory as “Sanborn Tenny [sic] sum res,” but in the 1952, 1954, and 1957 editions as “Vacant, sum res.” (Directories are sometimes mistaken.) It was also in 1954 that the Tenneys made a new survey of all their lands, perhaps preparatory to their first sale of land in 1955.

downstream from the camp: The deal was struck with Andy Garrison, who arranged to have the work done by Lee Hammond, who later ran Garrison’s Mobil station and small restaurant (Soup ’n Such) at the site of the A-frame Bakery across from the former Taconic Restaurant on Cold Spring Road. Jim George remembers seeing Hammond’s logging operation when he rode horseback in Treadwell Hollow in the mid-to-late 1960s. Bill Rice, who lived at Peace Valley Farm in the 1960s, and Dick George (b. 1941), who has long hunted deer in Treadwell Hollow, confirm that the sawmill was located on the left of Treadwell Hollow Road, just before the side road to Berlin Road. (Jim and Dick George, cousins, are descendants of the Arthur and Harry George who once lived on Berlin Road.). Remains of the sawmill were visible in 1973, when Christian Curtis, a Williams student, lived in the Peace Valley farmhouse.

64 *the right of access:* As reported in the *North Adams Transcript* for Sept. 5 and 29, 1962. At the same time the commissioners formally “abandoned” the end of Berlin Road and the section of Bee Hill Road between Route 2 and Berlin Road. On September 25, 1962 (Berkshire County records, 21–227) the county recorded the “conversion” of the road “from public to private.”

with Hart Rice: The Rices remained at Peace Valley Farm until the fall of 1972, when Hart Rice, then eighty years old, found he could no longer keep up the farm. (He died in April 1973.)

Petersburg Pass ski area: Francis (“Tank”) Wilson and Gilbert Devy opened Petersburg Pass ski area in 1962 and operated until 1967, when they sold it to Joseph Deliso, who closed it in 1969.

even through the winter: With a Land Rover, he was able to drive up to the Tenney house. While living in Treadwell Hollow from 1966 to 1968 Jenkins taught biology at Berkshire Community College in Pittsfield (*Bennington Banner* Nov. 9, 1971). In later years he became a well-known field naturalist. According to Laney Langtry, Jenkins lived rent-free, in exchange for caretaking and repairs.

map of their lands: “Plan Showing Lands in Williamstown, Massachusetts, belonging to Sarah Griswold Tenney, Sarah T. Tenney, Sanborn G. Tenney, Jr., and John Wool Griswold Tenney, dated May 1954, Scale 1” = 400’.” (This plan is now on file in the Registry of Deeds.)

“Taconic Trail State Park”: Earl George rented the farm from the Tenneys from about 1939 until 1954, when he and his family moved out. It seems probable that at that point Sanborn Tenney sought to find a new tenant but failed to do so. On July 20, 1955, the state authorized the Department of Natural Resources to acquire land from Tenney, and the sale was completed on December 22, 1955. Later the state tore down the farm buildings. (According to Bill Stinson, the barn had already burned.) Art Lafave remembers that he and Dick George (who grew up there) used to play hide-and-seek with old cars on the abandoned farm about 1956.

additions to the state park: In her December 1961 will Sarah G. Tenney left most of her estate, including land, to her daughter Sara (Sally). The sale of the 213 and 368 acres was completed on Sept. 23, 1970. The 368-acre parcel included land bought

from Cynthia Wheeler and from John and Bridget Fleming in April 1905, the Flemings in 1909, and George Walker in 1912.

65 *including the farm, to Bloedel:* The Tenney-to-Bloedel sale was concluded on 29 May 1973 (Registry of Deeds, Book 674, 964). Sally Tenney, who had returned to Williamstown in the mid 1950s to care for her mother, was now freed of responsibility for both family and land—and at the age of sixty-three she married, and moved away to join her husband in Auburn, New York. (In 1991, some years after his death, she returned to Williamstown.)

preserving wildlife habitat: Bloedel is Pamela Weatherbee’s brother. One of his plans was to re-introduce beaver to Treadwell Hollow.

repairs to the farmhouse: See the Dec. 7, 1976 “Plan of Land to be Conveyed to William Stinson.” The Bloedel-to-Stinson sale was concluded on 28 December 1976 (Book 674, 964).

66 *remain in the family:* Part of it owned by Sarah Tenney (who lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts), and part by Margaret Tenney Brett, widow of John Tenney.

up the hollow on horseback: Until it became too dangerous for horses to cross the rusted-out culverts. Recreational horseback riders have used the trails around Berlin Pass at least since the early 1950s, when the Grafton Trail Riders began their annual fall “Over the Mountain” ride from Grafton, New York, over Berlin Pass to Oblong Road in Williamstown. (Since about 1987 the “OTM ride” has begun at the state line and headed west, back to Grafton.)

took the tires away: Thanks to Mick McAlpine, Nancy Rice Bassi, and Bill Rice for this report.

was badly damaged: Danny Campbell, who hiked in Treadwell Hollow as a teenager from about 1968 to 1971, remembers that the house was then still in good shape.

the old plaster walls: Names include Bratcher and McCarthy, with the dates 1977 and 1979.

67 *(to provide manure):* Earl George, who needed more room for dairy cows than was available at Peace Valley Farm, gave up dairy farming at Foxcroft Farm in 1941. There was a small dairy operation at the Holt Farm (further down the Taconic Trail) in the 1940s, but they gave it up in the 1950s, as they advanced in age. The only dairy farm in the immediate area still operating is Cricket Creek on Oblong Road.

and early '30s: Henry Rosenburg, born in 1858 in Petersburg, was living in Williamstown as a farm laborer in 1880. By 1887 he had started a family, and was living on Berlin Road in 1910.

remainder of his holdings: Floyd Rosenburg and his brother Harry lived on Petersburg Road in the early 1930s. Floyd Rosenburg’s daughters are Helen Rosenburg Kaiser, Lila Rosenburg Stanton, and Jean Rosenburg Wimpenny. (Jean Wimpenny built her house herself.) Floyd’s son, also named Floyd, lived on Berlin Road for a time in the 1970s with his nine children. A fourth house was once owned by Floyd’s brother, John Rosenburg. A fifth, long gone, was owned and occupied by Floyd’s sister Minnie (b. 1903) and her husband Charlie Russell, who moved there from Petersburg Road.

logged in 1995–97: The south side of Berlin Mountain, then belonging to the Carmelite Fathers, was logged in 1968.

68 *another parcel from Harry Haskins:* Haskins reserved the right to make seasonal use of a one-room cabin off the Berlin Pass Road as a hunting camp.

operated only intermittently: In 1972, under the ownership of Mark Raimer, Petersburg Pass ski area re-opened as Taconic Trails and later as Mount Raimer.

moved the lift to Brodie Mountain: According to weather records maintained by Williams College, average snowfall in Williamstown during the period 1960–1972 was 80 inches per year, in the period 1973–80 only 59 inches per year. The total for December 1979 and January 1980 was only 5.5 inches. The lack of snow hurt Taconic Trails ski area too: Raimer declared bankruptcy in 1979. In the early 1980s the ski lodge (built in 1972 after the first lodge burned down) was briefly operated as a night club until it too burned down on May 9, 1983.

on the ski hill expire: Thanks to Jeff Jones and Steve Klass, of Williams College, for providing access to the college’s files on

its Berlin Road property.

earlier from Harry Haskins: The Haskins hunting camp off the Berlin Pass Road still stands, intact and weather-proof, and probably used by hunters. Perhaps 10 feet by 20 feet, with two sets of bunk beds, sink and drain, table and chairs. It formerly had a wood-burning stove, which has been removed.

Williamstown Rural Lands Foundation: Williamstown Rural Lands Foundation was instrumental in facilitating the preservation of 630 acres at Petersburg Pass in 1987.

down to Berlin Road: Mountain bikers are still occasionally seen on the Berlin Pass Road.

Chapter 4: A Short History of Flora's Glen

- 70** *usually called "the gully":* Perry, *Origins in Williamstown* (1904), 19.
lower end of the glen: J. H. Coffin, *A Map of Williamstown* (1843); H. F. Walling, *Map of the County of Berkshire* (1858).
- 71** *1889 Walker map:* F. W. Beers, *County Atlas of Berkshire, Massachusetts* (1876); Alexander Walker, *A Map of Williamstown, Mass.* (1889).
unusual enough to be mentioned: *Williams Quarterly*, vol. 14, n. 3 (April 1867), 192, 193.
- 72** *generally called "the gully":* In a letter to the *North Adams Transcript*, Dec. 28, 1926, 9.
"the Gulley-Brook": Shand to Taft, *North Berkshire Registry of Deeds*, Book 142, 169.
sold land in April 1796: Thomas Melody, of Richmond, to Ithamar Briggs, 23 April 1796. See Middle Berkshire County Land Records, Grantee Index, Vol. 34, 610. He and his wife Mary had two sons, James B., born in Williamstown December 10, 1796, and George H., born in Richmond, Massachusetts, in 1798. See *Vital Records of Williamstown to 1850*, for the birth of James and the death of Mary. See the online family tree of Mark Winfield Stevens for further details. Melody appears on the 1810 Massachusetts census (156) as living in Williamstown.
mostly along the Hoosic River: Land purchases: 1797 (recorded in the Registry of Deeds, Bk. 6, p. 73), 1798 (#6–347), 1799 (#6–431), 1800 (#7–94); 1805 (#10–303, half of the 60-ac. Lot 34; #11–191; and #11–581). Land sales: 1803 (#9–437), 1804 (11–193); 1830 (#36–219); 1832 (9–183).
"Malady Hollow": Keyes Danforth, *Boyhood Reminiscences* (1895), 37.
of Melody's name: A Thomas Malady is included in a list of landowners in 1798, as owning a lot of forty perches (Arthur Latham Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College* [1899], 271). Thomas Malady also one of a small number of proprietors of a new waterworks in Williamstown in 1795 (*Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1794–95* [1896], 438).
- 73** *northeast of Troy, in 1800:* The name was not uncommon. In 1830 there was a free black "Prince Jackson" living in Watervliet, and another black "Prince Jackson" living in Schaghticoke as head of a family (Carter Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the U. S in 1830* [1925], 84, 105).
he was a runaway slave: *North Adams Transcript*, December 28, 1926, and January 6, 1927.
Albany and Saratoga areas: Grace Greylock Niles, *The Hoosac Valley, Its Legends and its History* (1912), 416. Slavery, long outlawed in Massachusetts, was still legal in New York State. Danforth (157) says most of the blacks in White Oaks "came from New York state when slavery was abolished there."
latter half of the nineteenth century: Brooks's version of Jackson's story (293), presented as if it were a documentary account by an eyewitness in 1839, is in fact based on Danforth and Niles, updated for the sensibilities of the mid-twentieth-century reader. It has no independent authority.
a short-term hired man: Living with him and his wife is Phebe Crosswell, age sixty. Edward Jackson, by then eighteen years old, has either died or has moved out on his own.

