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The HERITAGE Series

Gleason L. Archer

David L. Robbins



SUFFOLK
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A Suffolk University Heritage Publication



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Gleason L. Archer

David L. Robbins



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Introduction

History has demonstrated that the great leaders of every age were, almost without exception, born in poverty, denied educational advantages in boyhood, and obliged to educate themselves at odd moments while doing a man's work in the world. The same immutable principle is in operation today -- the earnest souls who now toil in the evening schools to fit themselves for life will be found in the front ranks of our civilization tomorrow.

--Gleason L. Archer (1923)¹

Gleason L. Archer was the founder of Suffolk Law School. He was the first and longest-serving President of Suffolk University. He was the prime mover of the institution for over forty years.

Today, however, Archer's memory has become strangely obscured at the school he established. Most members of the Suffolk community recognize his name, but they know it primarily through a folklore of garbled and fantastic tales. About the man himself, his career, and his heritage, a curious ignorance persists.

The eclipse of Archer's reputation owes something to design. Strife between Archer and the Trustees precipitated the President's resignation in 1948. Angry and hoping to end Archer's forty-year personification of the school, the Trustees took drastic action. A veil was drawn over Archer's portrait. His name was expunged from University catalogues and, as much as possible, from its consciousness. As the founder's name faded from awareness, however, so did a sense of his achievements; Suffolk University forgot its roots.²

Only recently has any movement from this position taken place. Gleason Archer's death