- 74** *a shack in the woods*: Stephen Maynard lived in such a place off Berlin Road after his house burned about 1900.
- 1844 visit to Williamstown*: William Cullen Bryant says nothing of Flora's Glen in an 1859 letter, in response to a question about his recollections of Williams (Calvin Durfee, *History of Williams College* [1860], 106–9).
- grazing and even cultivating*: See the hand-drawn map of Williamstown woodlots by John Mills, *A Map of the Town of Williamstown* (1830), bound into a volume in the Massachusetts state archives.
- Ford's Glen in 1863–65*: They also traveled to “Birch Glen”—maybe the one near Waitsfield, Vermont—and “Prospect Glen”—not located. See Samuel Scudder, “The Alpine Club of Williamstown, Massachusetts,” in *Appalachia* [journal of the Appalachian Mountain Club], vol. 4 (1886), 45–54. The Alpine Club was founded in 1863 with the encouragement of Williams College Professor Albert Hopkins.
- Williams College Class of 1855*: Horace E. Scudder, *Life and Letters of David Coit Scudder* (1864), 24.
- “chronicler” of the Alpine Club*: Brooks guessed that it was “a fancy name of academic origin” (29)—probably his euphemism for “made up by a Williams professor.” G. G. Niles (503) says Hopkins assigned fanciful names to parts of Greylock. Other possible candidates are Prof. John Bascom (1827–1911) and Prof. A. L. Perry (1830–1905).
- 75** *“the Glen (on Greylock)*: When he gathered and revised the articles for a book to be entitled *The Mountains and the Months: Sketches from the White Oaks of Scenery and Scenes in Northern Berkshire*, he planned to dedicate it to the Alpine Club, and refers to “. . . glens & forests & mountains” as making up the local scenery.
- “Wizard's Glen” (Pittsfield)*: As well as “Icy Glen” in Stockbridge (now more commonly known as Ice Glen). See *Taghconic* (1852), by J. E. A. Smith, but attributed to “Godfrey Greylock.” Cf. “Diana's Bath,” a pool in Buxton Brook, just above its confluence with Hemlock Brook—named by Amos Lawrence Hopkins (nephew of Albert Hopkins) in the 1880s or after (according to Art Rosenburg).
- began about this time*: Perhaps prompted by Bryant's reputation as a “passionate botanist . . . who knew the name of every tree, flower, and spire of grass,” according to his friend Colonel Ralph Taylor. Some of his best-known poems were about flowers: “The Yellow Violet,” “The Fringed Gentian,” “The Death of Flowers.” In his newspaper columns Hopkins quoted Bryant's poem “Autumn Woods.”
- in the Williams Quarterly*: Vol. 12 (May 1866), 245–49.
- 76** *“canopy of leaves o'erhead”*: The author may well be Charles J. Woodbury, Class of 1866, one of the four editors of the *Quarterly*.
- “since it inspired Bryant”*: *Bryant Memorial Meeting of the Century* (1878), 20. Richard Henry Stoddard, in *Bryant's Poetical Works* (1903), citing the *Bryant Homestead-Book* (1870), argues it was composed in Cummington. (See M. E. Sherman, *A Day in Williamstown* [1915], 42.) See also Tremaine McDowell, who established in 1930 that Bryant wrote the first draft of the poem in the fall of 1811, after leaving Williams, while walking in the hills of Cummington (“The Genesis of ‘Thanatopsis,’” *New England Quarterly*, vol. 21 [1948], 163–84). See stories and letters to the editor of the *New York Times* (Aug. 14, 1927, Aug. 31, Sept 18) about “Thanatopsis” and Flora's Glen.
- “in the balance of belief”*: *Williams Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 3 (April 1867), 192, 193.
- 77** *(a famous poem by Wordsworth)*: *Talks with R. W. Emerson* (1890), 44. It is possible that the walk took place on a return visit after 1865: Woodbury says (5) he met Emerson occasionally over the next five years, i.e., 1865–1870.
- “removed to Flora's Glen”*: Members of the Class of 1879 were “under suspicion” (as reported in the *North Adams Transcript*, June 9, 1927, in a story about events “50 years ago today”).
- a drawing or a photograph*: N. H. Eggleston's *Williamstown and Williams College* (1884), an 1893 book on *Picturesque Berkshire*, an 1896 collection of rural sketches entitled *Under the Trees and Elsewhere*, a 1906 book on *Historic Homes of Berkshire County*, the 1910 *Pathfinder to Greylock*, and the 1912 Niles book on *The Hoosac Valley*.

for the literary tourist: N. H. Eggleston's *Williamstown and Williams College* (1884), an 1893 book on *Picturesque Berkshire*, an 1896 collection of rural sketches entitled *Under the Trees and Elsewhere*, a 1906 book on *Historic Homes of Berkshire County*, the 1910 *Pathfinder to Greylock*, and the 1912 Niles book on *The Hoosac Valley*.

"are numerous enough": *Williamstown, the Berkshire Hills, and Thereabout* (1890), 35. This reputation lingered: cf. a blank verse poem by George Lansing Raymond (Professor of Elocution, Rhetoric, and Aesthetics at Williams)—"No wait at Flora's Glen; no word to hint / Her modest welcome and her wanton wiles! / They seldom lured me in the past. . .", *The Mountains About Williamstown* (1913), 49; Brooks (29) says that in the 1920s Flora's Glen was still a place for "amorous dalliance."

as late as 1927: *Appleton's Illustrated Handbook of American Summer Resorts* (1893), 97; W. H. Phillips, *Pathfinder to Greylock Mountain, the Berkshire Hills, and Historic Bennington* (1910), 129; M. E. Sherman, *A Day in Williamstown* (1915), 42; H. F. Cleland, *Geological Excursions in the Vicinity of Williams College* (1916); *A Handbook of New England*, 2nd ed. (1917), 428; John T. Paris, *Seeing the Eastern States* (1922), 75; *Beautiful Berkshires* 3rd ed. (1927), produced by the Lenox Garden Club. Phillips and Paris report that the name is now "Thanatopsis Glen."

- 78** *"faintly unpleasant"*: *North Adams Transcript*, July 3, 1896; *Public Documents of Massachusetts* (1897), 362; *Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts* (1897), 76; *Public Documents of Massachusetts* (1899), 362; No problems were reported in the 1902 inspections (*Public Documents of Massachusetts* [1903], 161).
- 79** *fell in but was rescued*: Private communication in 2009 from Rita Hoar (1925–2012) to the author.
"the former reservoir": March 30, 1942, Registry of Deeds, Bk. 440, 1; *North Adams Transcript*, June 30, 1942.
- 80** *Williams students and faculty*: See a Feb. 10, 1979 letter from Barry Wolff to George Brockway, in the John William Miller Papers, Series 4, folder 9, Williams College Archives.
- 81** *up the left-hand bank*: *Mountains of Eph* (1927), 16, 46–47.
leading into Flora's Glen: *Massachusetts: A Guide to its Places and People* (1927), 389.
dairy farm on Glen Street: *North Adams Transcript*, Phyllis Cuyler story, 1955.
- 82** *allow skiers to cross*: A photograph of the bridge can be seen in the Williams College Archives.
and the New York Times: *Transcript*, Feb. 23, 1968; *New York Times*, Dec. 17, 1961; Feb. 9, 1975.

Chapter 6: Captain and Corporal

- 92** *served as a hospital chaplain*: He served from 1861 to 1864 as chaplain in the United States Army Hospital in Alexandria, Virginia, and from May 1864 as field chaplain for the 120th New York.
rare birds he had spotted: Walter Faxon and Ralph Hoffman, *The Birds of Berkshire County, Massachusetts* (1900).
"best college songs": Marcus Benjamin, *Archibald Hopkins—A Sketch Only* (1927).
with blue eyes: From Hopkins' official military file, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
first cousin Edward: The St. Anthony Lodge had not yet been built.
- 93** *"are going to the war"*: A letter to his father, April 28, 1861. For studies of student attitudes toward the war, see the Williams College honors theses by James H. Stone (1948) and Joseph Masters (2001), in the Williams College Archives.
no doubt with various motives: Benjamin says 24 of 56—maybe he refers to those who graduated with the class. Materials in the Williams College Archives say 34 served, including one for the CSA. Four died.
"long live the Republic!": Armstrong Papers, Williams College Archives. Armstrong would later decide that he was fighting for principle—not to preserve the Union, but to free the slaves.

in the same mixed ways: Hopkins's father, although very anxious for the safety of his three sons, Archibald, Harry, and Laurence, who served in several different regiments, had by 1864 become convinced that it was a just war to destroy slavery, and that this was God's will. See April 2 and April 13 letters to his son Laurence (Hopkins Family Papers, Williams College Archives).

37th Massachusetts Volunteers: The commission has descended in the Hopkins family.

94 *a brigade in the field*: The 2nd Brigade (4 regiments) of the 3rd Division (commanded by Brig. Gen. A. A. Humphreys) of General Fitz John Porter's V Corps. The brigade served in the field, but Briggs himself was too ill to join them, and the brigade was led by Colonel Peter Allabach from the 13th PA.

home by Christmas: October 10, 1862, in "Letters from the Civil War Front," a set of Hopkins' letters published after his death by his wife in *Military Engineer*, cc., No. 112 (July–August 1928), 330.

suffered heavy casualties: At Fredericksburg Daniel Butterfield replaced Porter, and Humphreys's division was part of Hooker's Center Grand Division. Gen. Humphreys personally led the charge when his division was ordered to attack the deadly stone wall. The attack got to within 50 yards of the stone wall, where the division retreated. The brigade suffered 581 casualties—24%—including five staff officers.

saw no action: 1st Division, I Corps.

serving on a general's staff: He received \$267.50 for two months in 1863.

come visit them: Mark Hopkins's letters to his son Harry, in the Hopkins Family Papers, Williams College Archives, give some account of Archibald Hopkins during the war.

95 *"ready for more"*: Letter of November 13, 1862, in "Letters from the Civil War Front."

from sunstroke: August 4, 1864 letter.

in charge of Company A: He had been transferred to Company A on June 3, 1863. It was not uncommon for an officer to be transferred from one company to another to fill a vacancy.

head of the Shenandoah Valley: See the Sept. 21, 1864 letter to his mother from Winchester, published in a contemporary newspaper (in *Records of the Williams College Class of 1862*, vol. VI).

96 *there until December*: In November Hopkins was granted fifteen days' leave to procure winter clothing and to visit Williamstown. His father reported to Laurence that Archibald was in Williamstown on December 6 and 7 (Hopkins Family Papers).

he was the senior captain: Colonel Edwards had become Brigade Commander, his successor Lieutenant-Colonel Montague resigned March 3, 1865, his successor Lieutenant-Colonel Rufus Lincoln was on staff duty, and Major Mason Tyler (the next in line) had been wounded and disabled at the capture of Fort Fisher on January 15, 1865.

"storming of the works": James L. Bowen, *History of the 37th Massachusetts Volunteers* (1884) 420.

Little Sailor's Creek: The brevet commissions have descended in the Hopkins family.

97 *"full colonel's rank"*: April 14, 1865 letter. On April 30, 1865, Hopkins was transferred to Co. C, and finished the war with that company.

at the end of the war: The commissions as major (dated 19 May 1865) as lieutenant-colonel (dated 26 June) have descended in the Hopkins family. As Bowen notes (67), with the war over, Hopkins was never mustered in the new rank[s]."

historically black institutions: Armstrong offered Hopkins a job in March 1867. See the March 8, 1867 Armstrong-to-Hopkins letter, one of some three dozen (dating from 1860 to 1892) in the Armstrong Papers in the Williams College Archives. Armstrong had led 8th US Colored Troops at Petersburg. Hopkins then served for a short time with General John Schofield, military governor of Virginia, doing other Reconstruction work. Armstrong also hired their Williams classmate

William (Billy) Ball, who had served in the 25th NY Cavalry, and shared housing with two other classmates, one of whom was Edward William Schaufler, who had been a military surgeon.

speaking in court: Free Thought, vol. 18, 1900, 719. By 1870 he was practicing at Fowler & Hopkins, at 31, 33 Pine Street, New York City (*Williams Biographical Annals* [1871]). Horace Webster Fowler was a Columbia classmate who in 1864–65 had been in the 16th NY Artillery and then Provost-Marshal at Yorktown.

in Washington, D.C.: Nott also had a house in Williamstown.

prominent Massachusetts family: She was born June 7, 1851, and died Sept. 6, 1935.

they had four children: Charlotte, called “Charlie” (1879–c.1960), Mary (1880–1912), Amos Lawrence, called “Larry” (1882–1964), and Archibald Jr. (1884–89). The family lived at 1826 Massachusetts Avenue.

98 *“do something” for the college:* Including several whom he had known as an undergraduate. See Hopkins to Carter, Feb. 2 and Feb. 19, 1881, in the Hopkins Family Papers.

old friend Samuel Armstrong: “General Armstrong: A Poem,” *Southern Workman*, XXXV, no. 1 (January 1907).

(and a Williams graduate): The Green Bag, vol. XI, no. 6 (June 1899), 245–51. A collection of his *Patriotic and Occasional Verse* was published posthumously in 1927.

99 *played a signal role:* Published first in *Harper’s Weekly Journal*, vol. XLI, No. 2093 (Jan. 30, 1897), and reprinted in *The War of the Sixties* (1912) and after his death in *Military Engineer*, 14, no. 105 (1927).

entitled Free Thought: Vol. 14 (April 1896), pp. 205–23.

“The Story Critically Analyzed”: The letter was published on May 15, 1896, and generated an exchange of letters on May 27, May 31, and June 10.

“from Christian superstition”: *Free Thought*, vol. XVIII (1900), p. 672. The book’s full title is *The Apostles’ Creed, An Analysis of its Clauses, with Reference to their Credibility*. It was reprinted in 1902 by the American Unitarian Association. Hopkins had not abandoned religion altogether, but had reduced it to rationally-derived ethics: he wrote that “right conduct and true brotherliness” are the “two most important elements of religion” (iv).

rolled over in his grave: An early reader remarked on the “great change of views between the father and the son” (*Free Thought*, vol. 18 [1900], 422).

a new modern one: Book of Berkshire (1887), 132. Keyes Danforth, *Boyhood Reminiscences: Pictures of New England Life in the Olden Times in Williamstown* (1895), 37.

“By the Way”: The house was built on the site of an old house belonging to Noah Cook (1790–1873). Its street address (75 South Street) has since been renumbered, as 148. His brother Amos L. Hopkins lived on Northwest Hill Road, his sister Caroline Hopkins Denison (who married his Williams classmate, John Denison) owned a house in what is now Denison Park, and his sister Alice Hopkins Nott a house called “Camarina.”

forty-one years of service: Reports from the Court of Claims. Term of 1916–17, 1918. See also printed remarks collected in *Records of the Williams Class of 1862*, vol. VI (Williams College Archives).

100 *on its executive committee:* He served on the board of the Associated Charities for thirty years. Other boards included the Garfield Hospital, where he was a director; the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; the Legal Aid Society; the Washington Society of Fine Art; the Washington Academy of Science.

“Proposals for a Constitutional Party”: In the *Constitutional Review*, vol VII, no. 3 (1923), 161–66, published by the National Association for Constitutional Government.

founder, Ephraim Williams: A photo of the procession was published in *Williams College in the World War* (1926), 96. The original is in the Williams College Archives.

entertain visiting dignitaries: New York Tribune, August 6, 1922, iv, 3.

of the 37th Massachusetts: According to an obituary, he had been “in delicate health” for some time prior to his death.

- 101** *Arlington National Cemetery*: He was survived by his wife and his son Amos Lawrence Hopkins. His wife, who died in 1935, was buried beside him at Arlington.

between 1825 and 1828: On census forms Welch himself reported 1825. *Massachusetts Death Records* says 1828.

Margaret (Burgoyne) Welch: Familysearch.org; 1992 clipping; pension records.

at the age of thirteen: His 1861 newspaper ad refers to “experience of twenty years” as a shoemaker.

married and had moved to Williamstown: She married Thomas McVee (or McVea), born c. 1825, in Schaticoke, New York, in 1838. Their daughter Maria later married Patrick White, who also served in Welch’s Civil War regiment (the 37th Massachusetts).

marry a Williamstown man: Bridget married John Sullivan, who served in the 31st Massachusetts and was killed in 1864. He and Bridget are buried in Eastlawn Cemetery.

Harriet Ann Cutter: She was born in 1824.

who died soon after: Harriet (the mother) died February 5, 1847.

“shoemaker” in Williamstown: *Vital Records of Williamstown*.

“sewed calf-skin garments”: *The Berkshire Hills: A Historic Monthly*, vol. 1, no. 10 (June 1, 1901).

Julia C. Curtis, of Pownal: They were married in Pownal on 12 September 1848 (*Vital Records*). She was born c. 1838.

born in Williamstown in 1849: November 23, 1849.

- 102** *moved to Adams*: *Vital Records*. An 1850 census form shows a Richard and Julia Welch living in Adams, with eight-month-old daughter Mary E.

born in Adams: January 25, 1852.

many of them Irish: The 1850 census shows a Richard Welch living in Pittsfield with Alice Welch and two children, including Mary E.

Mary and Byron: Some documents say the date of the divorce was 1862.

justice of the peace in Pownal: Lydia, born in Savoy in 1832–33 to Elijah Turner and Polly Raymond, was in 1850 living with her father and her siblings in Williamstown, or possibly in Adams. In 1860, when she was twenty-seven, she was living on her own in Williamstown—or possibly with the Turner family.

Masonic Lodge in North Adams: Welch’s name appears in the records of the Lafayette Lodge. He was “raised”—that is, he attained the third degree, and became a full member of the Lodge, on March 9, 1857. He remained a member for fifteen years, and received an honorable withdrawal—he was “demitted”—on June 3, 1872.

- 103** *as dependents in 1862*: Two ledgers of payments made by the town to support the families of Civil War soldiers, preserved in Town Hall, list Welch’s wife and the two children as dependants in 1862.

some unspecified infraction: On March 20, 1863.

in charge of military police: He was arrested on October 23, 1863.

on January 1, 1865: The promotion was back-dated to November 1, 1864.

- 104** *“to reach a northern camp”*: Newspaper clipping from “The Berkshire Hills,” June 1, 1901. A copy of the clipping is in the Williamsown Historical Museum.

Spotsylvania and Winchester: Copies of Welch’s very brief military service record (including his medical record and regimental muster rolls) have been deposited by David Primmer at the Williamstown Historical Museum, Box M6A.

“walked back to his place”: From Hopkins’s 19 September 1864 letter to his mother.

- 105** *for “conspicuous bravery”*: Hopkins’ official report, dated 15 April 1865, from *War of the Rebellion*, vol. 46, ser. 1, 945–48. He was also commended for “conspicuous bravery” by the head of the regiment, Colonel Oliver Edwards, and the head of the

brigade, General Frank Wheaton (1st Division, VI Corps).

a thirty-day furlough: From April 19, 1865.

“for capture of flag”: Created in 1861, the Medal of Honor was awarded to 1522 soldiers during the Civil War. Four other soldiers in the 37th Massachusetts also won the medal.

sought to emulate: Sedgwick had commended the 37th Massachusetts after the Battle of Salem Church, near Chancellorsville, in May 1863. At Spotsylvania, while walking boldly in the open among his troops, he rallied the men, who were then covering behind walls, by declaring that the Confederates, two hundred yards away, “could not hit an elephant at this distance.” He was instantly killed by a sniper’s bullet to the head.

in Williamstown in 1871: He served no more than two years. He was not a member of the reorganized Post 209 when it was re-founded in 1891.

106 *lost a young son*: On December 2.

to predecease him: She died December 1, 1891. The Carrie Welch who was working at the Berkshire Mill in North Adams, and apparently unmarried at the age of thirty-three, when she lost part of a finger in a milling-machine accident (*North Adams Transcript*, August 19, 1899), may have been Welch’s daughter.

107 *racist views of his day*: Newspaper clipping in Williamstown Historical Museum.

“instead of away from it”: Obituary in the *Hoosac Valley News*, March 17, 1894. See also the *North Adams Transcript*, March 15, 1894.

“on to the east bound track”: *Fitchburg Daily Sentinel*, March 13, 1894, 2, col. 2.

in Eastlawn Cemetery: *North Adams Transcript*, March 23, 1894. He is buried in Lot #30, in the “old section.”

Lydia, Byron, and Mary survived him: A Byron Welch was living in Albany in 1901, with at least three daughters: one died in late August of that year, and while she was being laid out on Sept. 1, a second (eleven months old) died when she was accidentally given embalming fluid to drink—she was thirsty, and her eleven-year-old sister gave her a bowl of what she thought was water. Mary married William Darbishire in 1885, when she was thirty-five. She had at least three children (who predeceased her), was divorced by 1900, and died of TB in 1902 at the age of fifty-two (census records).

reduced to \$8 per month: A copy of the substantial pension application filed by Lydia, Pension Application No. 597448, Certification Number 576254, Case Files of Approved Pension Applications, 1861–1934; Civil War; Dept. of Veterans Affairs, Record Group 15, National Archives, can be found in the Williamstown Historical Museum, Box M6A.

“Congress for bravery”: *Hoosac Valley News*.

“in Northern Berkshire”: *Berkshire Hills*, June 1, 1901.

winning the medal: *Williamstown: The First Two Hundred Years* (1953), 370.

Chapter 7: The Hoosic and the Ohio

111 *to the west somewhat easier*: Until the completion of a railroad link in the 1850s the trip, via stagecoach, canal boat, steamboat, and stagecoach again, could take nine or ten days.

Harriet Beecher Stowe: As Lyman Beecher explained in a fund-raising eastern tour, the mission of Lane was to bring education and “moral culture” to “the West” (already being settled by Roman Catholic immigrants) through Presbyterian ministers trained in a western seminary (*A Plea for the West* [1835], 13, 24). He did not need to say that the young men who entered the seminary would be graduates of New England colleges. Henry Ward Beecher graduated from Amherst in 1834, and attended Lane Seminary from 1834 until 1837.

between 1839 and 1873: Among them were Williams graduates from the Classes of 1839, 1841, 1844, 1854 (2), 1855, 1856,

1863, 1865, and 1873.

Presbyterian churches in Cincinnati: David Down Gregory, Class of 1827, Pastor of Tabernacle Presbyterian Church from about 1847 to 1853; Willis Lord, Class of 1833, Pastor of Seventh Presbyterian Church, 1850–54; the Rev. Even Halley, Class of 1864, Pastor of First (Seventh St.) Congregational Church, 1869–77; and Edward Trumbull Lee, Class of 1879, Pastor of Second Presbyterian Church, 1895–1902.

- 112** *Cincinnati public schools*: Son of Edwin Hurlburt, a farmer, and Sarah Ingersoll Hurlburt (*Vital Records of Lee*). He later spelled his name “Hurlbut.”

starting as a teacher: John Shotwell, *History of the Schools of Cincinnati* (1902), 13.

third president of Williams: Griffin was the third choice of the trustees—the first two candidates declined the offer.

for many years as a trustee: From 1849 to 1859 and from 1865 to 1872 (*Memorial Address*, 44–45); *Cincinnati Magazine*, May 1988.

- 113** *Bank of Commerce King’s Pocket-Book of Cincinnati* (1879), 55.

Mrs. Bullock was president: *Cincinnati, the Queen City*, IV, 235, 371, 381.

fashionable part of town: *Suburbs of Cincinnati*, 108.

- 114** “*fine country homes*” there: “Social Life of Prominent Families of the Past,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 10, 1923.

newly invented telephone: See the brief paragraph on Bullock in a newspaper article entitled “1888–1889. Prominent Business Men of Cincinnati. A Souvenir of Our City’s Prosperity During Her Centennial Year” (*Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, Jan. 31, 1889).

any other person there: Published in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* on Dec. 5 (and reprinted in the *New York Times* on Dec. 10).

- 115** *the old Sherman farm*: The 1885 *Gazetteer of Berkshire County* says A. D. Bullock lives on “r 19”—perhaps the Sherman farm on Glen Street. In 1889 Bullock had some landscaping done at his “cottage” by the contractor, A. J. Daniels (*Transcript*, 7–11–89). In “Social Life” there is a photograph of what is said to be the “sun parlor at Greylock . . . the Bullock Home,” but this may in fact be a photograph of a sun parlor at the Greylock Hotel.

Williamstown Aquaduct Company: In 1883 (Bk. 162, 569) he bought the “Cold Spring” from John W. and Kate Sherman, of Cold Spring Road, and the right “to build a reservoir and lay pipes to the spring.” Also in 1883 he bought the old “Torrey [mill] Pond” on Hemlock Brook, off Cold Spring Road (on what was once called Snyder Avenue, apparently the same as the “Mill Road” connecting Cold Spring Road and West Main Street), and announced plans to clean out the pond, repair the dam, and make a “pleasure pond and a convenient place to gather ice in winter” (*North Adams Transcript*, Oct. 11 and 18, 1883).

in its four stories: Unlike the previous Mansion House, built in the late eighteenth century, the new building was “boxlike,” with a flat roof, and without “embellishments” (Vanderpoel Adriance, *New Foundations* [1940]). It did not prosper in the 1870s, and was sold in 1882 at sheriff’s auction, and quickly resold to two Williamstown men, Keyes Danforth and C. G. Sanford.

to act as his agents: He bought the Kellogg House on November 1, 1887 (Bk. 182, 575) from Charles Sanford for \$12,200, and the Mansion House and three acres on Feb. 18, 1889 for \$27,900 (Bk. 187, 263).

- 116** *two lots on Spring Street*: Danforth (*Boyhood Reminiscences*, 127) reports that Bullock bought a lot on the east side of South Street (near Main Street) from the estate of C. R. Taft and took down the old house on it, perhaps to improve the view from his Taconic Inn.

his many “private charities”: *Transcript*, October 9, 1890.

“99 and 44/100ths percent pure”: See Oscar Schisgall, *Eyes on Tomorrow: The Evolution of Procter & Gamble* (1981) and other company histories.

- 118** *“outlook in the place”*: The guide (47) lists owners of summer homes in Williamstown in 1890 as N. H. Sabin, S. P. Blagden, E. M. Jerome, Amos Lawrence Hopkins, the Rev. Henry Hopkins, Frederick Leake, and F. H. Howland (all of New York), John B. Gale and William H. Doughty of Troy; A. D. Bullock and James W. Bullock of Cincinnati; and S. A. Harrison of Milwaukee. For another list, see the *Book of Berkshire* (1887), 132.
- close to Colonel Bullock’s house*: The purchase of the 160-acre Charles Williams farm, fronting on Green River Road across from Blair Road (Bk. 193, 255), and the Hubbell lot (Bk. 193, 257; see also Bk. 202, 163) took place on the same day, Dec. 5, 1890.
- would have been difficult*: Mark Livingston, *A Portraiture of Stone Hill* (1972, 2nd rev. ed., 1974). There is a photo postcard showing the stone tower on the “Proctor [sic] Farm. Stone Hill” in the House of Local History.
- demolished the fourth*: Adriance, *New Foundations*, 1–2.
- 119** *John B. Gale of Troy*: From 1883 to 1887 Gale bought three farms off Water Street.
- where his father was born*: Adriance (*New Foundations*, 2) says the house was locally nicknamed “the Ivory Palace” (a term that derives ultimately from the “ivory house” or “palace” of wicked King Ahab in I Kings 22. 39—partly, one suspects, because of the origin of Procter’s money, and partly because it was regarded as “pretentious” (2). Danforth simply calls its “palatial” (*Boyhood Reminiscences*, 89).
- 120** *leading members of the summer colony*: The two wardens of the church were full-time residents, Frederick Leake and E. S. Cartwright, but the vestry included several members of the summer colony, including John B. Gale, Amos Lawrence Hopkins, and E. M. Jerome. Procter would later serve as Warden.
- transported to Park Street*: The rector of the church recalled, forty years later, that Procter in the fall of 1895 arranged to have “stones from my fields on Stone Hill” dug up and, in the following winter, carried by “stone boats”—heavy sledges, dragged over the snow—to the building site and stored “for use in the coming spring” (Theodore Sedgwick’s 1935 reminiscences, quoted in *An Informal History of St. John’s Parish* [1995], 17.) Livingstone (“Portraiture”) says the stone came from an old stone wall. But he is probably wrong: the stones were not flat but round—which made things difficult for the builders.
- Trowbridge and Livingston*: He was a near neighbor of E. Parmalee Prentice, who lived at 5 West 53rd Street, and began acquiring property in Williamstown in 1910.
- 121** *both out-of-towners*: William H. Doughty of Troy and Amos Lawrence Hopkins of New York. The town had once had three elected commissioners, but since 1895 the selectmen took responsibility and appointed a road superintendent to act for them.
- four inches of compacted gravel*: According to Brooks, the first auto did not come through Williamstown until 1900, and no town resident owned an auto until 1903 (137).
- having to pay higher taxes*: Defenders (including Judge Sanborn Tenney, Dr. John Bascom, George B. Waterman, P. J. Dempsey, and James Donovan) were generally business and professional people. A number of farmers spoke against it, worried about spending town money.
- was plainly disappointed*: It is not true, as reported by Albert Keep in Brooks’ bicentennial history (275–76), that Procter gave his money to Princeton instead of Williamstown: it was his nephew William Cooper Procter (1862–1934), a Princeton graduate of the Class of 1883, and president of Procter & Gamble from 1907 to 1930, who gave a building at Princeton—Procter Hall—in 1913, with a stained glass window added in 1918 in memory of his parents.
- many horse people*: Procter had apparently been thinking about a move to Lenox as early as 1898, when the architectural firm of Lamb & Rich designed a “project” for Procter in “Williamstown or Lenox, Mass., or Manhattan, N. Y.” (Meacham, *Lamb & Rich, Architects: Buildings and Projects*, no. 334).
- string of twenty-four horses*: According to annual editions of *Mrs. Devereux’s Blue Book of Cincinnati Society* (which was

sometimes slow in recording new information) Procter's summer address was "Orleton" in Williamstown from 1896 until 1901, and Lenox beginning in 1906.

122 *helped broker the deal:* The sale (Bk. 277, 443) was completed on Sept. 7, 1907, for "\$1 and other consideration." Maybe he basically gave the house and land to them.

in the 1890s survive today: They have both been much modified, and are currently owned by Jefferson Strait and Tom Krens.

for the rest of her life: She apparently inherited her father's resentment toward Williamstown. Before 1951 she put her farm on the market "with the express provision that it not be sold to any Williamstown resident" (*North Adams Transcript*, Sept. 11, 1951).

buried in Westlawn Cemetery: Lillie was estranged from their father, Frederick W. Procter (her son), who sued her, claiming a share of his grandmother's estate, and from her son-in-law, Thomas E. Greenwood, who sued her for alienating his wife's affections (*North Adams Transcript*, Sept. 11, 1951). Lillian's gravestone is found in Section B, Lot 169. Greenwood (b. 1950) is the product of her first marriage, to Thomas Greenwood (b. 1922), in 1947. She later married Paul A. Mason.

123 *Harley Procter Phelps Jr.:* He was elected president of the Class of 1943 at Williamstown High School.

Harley Procter Phelps Sr. after him: According to his grandson, Harley Procter Phelps Jr., Cassius Phelps ran a general store in South Williamstown, on the site of the present Bloedel Park, and sometimes worked as an auctioneer. He also started Sweet Brook Farm off Oblong Road, still in the Phelps family, according to the son of Norris Phelps, who was also a grandson of Cassius Phelps.

"forte" was farming: Bullock also reported that he was 5' 11" in height, and weighed 180 pounds, with blue eyes, an up-curving nose, and wore a mustache. He admitted to being a Republican in politics and a Presbyterian in religion. And he played the banjo (*Statistics of the Class of 1881 Williams College* [1881]).

granted his degree in 1883: See *Argo*, vol. 3, 80, on Bullock being "reinstated" in his class, with a degree, in 1883. In the 1905 *General Catalogue* he is listed in one place as a member of 1881, in another as 1883.

124 *section of Cincinnati:* His brother George had had Stickney design a large shingle-style summer house in Oyster Bay (Long Island) in 1894.

Berea College in Kentucky: But he never served, despite reports to the contrary, as a trustee of Williams College.

selling registered horses: In 1891 he bought "Aditha" from John B. Gale and "Lizzie" (*Wallace's Monthly*, vol. 17 [1891], 237, 527. In 1893 he sold "Hiram Abif."

125 *but sold less than he bought:* He bought land on Berlin Road (then called West Road) in 1902 and 1904. He sold land in and near Flora's Glen in 1903 to Sumner Prindle, a lot on Main Street (part of the old Taconic Hotel) to the Alpha Delta Phi fraternity in 1906, a farm on Stone Hill in 1914, and land along Cold Spring Road to Edward Bratcher, in 1917 (Bratcher had served as manager of Bullock's farm, and had named his son William Bullock Bratcher after him.)

from the summer people: But after he built a house in New York in 1903 his name appears regularly in the *New York Social Register*.

across from his barn: *Transcript*, May 11, 1899. (A June 13, 1898 story in the *Transcript* refers to Bullock's "cottage on the Cold Spring Road.")

from George Cluett: June 16, 1925 (Book 350, 571).

surveyed and constructed: On April 14, 1924, Bullock, then in Nice, offered to pay the state \$2000 for damage to Petersburg Mountain Road. (The offer was declined, and the town paid the costs.)

126 *Stetson Reading Room:* He also donated a new 50' hemlock flagpole and flag in 1918 to replace an older pole in front of Chapin Hall—long gone now—and gave a painting to the college. See a 1918 letter from Bullock to Henry D. Wild, Chairman Pro Tem of the faculty, in the Garfield Papers in the college archives, and a 3 October 1918 item in the *Transcript*.

later became its president: During World War I he performed some duties for the Secret Service in the Department of Justice (*Kappa Alpha Record*, 140).

“Bullock Forest Reserve”: The deed is dated June 8, 1925 (Bk. 377, 339). The trust was to be administered by the town’s tree warden, the president of Williams College, and the president of the Williamstown Savings Bank. The trustees arranged for some logging in 1929–30.

128 *born and raised in Cincinnati:* Lamson arrived at Williams in 1938. Bullock sold land on Glen St. in 1929 and on Bee Hill Road in 1939, but still owned property in Williamstown as late as 1957.

rare hairy honeysuckle: “Bullock’s Ledge”—the name appears in print in 1922, but was probably current in the early 1890s—was formerly known as the “John Sherman quarry,” providing stone for five buildings on the Williams College campus, the first of which was what is now called Goodrich Hall (1859) and the last Lasell Gymnasium (1885). By the time Bullock bought it quarrying had ceased. “Bullock’s Ledge” may have been named after a reef off the coast of Spain on which the H. M. S. *Serpent*, a British ironclad, broke up in a famous disaster in November 1890—273 sailors died. (The reef, “Laja del Buey” was translated as “Bullock’s Ledge” in an 1893 book, *The Night of the Gods*.) As late as 1935 the quarry was known as “the Bullock stone quarry” (*North Adams Transcript*, May 10, 1935).

’6 House: Owners of the 1896 House at one point tried to bring back the Bullock name by calling the restaurant “Colonel Bullock’s Tavern.” But the name did not stick. In any case, the building belonged not to Colonel Bullock but to his son: Colonel Bullock died six years before the barn was built.

Williams Alumni Association in Cincinnati: The number of Cincinnati-based graduates went from five in the 1900s to ten in the 1910s and more than fifteen in both the 1920s and 1930s.

129 *of the same high school:* Woodward High School, the top academic high school in the city at the time (James Schwartz, *Fred A. Geier, 1866–1934* [1995], 12).

Mount Auburn Presbyterian Church: Geier joined in 1888 (Schwartz, 20). Hollister and Bullock were elders.

both long-time members: Geier was a member until 1934 (Schwartz, 129).

on the Board of Visitors: Robert Ramsey, Williams Class of 1884, was also on the Board of Visitors. George Hollister had been a trustee of the university for sixteen years, and Howard C. Hollister was Secretary of the University’s Endowment Fund Association from 1905 until at least 1910.

graduated from Williams: Philip Van Ness Myers (Williams, 1868), James W. Rowe (Williams, 1892) or Lauder W. Jones (Williams, 1892), Professor of History and Political Economy and later Dean of the Academic Faculty, Prof. of Medicine, and Professor of Chemistry, respectively. On May 30, 1907, Professor Henry Loomis Nelson, Professor of Political Science at Williams, gave the Phi Beta Kappa address at the University of Cincinnati (*U. C. Record*, vol. 4).

in the fall of 1912: In the summer of 1910 Geier took his family to Maine for vacation. On the way home they drove west through Massachusetts, and made a point of stopping in both North Adams and Williamstown, where they would have had an opportunity to tour the Williams campus (Schwartz, 37). He was not the only Cincinnati freshman to join the Class of 1916 that fall: he was accompanied by Elias Marks, Harold Payne, and J. Adams Payne Jr.

two brothers-in-law: Helen Geier (1895–1986) married Stubby Flynt (1893–1970), Class of 1916, from Massachusetts, and Virginia Geier (1898–1987) married Gilbert McCurdy (1895–1978), Class of 1917, from Rochester.

trustees of the college: Flynt served for eighteen years, including a term, from 1961 to 1963, as the first chair of the newly-formed Executive Committee. Geier joined him on the board in 1953, serving for ten years.

classes of 1937 and 1949: Both were sons of Philip O. Geier, younger brother of Frederick A. Geier.

in Williamstown in the 1930s: Pete was later to run a company formerly controlled by the Bullocks.

130 *two in the 1970s:* Henry N. Flynt, Jr. ’44; his classmate and first cousin Gilbert McCurdy; Fred V. Geier Jr., briefly a

member of the Class of 1945, and James A.D. (“Jimmy”) Geier, second son of Frederick V. Geier, who began with the Class of 1951 but did not finish. Jimmy Geier returned to Cincinnati and went to work for Cincinnati Milling Machine, in time succeeding his cousin Phil as president and CEO. In the second wave were Philip O. Geier III ’70, and his brother Dick ’75 (both sons of Phil Geier ’37), and Rodney Geier, also ’75 (son of Pete Geier). Of the members of the second wave of the second generation, Dick Geier and Rodney Geier returned to their home town.

went to Williams: In the first wave Gilbert K. (Ken) McCurdy ’70 (son of Gilbert McCurdy ’44) and Bill Flynt ’75 (son of Hank Flynt ’44); in the second wave Kate Geier ’00 (daughter of Phil Geier ’70) and Natalie Geier ’05 (daughter of Rodney Geier ’75).

two have recently graduated: Katherine McCurdy ’09 (daughter of Ken McCurdy ’70) and Molly Clark Flynt ’09 (daughter of Bill Flynt ’75).

in Cincinnati in 1952: Jimmy Stone had his own Williams connections. Jacob C. “Jake” Stone (1895–1981), who grew up in North Adams where he peddled newspapers to help support his widowed mother, was a member of the Class of 1914. There Jake became a close friend of his classmate Phinney Baxter (who later became president of Williams). Upon graduation he moved to New York City to become a very successful bond trader and governor of the New York Stock Exchange. He later returned to Williamstown as a Williams trustee (1958–64) and endowed a scholarship at Williams for a student from Berkshire County. All three of Jake’s sons went to Williams: Jimmy was the younger brother of Robert Stone, Williams ’44 and Donald Stone ’46. Also born in New York City, Bob Stone had a long career with NBC, serving as CEO of Hertz and COO of Columbia Pictures. In 1981 he and his second wife Sheila bought a house on Hill Province Road in Williamstown, and in time retired here. He died in 2009, leaving substantial legacies to the Williamstown Youth Center and Williamstown Rural Lands Foundation.

settle in their home town: Suzanne Stone ’76, Thomas Stone ’80, and Margaret (Magoo) Stone ’82. Jimmy Stone is also the father of James R. Stone ’08, by a subsequent marriage. His brother Donald Stone also put two children through Williams, Amy Stone Glenn ’75 and Kate Stone Lombardi ’78. Donald Stone’s granddaughter, Emily Stone Glenn Tucker, and Robert Stone’s granddaughter, Wendy L. Stone, are members of the Classes of ’03 and ’04.

a pair of Williams graduates: Isabel Stone ’09 and Henry Drewyer ’14.

“The center of Reform Judaism”: Jonathan D. Sarna and Nancy H. Klein, *The Jews of Cincinnati* (1989), 1, 15.

the Roths, the Rauhs, and the Freibergs: Jack Leopold Roth ’19, Fred Henry Roth ’21, and Thomas J. Roth ’32 (Jack Roth’s son, Jack L. Roth Jr., was in the Class of ’50); Frederick Rauh ’26 and Richard Rauh ’32; Abram E. Freiberg ’24 and Jacob Walter Freiberg ’32. They were preceded by Elias Marks ’16.

Cincinnati Alumni Association: None of Jewish students from Cincinnati in the ’20s and ’30s belonged to a fraternity. Three (Abram E. Freiburg, J. Walter Freiburg, and Richard Rauh) did not graduate. For evidence that because of anti-Semitism it was not easy to be a Jewish student from Cincinnati at Williams, see the candid memoir of William Ransohoff ’41 in his 50th reunion book in 1991, and Benjamin Wurgaft, *Jews at Williams: Inclusion, Exclusion, and Class at a New England Liberal Arts College* (2013).

131 *from Eastern Europe:* In an unpublished paper (“Legacies and Loyalties: The Class of 1914 and Jewish Life at Williams”) Carrie Greene makes the point that after 1910, when seven Jews began with the Class of 1914, the number of Jews admitted dropped back to its historical norm of 1–2 per year.

and Peter, ’63: Tony died in 2007. Peter, who died in 2010, was a city council member and vice-mayor of Cincinnati.

Williams in the 1990s: Michelle Strauss Ross ’95, Carrie Strauss Dunn ’96, Nicole Strauss ’99; Michael C. Strauss ’94.

headmaster from 1971 to 1977: Yeiser still lives in Cincinnati. His son Charles Jr. was ’67 at Williams, and his daughter Margaret was ’71. She too lives in Cincinnati.

African Americans from Country Day: CDS students from Yeiser's years to go to Williams include Rodney Geier, Tom Lockhart, Harry Jackson, Reggie Garrett, and Dick Geier (who attended but did not graduate from CCDS), all '75 at Williams, and three Lanier brothers (Addison '76, John '77, and Mark '80). Larry Bronson '70 was the first black from Cincinnati to go to Williams.

principal, Leonard Steurt: Walnut Hills was already sending boys to Williams by 1946, e.g., Warner Peck, Williams Class of 1943. Ken Heekin (Williams 1952) notes that in his time the boys from Walnut Hills who went on to Williams tended to come from the town of Glendale and belong to Delta Beta high school fraternity. A decade later the Delta Beta/Williams connection was still in place: Woody Lockhart (Walnut Hills 1959, Williams 1963) and Jon Spelman (Walnut Hills 1960, Williams 1964) were Delta Betas.

Walnut Hills and Williams: James Whitney '50 and John Whitney '53. John Whitney's son William Whitney is '79.

132 *including Jim Heekin:* Heekin (Walnut Hills 1944, Williams 1948), who also had two brothers follow him to Williams (Ken, Walnut Hills '48, Williams '52, and Tom, Williams '59), settled in Williamstown when he retired from the advertising business and lived for many years with his wife Jane on Oblong Road until his death in 2009. In 1948 Heekin held the James Bullock Scholarship. His son, James Heekin III, graduated from Williams in 1971, and his daughter Libby lives in Williamstown and is the mother of Philip Bartels, Williams Class of '03.

Bob McGill: McGill (Walnut Hills 1950, Williams 1954) sent three children to Williams—Robert '82, Meredith '83, and James '89—and retired to Williamstown in 1995. For many years he lived with his wife Daphne on Hancock Road.

Gale Griffin: The former Gale Lockhart, a 1961 graduate of Walnut Hills (and 1965 at Vassar), married Dusty Griffin, Williams '65, and in 2003 settled with him in Williamstown, where they built a house on Old Farm Way. (Her two brothers, one of them from Walnut Hills and one from Country Day, also went to Williams, Woody Lockhart '63, a classmate of Peter Strauss, and Tom Lockhart '75, a classmate of Rodney and Dick Geier, Bill Flynt, and Amy Stone.)

in the late 1950s: During the 1950s Fred Copeland was also visiting Mariemont High School, Withrow High School, Wyoming High School, and Western Hills High School.

Lib Stone's daughter Suzi: Robin Powell, Walnut Hills '78 and Williams '82, and, as Robin P. Mandjes, served as an alumni trustee on the Williams board.

and a Williamstown resident: His brother, Stephen Skavlem, Williams '87, lives in Cincinnati.

133 *as they did in the nineteenth century:* Recent graduates include Gregory Smith '74, president of the Art Academy of Cincinnati, Richard Boyce '81, who teaches biology at Northern Kentucky University, William Connick '88, Associate Professor of Chemistry at the University of Cincinnati, Norah Shire '91, an epidemiologist at University of Cincinnati College of Medicine, and Jason Webster '99, a school teacher.

134 *if you can catch them on the wing:* Margaret Stone, succeeding her sister Suzi, served as a member of the WCMA Visiting Committee.

Chapter 8: Big Days in a Small Town

135 *celebrated over the years:* In March 2014 an exhibition on "Big Days in a Small Town" opened at the Williamstown Historical Museum. It featured some 100 artifacts—newspaper clippings, programs, photographs, posters, and other materials, some of them loaned by the Williams College Archives—and ran until October 2014. This essay is based on the wall texts written to accompany the materials.

136 *Mr. Starkweather's [a local inn]:* *Vermont Gazette*, July 10, 1795.

principles of liberty and equality: Oration Delivered at Williamstown, on the Fourth of July, 1799, published in Bennington

in 1799; *Oration Delivered at Williamstown, on the Fourth of July, 1801*, published in Pittsfield in 1801.

- 137** “*The Young Men of Williamstown*”: *Celebration of American Independence by the Young Men of Williamstown. July 4, 1839.*
“*compares sadly with former glories*”: *Williams Quarterly*, June 1, 1872.
- 138** *only about a decade earlier*: *North Adams Transcript*, July 3, 1916.
“*The Small Place of Big Things*”: *North Adams Transcript*, July 3, 1917.
“*in History of College Town*”: *North Adams Transcript*, July 5, 1917.
with an “extra loud report”: *North Adams Transcript*, July 2, 1902.
- 144** “*a large crop of fights*”: *North Adams Transcript*, July 14, 1892.
- 147** “*a beautiful custom*”: *Williams Vidette*, June 7, 1873.
“*Temperance Society was present*”: *Williams Vidette*, June 13, 1874.
“*from the anti-cigarette league*”: Evidently the Massachusetts Anti-Cigarette League. In 1900 the League lobbied successfully for the passage of a state law prohibiting the sale of cigarettes to minors.
- 149** *destined to be an “annual” event*: *North Adams Transcript*, January 28, 1898.
“*Firemen’s Guests Dance till Dawn*”: *North Adams Transcript*, April 22, 1919.
- 150** “*1753 House*” in *Field Park*: A film of the construction of the 1753 House is preserved in the Williamstown Historical Museum Collection. About a hundred people helped with the building of the house, led by Henry (Hank) Flynt.

Chapter 9: A Tale of Two Cities—and a Country Town

- 154** *about evenly in Williamstown*: The study, done by Ben Blatt, is found on the website of the Harvard Sports Analysis Collective.
- 155** *but with Williamstown*: The real story is both more mundane and more complicated. Clark rejected Cooperstown because of a rift with his brother, who had donated a house in Cooperstown for the Fenimore Art Museum. And he had links to Williamstown, where he and his family had in 1908 given money for the second Clark Hall, named after his grandfather, Edwin Clark, Class of 1831.
- 157** *towns from that direction*: *History of Berkshire County, Massachusetts* (2 vols., 1885), I, 10.
than with eastern Massachusetts: This commercial orientation toward the Hudson Valley has its counterpart today: Williamstown is regarded as part of the Albany-Schenectady-Troy media market.
- 158** *and Yale graduates*: Seth Swift (Class of 1774), Walter King (Class of 1782—he later served as pastor in Norwich, Connecticut), and Ralph Gridley (Class of 1814).
trustees of the college: William Williams (Yale 1755), Woodbridge Little (1760), Daniel Collins (1760), David Noble (1764), Theodore Sedgwick (1765), and Seth Swift (1774), were all Connecticut men. For Yale’s influence in early Berkshire County, see Adolphus Hodges, “Yale Graduates of Western Massachusetts,” first delivered as lectures in 1885–86, and printed in the *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, vol. 4, 253–98.
- 159** *modeled on the curriculum at Yale*: One college historian notes that in matters of curriculum, “as the entire teaching staff and seven of the trustees were graduates of Yale, the precedents of that institution would naturally be followed” (Leverett W. Spring, *A History of Williams College* [1917], 46).
for most of the nineteenth century: Frederick Rudolph, *Mark Hopkins and the Log*, 42. Jeremiah Day, president of Yale and author of the 1828 Yale report reaffirming the value of the classic curriculum, had been a tutor at Williams from 1796 to

1798.

“prejudicial” to Harvard: The lengthy “Remonstrance Against the Establishment of a College in Hampshire County,” submitted to the governor by the Harvard Board of Overseers is reprinted in Benjamin Peirce, *A History of Harvard College* (1831), 114–24.

Vermont, and Connecticut: See Calvin Durfee, *History of Williams College* (1860), 63. The grandfather of Mark Hopkins, born in Great Barrington, was a 1758 graduate of Yale. In 1800 Harvard deigned to award an honorary D. D. to the first Williams president.

into the 1830s: New Yale-trained trustees (after the original group) include Stephen West, Job Swift, Ammi Robbins, Jacob Catlin (appointed in 1807), Timothy Cooley (1812), Joseph Lyman (1814), George Bliss (1820), Heman Humphrey (1820), Milo Bennett (1826), Ralph Gridley (1827), William Sprague (1831), Daniel Dewey (1831), Edwin Dwight (1832), Horatio Brinsmade (1836), and John Todd (1845), the twenty-first Yale-educated trustee.

of Williams than of Yale: The first Williams graduate to become a trustee was Daniel Noble (appointed in 1809), followed by Levi Glezen (1813). Next came Isaac Knapp (1822), Ezra Fisk (1823), William Walker (1824), James McKown (1826), and John Nelson (1826), all of them appointed to strengthen the alumni presence on the board in the aftermath of the crisis of 1821, that led to the departure of the college president and many of the students, and to the creation of the Society of Alumni. Following them were David Buel (1829), Emerson Davis (1833), John Whiton (1833), William Porter (1834), Henry Sabin (1838), Thomas Robbins (1842), Emory Washburn (1845), Henry Bishop (1847), Joseph White (1848), Erastus Benedict (1855), Homer Bartlett (1858), Nicholas Murray (1860), James D. Colt (1862), Samuel Prime (1869), and Thomas Nelson (1869), the twenty-second Williams-educated trustee.

“than to that at Cambridge”: Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, 3rd ed. (1904), 12–13. Perry also notes the importance of topography in aligning Williams with Yale (147–48). He calls Yale “the mother of Williams.” But because its graduates had gone on to become presidents of so many colleges, Yale had in fact by that time long been known as “the mother of [American] colleges.”

becoming president of Williams: Perry went so far as to assert that Carter was “determined to make [Williams] over into a sort of new Yale” (*Williamstown and Williams College*, 3rd ed., 1904, 716). Perry’s father was a Harvard graduate.

Yale faculty colleagues with him: Samuel Fessenden Clarke, Richard Austin Rice, and John Haskell Hewitt.

160 *were Yale PhDs:* Including Bill Pierson, William Grant, Ted Mehlin, Charles Compton, Hodge Markgraf, Fred Greene, Robert C. L. Scott, Fred Rudolph, Russ Bastert, Robert Barrow, Dudley Bahlman, Laszlo Versenyi, Richard Rouse, John Eusden, as well as youngsters such as Frank Oakley, Dan O’Connor, and Robert Collins. In those years the PhD’s from Harvard were equally numerous: Maurice Avery, Whitney Stoddard, Sam Matthews, Allyn Waterman, Donald Whitehead, Robert Allen, Robert Logan, James M. Burns, Kurt Tauber, Paul Clark, John Sheahan, Henry Bruton, Robert G. L. Waite, Peter Frost, Howard Stabler, Robert Ward, Lawrence Beals, Robert Kozelka, and William Peck.

in 1834 and left town: *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*, vol. 6, 658.

appointed Williams trustees: Horatio Brinsmade, appointed in 1836. He was perhaps regarded as theologically sound because after Yale he studied at Princeton Seminary (which was safely Old Calvinist) and then with Joel Hawes in Hartford. John Todd was appointed in 1845, but by the time he (and Brinsmade) got to Yale Timothy Dwight had died (in 1817).

161 *the rest of the nineteenth century:* In 1893–94, when the college celebrated its centenary, there were 138 from New York and 88 from Massachusetts.

Stockbridge or Pittsfield: Emory Washburn, quoted in the introduction to Durfee, *History* (1860), 20.

reached North Adams in 1846: Via the Pittsfield and North Adams Railroad, soon acquired by the Western Railroad. It traveled over what is now the Ashtuwillticook Rail Trail.

Williamstown west to Troy: By 1874 there were three trains a day, each way, taking one hour forty-eight minutes.

- 162** *(six hours, fifteen minutes):* See the promotional brochure, *Over the Berkshire Hills*, published by the Housatonic Railroad in 1886.

Williamstown to Albany: In addition to the westbound Fitchburg Railroad service, you could travel from Williamstown to Albany six times a day on the Boston, Hoosac Tunnel and Western Railway (two-and-a-half to three hours).

were New Yorkers: Including Nathan Henry Sabin, Samuel Blagden, Eugene Jerome, Amos Lawrence Hopkins, the Reverent Henry Hopkins, Frederick Leake, and Frederick Howland (*Williamstown, the Berkshires, and Thereabout*, 47).

by William Dean Howells: A few years after that the *Atlantic* was edited by Bliss Perry, a Williams alumnus and former member of its faculty—but not until he had left Williams and taught at Princeton for six years.

- 163** *suspicious of Unitarian Boston:* Hopkins, says Rudolph, regarded Emerson as “the enemy” (*Mark Hopkins and the Log*, 25 and n). Hopkins heard Emerson deliver in Cambridge in 1837 the famous address on “The American Scholar,” and reported that it contained “a great deal of truth . . . and some nonsense” (qtd. in Rudolph, 25).

looked within and hired its own: Sanborn Tenney, who took a BA from Amherst and then studied with Louis Agassiz at Harvard, was an exception. When Williams hired an outsider, it typically baptized him with an honorary degree.

for their intellectual bearings: John Bascom, who often disagreed with Hopkins, was an exception. When Bascom, who left Williams to serve as president of the University of Wisconsin, died in 1911, Robert LaFollette, governor of Wisconsin, suggested that Bascom and Emerson were similar in character, especially in the “embodiment of moral force and moral enthusiasm” (*The American Magazine*, vol. 72 [1911], 668).

preach at the Harvard chapel: Rudolph, 25.

two different New York city churches: Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, in 1844, and Mercer Street Church in 1851.

Harvard, in 1841 and 1886: Doctor of Divinity in 1841 and Doctor of Laws in 1886. Franklin Carter gives a chronological list of Hopkins’s appointments and invitations at the beginning of his *Mark Hopkins* (1892), though he does not distinguish between appointments offered and appointments accepted.

- 164** *Carter hired four Harvard men:* In 1881 he appointed G. Stanley Hall (a Williams graduate with a Harvard PhD) to deliver a course of lectures on the history of philosophy—which only lasted a year. His other Harvard appointees were Truman Henry Safford and Orlando Marcellus Fernald, followed by Theodore Clarke Smith.

then endowed a professorship: Jackson was directly descended from Ephraim Williams’s grandfather.

to endow the president’s salary: Dodge had been a longtime member of the American Board of Commissioners, where he knew Hopkins’s work, and was also a longtime member of the board of directors of Union Theological Seminary, and probably encouraged the seminary to offer Hopkins the professorial appointment there.

Morgan Hall in 1882: Morgan’s brother, Henry T. Morgan, left about \$50,000 to the college in 1883.

beginning in 1897: Jesup also made several major gifts to the Union Theological Seminary.

- 165** *which opened in 1928:* As Perry noted in 1899, New York “has always been a very strong Patron of the college, both as to funds given and the numbers of students sent” (*Williamstown and Williams College*, 13).

and only three from Boston: During the period 1906–16, the number of metropolitan New York City trustees ranged from four to seven; the number of Boston area trustees from three to four.

from 2001 to 2003: Two Williams College graduates have served as governor, Emory Washburn, Class of 1817, and Joseph Ely, Class of 1902. Michael Dukakis and Deval Patrick, who each owned homes in South County, paid more attention to Berkshire County than most governors. Charlie Baker has reverted to the norm: of the 175 people named to his transition team in January 2015, none was from Berkshire, Franklin, or Hampshire Counties.

- 166** *secede from Massachusetts and join Vermont:* In 1778 Williamstown declined to approve a new draft constitution for

Massachusetts by a vote of 77 to 1 (*The Popular Sources of Political Authority: Documents on the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780*, ed. Oscar and Mary Handlin [1966], 227).

substantial support in Williamstown: Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, 92, 281.

and half of us to Boston: We don't do our shopping in either New York or Boston, and we don't look to either one for our radio and TV. At the middle of the twentieth century Williamstown looked not east or south for its network radio and TV, but west, to Albany and Schenectady (WMNB and WNAW radio, and WRGB and WMGT television). Since the rise of PBS and NPR we get our national news from Washington, via local stations in Springfield, Amherst, Albany, or Schenectady.

widow of Frederick Ferris Thompson: Her gift in effect bookended Thompson's first benefaction to the college, the fraternity house for St. Anthony Hall. The Club was first located in a building at 291 Madison Avenue, and in 1921 moved around the corner to a double-brownstone at 24 East 39th Street. In 2010 the Club closed, and moved into the Princeton Club, where its members enjoy privileges. Its old building was sold in 2012.

167 *from the Boston area*: In 1989–90 there were seven trustees from metropolitan New York City, and more trustees from Chicago (three) than from Boston (one).

to live in New York as in Boston: In the fall of 2015, twenty-seven Williams faculty had home addresses in the New York City metropolitan area, ten in the Boston metropolitan area.

are New Englanders: The Lunder family live in Maine, but have made major contributions to Boston institutions. The Manton family, originally from England, live in Rhode Island. The lesser-known Hardymons, who in 2015 made one of the largest donations the Clark ever received, are from Cambridge and Great Barrington. According to Tom Loughman, former Associate Director of the Clark, donations to the Clark in the last fifteen years have come from outside Massachusetts.

are now picking up: For the 2010 summer season, 17 percent of the visitors came from the New York metropolitan area, 11 percent from the Boston metropolitan area. (I owe this statistic to Tom Loughman.)

168 *Nikos Psacharapoulos*: Although Michael Ritchie, artistic director in the 1990s, was a Massachusetts native, his theatrical career was in New York and Los Angeles. Peter Hunt was based in LA, but began his career in New York. Nicky Martin ran the Huntington Theatre in Boston for eight years, but he was New York-based before that.

New York (34 percent): As of 2016, according to Bernadette Horgan, director of public relations at the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

from an Albany station: Other kids listened to Red Sox games on WMNB, broadcasting from North Adams.

Chapter 10: The Theft of the Williams College Library

174 *Amherst College library*: Tyler, *History of Amherst College*, 28–29.

nothing about bibliolarceny: F. Curtis Canfield, *The Seed and the Sowers: A Series of Chapel Talks on the History of Amherst College* (1955).

175 *saw some humor in it*: As a publication of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society it is not likely to have been distributed widely.

176 *had no basis in fact*: Wikander, Williams Class of 1937, served as Librarian from 1968 to 1982.

in the Williams College Archives: Sylvia Kennick Brown, former head of the Williams Archives, later re-checked the catalogues and found that Wikander was right.

library of the abandoned college: *Williams Alumni Review*, vol. 77, no. 4 (Summer 1985), 16.

“battle of the books” was over: The text of Payne's remarks is found in the files of the president's office at Williams.

177 *library collection at Amherst*: From the script of the “Millionth Volume Celebration,” April 23, 2004, kindly provided by

Willis Bridegam, Amherst Librarian at the time, and now Librarian Emeritus.

in his press releases: The story, presented as if true, is found as early as Quinn's preview of the 1997 football season, and as recently as the November 2009 Williams-Amherst football game. Quinn now says that he knows of no proof that the story is true, or that it is false.

"The Defector": All the early printed histories of Williams treat Moore with respect and admiration. Beginning in the 1980s Amherst teams were nicknamed (by some avid Williams sports fans) "The Defectors" (see, for example, *Williams Record*, Nov. 10, 1981, 8, 10). The term, which nowadays is likely to occur in a religious context (e.g., "defectors" from the Church of Scientology), probably reflects its Cold-War-Era origins, when there was much talk of Soviet (or American) "defectors." Sportswriters for the *Record* continued to pick up the term from Quinn, who is quoted in the issue for Nov. 9, 2009, that "The beauty of the rivalry is that it was sparked by the defection."

"faculty and library books": Steve Satullo '69, and now a book buyer at the Clark Art Institute, runs a website called "Eph's Libraries: Old to New," where he calls the story "apocryphal."

"took some of our library books, too": Gordon Edes, "Williams and Amherst Re-enact First College Game," Yahoo Sports (www.sports.Yahoo.com), May 4, 2009.

Chapter 11: Alma Mater and Her Chosen Band

180 *more than forty books*: For a bibliography, see Jacob H. Dorn, *Washington Gladden: Prophet of the Social Gospel* (1967).

passed his college years: For three years (1856–59) as a student at Williams and five years (1866–71) as a minister in North Adams, the adjacent mill town.

Northern Berkshire hills in 1869: From the Hub to the Hudson (1869).

one Saturday morning: Recollections (1909), 81.

181 *collection of Gladden's poems: Ultima Veritas and Other Verses* (1912), 139–41.

183 *will even outlast them*: In his memoirs Gladden remarked that it was the mountains that were to him "that which is most impressive and permanent in the environment of college life at Williams" (*Recollections*, 82).

184 *awesome image of the infinite*: For a discussion of the Romantics on mountains, see Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory* (1959). Her title comes from John Ruskin's *Modern Painters* (1856), a book Gladden knew.

185 *diluted Thomsonian tradition*: Even "garniture of spring" is conventional. Although it now sounds merely laughable, a woeful lapse of taste, and conjures images of radishes and olives, the word, meaning ornament added to one's dress, sounded poetical to our ancestors, and was not uncommonly used to refer to the appearance of rural scenery. A well-known eighteenth-century poem, James Beattie's *The Minstrel* (1771), refers to "[the] garniture of fields."

187 *a day that was passing*: But in his capacity as public-spirited editor of the *Williams Quarterly* Gladden in 1859 welcomed the railway as "another great avenue of trade and communication": "The snort of the iron horse resounds with vigor from the mountains."

"the wisdom and the will of God": *Present Day Theology* (1913), 48–49, 53.

188 *his descriptions of mountains*: He quotes an extensive passage from *Modern Painters* on "the beauty of the mountains" in *Witnesses of the Light* (1903), 259–60.

"... thou art God": "I sing th'almighty pow'r of God, / That made the mountains rise," says Isaac Watts in a typical and popular 18th-century hymn, "Praise for Creation and Providence," inspired by the psalms.

189 *"chosen people" of Israel*: In an 1842 oratorio, *The Israelites in Egypt*, they are called a "chosen band."

in their "mountain land": Gladden may have known a poem entitled "The Chosen Band," published in Boston a 1854 volume. *Sabbath in the City*, by the minor poet and Bowdoin graduate, W. Folsom Somerby, where "the chosen band" refers first to the Pilgrims and then to the soldiers of the Revolution, and appears as a refrain at the end of each of eight stanzas. *to "dwell" with him*: "Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations" (Psalm 90). *"still waters" of the same psalm*: Cf. Isaiah 66: "I will extend peace to her like a river."

190 *"Till hill and valley gaily, gaily ring"*: An echo of Milton's "hill and valley rings" (*Paradise Lost*, II, 495–96). The idea of a responsive nature constitutes the famous refrain of Edmund Spenser's *Epithalamium* (1595): "The woods shall to me answer and their echo ring."

192 *a light both political and religious*: Our other national song, "America the Beautiful," first published in 1895, celebrates the "purple mountains majesties", but the composer reportedly had in mind the mountains visible from Pike's Peak rather than the Berkshires.

military associations of "band": Gladden may half-consciously remember King Henry V's famous cry at Agincourt—"we few, we happy few, we band of brothers"—in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, Act. IV, sc. 3.

"shall triumph here for aye": Compressed syntax renders the meaning obscure, but Gladden seems to mean that the mountains, in battling the storms, will always ("for aye") emerge triumphant "conquerors." Punctuation of the February 1859 version, with "conquerors" set off by commas, confirms this reading. (Gladden preserves a distinction we rarely observe now: to conquer is to subdue by force; to triumph is to celebrate the victory.)

193 *"shadows of brown-stone walls"*: *From the Hub to the Hudson*, 147.

"upon our souls a purer benediction": Gladden alludes here to the gospel story in Matthew 17, of Christ's transfiguration on a high mountain, whereupon Peter says "It is good for us to be here . . . let us make here three tabernacles."

195 *"cost a pang"*: *Recollections* (1909), 84.

Chapter 12: "Yard by Yard"

198 *marching onto the field*: Did Williams fans in an earlier era, before the start of a game, march in a body onto the field and then into the stands?

199 *"contend in arms"*: *Oxford English Dictionary*, "strive," senses 4, 6, and 9.

they fight "yard by yard": Singers today perhaps think of the slow incremental forward movements of troops in the First World War. But in 1909, when the song was introduced, its composers probably had in mind trench warfare in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5).

200 *freeing up its bell for other uses*: According to a typescript entitled "The Bells of Williams College" (8), prepared by Harvey Spencer '19 in 1939 for the upcoming 150th anniversary of the founding of the college in 1943.

lapsed by the early 50s: Irwin Shainman, who began teaching at Williams in 1948, remembered that in his first years the chapel bell was rung occasionally after an important football game.

refurbishment of the Goodrich bell: In May 1998 the Class of 1998 gave funds to restore the Goodrich bell as the "Class of 1998 Bell," to be rung, so it hoped, by team captains after a victory over Amherst. But the custom has apparently not been restored.

201 *"so we put them together"*: *Williams Alumni Review*, vol. 28, no. 6 (April 1936), 263.

202 *by Cady and Lehman*: Another early printing, of which a single example survives in the Williams College Archives in a scrapbook for the years 1909–10, suggests that the song quickly caught on. It is a single sheet, containing the words to "Sing

We to Williams” as well as “Yard by Yard,” perhaps produced for fans at a football game. On the single sheet “Yard by Yard” is untitled. There is one textual variant in the chorus: “Every man in every play / Shouting [instead of “striving”] all the time.” The variant keeps the focus on the fans—“cheering,” “shouting,” maybe even “fighting”—rather than the players, but it may have simply been a misprint.

any mention of Wood: A transcript of the Potter interview is preserved in the Williams College Archives.

203 *“without extraneous aid”:* *Williams Record*, April 7, 1910. Thus, the long-time favorite “Come, Fill Your Glasses Up” (1896) could not have been entered in the competition. Like many of the songs in *Songs of Williams* it fits new words to an old tune—in this case the trio from “The Corcoran Cadets March” by John Philip Sousa.

“hymns and fight songs”: Alan Lomax assigns the name “Come all ye’s” to Irish street ballads (*Folk Song USA*, 485). A 1798 “Ode on the Fourth of July” begins with the words “Come all ye sons of song.” An 1861 Civil War song, “Wait for the Wagon,” begins: “Come all ye sons of freedom.” The Mercer University fight song begins “Come all ye loyal sons of Mercer.” The opening words of Georgetown’s 1894 alma mater are “Sons of Georgetown.” The “come all ye sons” formula is also found in nineteenth-century hymns.

that Brown would have known: The lyrics of at least three songs (by Charles Everett, E. B. Parsons, and E. W. B. Channing) in the 1859 edition of *Songs of Williams* contain the phrase. In the 1904 edition appeared Dwight Marvin’s “My Heart is in the Mountains. Williams Marching Song,” whose chorus begins: “My heart is in the mountains, / Where the sons of Williams dwell. . .”.

song celebrating laborers: The presence of the line “Fling out that dear old flag of purple and white” in the Plano (Illinois.) High School fight song, composed in 1907, suggests not that Brown borrowed a detail, but that “fling out the flag” was a common idiom of the day.

(Northwestern “University Hymn”): Furman fans sing “Hail the white and purple.”

in the previous fifteen years: “The Royal Purple” (1894), reprinted in the 1904 edition of *Songs of Williams*. The last line of its chorus—“It’s our grand old Royal Purple, / And we triumph in its might”—has the same rhythm as the final line of Potter’s chorus. Purple had been adopted as the college’s official color in 1865 (Leverett Wilson Spring, *A History of Williams College*, 1917, 297–98), but it was given renewed attention when intercollegiate football grew. (See Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* [1962], 386–87.)

206 *Williams College Class of 1915:* Brackett was a freshman at Williams when the Titanic went down. The film is full of music—including Amherst’s fight song (“Lord Jeffrey Amherst was a soldier of the king . . .”), Cornell’s alma mater (“High above Cayuga’s waters. . .”), along with memorable renditions, as the ship goes down, of the “Londonderry Air” (“Danny Boy”) and “Nearer My God to Thee.”

many “fors” in the chorus: Anecdotal evidence suggests that many singers think the penultimate line of the chorus reads “And [rather than *for*] we’ll fight for dear old Williams.”

207 *with musical expertise:* English also consulted Stephen Sondheim ’50, but was unable to enlist him as a reviser. (Sondheim reportedly suggested that the college should get itself a new song.)

new language was made known: English noted that student members of The Ephlats initially suggested the change. The correspondence to and from English on the matter is found in the college archives (Henry Greer file), and in the files of the Director of Alumni Relations. Reference to the proposed changes in the words do not appear in the minutes of the meetings of the Executive Committee of the Society of Alumni for 1972–76. Programs for the annual alumni meeting were not printed until 1988.

were made, or by whom: Robert Behr, who served as Director of Alumni Relations from 1986 to 1991, reports that the new words to the song were in place when he took over.

annual meeting of the Society of Alumni: The words to “Yard by Yard” do not appear in the programs produced by the Athletic Department for home football games.

at a women’s soccer game: The women’s swimming team currently sings “Yard by yard, we’ll fight our way, / Through Amherst’s line, / Every swim and every dive, / Fighting all the time FOR WILLIAMS. / Cheer by cheer we’ll rend the air, / All behind our team, / And we’ll fight for dear old Williams, / And we’ll win and win again.”

continues to be the original: The words to “Yard by Yard”—the original words—and several other Williams songs began appearing in the “facebook” in 1979. They have simply been reprinted since then. A note perpetuates the erroneous belief that the song won the 1909 contest. The “facebook” was published for many years by an undergraduate service group, the Purple Key Society, and was later taken over by the Office of the Dean of the College.

208 *or, for that matter, “The Mountains”:* According to Dick Quinn, the college’s Director of Sports Information, members of the football team now sing the chorus of “Yard by Yard” after a victory.

Chapter 13: Windows on the Past

211 *only one was an Episcopalian:* Francis Lynde Stetson—and he was a strong supporter of the Episcopal church. (Affiliation of seven trustees has not been confirmed.)

high on the south wall: The chapel was originally designed as a *memorial to the donor’s husband*, and only after the end of World War I was converted to a memorial for all Williams alumni who had died in the country’s wars. It was then that the names of the war dead were incised in tablets in the choir, and in later years in the east transept and the south wall.

212 *Outline Study of Man (1873):* Hopkins identified the three fundamental forces as “Gravitation,” “Cohesion,” and “Chemical Affinity.”

213 *Battell Chapel at Yale:* Memorial Hall at Harvard, dedicated in 1874, by contrast has stained glass windows honoring not faculty but Harvard men who died in the Civil War. Williams had already erected and dedicated its Civil War memorial statue in 1868.

“breaketh the rock in pieces” (23:29): In an 1840 address Mark Hopkins claimed that like a hammer the word of God serves to “break in pieces the flinty rocks of heathenism and infidelity” (*Miscellaneous Essays and Discourses* [1847], 171).

214 *Van Vechten, class of 1847:* According to *A Day in Williamstown* (1915), 16.

215 *in February 1860:* The phrase has medieval origins, and in its French version is associated with King Charles VII of France (1422–61). It must be conceded that the large sword and spear comport oddly with the motto that “Right Makes Might.”
with Williams connections: Dr. Lyman Abbott (1835–1922), a colleague of Washington Gladden (Williams 1856), Samuel Chapman Armstrong (Williams 1862), and Hamilton Wright Mabie (Williams 1867, and later a member of the faculty), who preached at Williams in 1900.

simple geometric pattern: In the west porch there is another decorative stained-glass window with two lights.

served as its first president: There is a portrait of Moore, but it is in storage.

217 *were the best available:* The relief was commissioned by Mrs. Thompson in 1905, to coincide with the dedication of the Thompson Memorial Chapel.

St. Anthony Hall at Yale: See the Judson Memorial Church website, www.judson.org/WINDOWE4.

present location is unknown: The story goes that a truck with New York plates pulled up to the front door of the Club, and that it drove away with the window, allegedly in the direction of Long Island, presumably to the home of a club member.

218 *Garfield window in the Chapel:* Henry Martyn Field, *Life of David Dudley Field* (1898), 285. The elder Field donated

another memorial window for his son in St. Paul's Church, in Stockbridge.

"Sans Dieu Rien": According to an essay on "College Fraternities" in the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, vol. 36 (Sept., 1888), 755. A drawing of the window appears on page 757. If the window survived, it was certainly removed before the building was demolished in 1911. There is no evidence that it was re-installed in the "Procter mansion."

who died in 1882: *The University Magazine*, vol. 3 (1890), 93. The Field window and one of the other two were at either end of a 40'-long dining room (*Boston Evening Transcript*, August 8, 1901).

early death of his son in 1882: Two photographic portraits of Jermain are found in *The Family Letters*, ed. John T. B. Mudge, 448 and 456, and at [www.thefamilyletters.com/images/ch %2014](http://www.thefamilyletters.com/images/ch%2014).

in a private collection in Vermont: The elder Jermain also established an endowed Barclay Jermain Professorship in Natural Theology.

a bull for Taurus, etc: The windows do not represent a horoscope for Jermain, who was born on July 12, 1852, under the sign of Cancer—which is not given an especially prominent position on the windows.

219 *Olin White Geer (1866–84)*: Geer's two older brothers graduated from Williams in 1878 and 1879. An Olin White Geer Memorial Scholarship was established at Williams in 1884.

221 *has been carefully restored*: In addition to restoring the Tenney window, the college went to considerable expense to restore stained-glass windows in Thompson Chapel in 1983 and 2004.

the subject was still in office: A 1946 portrait of President Phinney Baxter (in "Baxter Hall"—the great hall—in Paresky) and a 1967 portrait of President John Sawyer, now hanging in the reading room of the new Sawyer Library. The others, three of them by Everett Raymond Kinstler, were painted soon after the subject retired.

222 *still hang in public places*: A 1987 portrait of John Chandler hangs in the lobby of Chandler Gym, and a 1996 portrait of Frank Oakley hangs in the front hall at the Oakley Center. A 2000 portrait of Hank Payne hangs in Payne Hall (in Goodrich), and a 2002 portrait of Carl Vogt hangs in Vogt House. A portrait of Professor Lane Faison, from 2008 (after Faison's death in 2006) hangs in the museum offices at WCMA.

class of 1931, in his memory: Alumni are also remembered through named professorships, named memorial scholarships, and (in a few cases), by rooms within named buildings (e.g., the Mabie and Preston Rooms in Sawyer Library, in memory of Hamilton Wright Mabie 1867 and Roger Preston 1922, or the Matt Cole '80 Reading Room in the Center for Environmental Studies).

Chapter 14: The Prehistory of Coeducation at Williams College, 1961–1969

227 *"A coordinate institution to Williams"*: From the Ford Foundation grant application, Table III ("Assumptions for the College Itself") and Part II, A-2, 12.

235 *Cluett Estate on Gale Road*: In an internal memo dated November 2, Simpson expressed doubt about whether Vassar students would benefit from a semester or year at a separate women's college in Williamstown.

236 *two very junior faculty*: Faculty members included the chair of the faculty Sam Matthews, the provost Joe Kershaw, the Dean of Admissions Fred Copeland, along with English professor Don Gifford and long-time music professor Irwin Shainman, and two first-term assistant professors, Jim Skinner and William Stine.

Williams' single-sex tradition: Both Skinner and Stine had been first appointed to the faculty in 1966. In 1969 Skinner was only twenty-six years old. Although a member of the all-male Class of 1961 at Williams, his ideas about education were

formed, so his widow reports, by his experience in a co-ed high school.

- 237** *bastion they were used to*: The Class of 1967 was then one month away from graduation. When they were sophomores in the fall of 1964, they were the last class to pledge fraternities, and for that reason may have been more committed to an all-male Williams than the underclassmen. In less than two years, students were to vote overwhelmingly in favor of coeducation.
- 238** *admit women to Williams*: Rudolph was recycling some material that he had published in the May 1956 issue of the *Alumni Review* as “Daughters of Eph?”
- traditional-minded trustees*: Steve Lewis advised Ralph Renzi on March 1, 1968, not to “rush” Rudolph’s essay into print. On July 17 Renzi reported to Rudolph that his boss, Alumni Secretary John English, had “nixed” the submission twice.
- 239** *chaired by Gifford*: Technically it was a subcommittee of the Lockwood Committee, and reported both to its parent and to the faculty’s Committee on Educational Policy. It was charged with advising on a “curriculum for a coordinate college,” and concluded that the inclusion of women would reinforce the changes to the Williams curriculum that the committee was considering.
- 240** *and a single curriculum*: Gifford was not staking out new ground: on October 9, 1968, Steve Lewis, for the committee, confirmed in a letter that coordinate education would mean “a single faculty.”
- than with the inclusion of women*: During 1968–69 the faculty were strenuously involved in discussions about an African-American Studies program, a “Williams-in-India” program, and a proposal for a “History of Ideas” major.
- build a “growing consensus”*: But he did not reveal his thoughts about coeducation publicly, or even privately to the campus planner who had been hired to produce a master plan. As late as the end of January Dan Kiley was still talking about “a girls’ complex in Denison Park and a sort of Panathenaic Way connecting [it to a new library on the site of Sigma Phi House] via a de-motorized Spring Street” (*Williams Record*, Jan. 28, 1969). By May he adjusted his recommendations to suit the new reality. His “Campus Plan,” released on May 15, recommends the college “Reserve Denison Park . . . for future residence halls” and “Create a pedestrian way between Denison Park Residence and the Science Quadrangle.” Note that he makes no reference to a coordinate college.
- 241** *“This seems like the right thing to do”*: Source: Steve Lewis, referring to what he calls the “Driscoll moment.” The trustee who had come around to coeducation was Alfred E. (Jake) Driscoll, Williams ’25.
- 242** *At Hamilton and Kirkland*: Nancy McIntire reports that Sawyer told her that Margaret (Polly) Bunting, president of Radcliffe, had also warned him about problems of coordinate education.
- where consensus was building*: In his 1991 oral interview he remarked that coeducation was “a less expensive and a more productive way to proceed.”
- 243** *one of the new trustees had five daughters*: W. Van Alan Clark, whose daughter, Hannah T. Clark, was Class of 1979. Harding Bancroft, another new trustee, had two sons and two daughters.
- 244** *Executive Vice-President of the New York Times*: James Linen and Harding Bancroft. Other trustee appointments during Sawyer’s presidency: Daniel Chapman (1963), Van Alan Clark (1968), Edward Stanley (1969), Bill Boyd (1969), and Fay Vincent (1970).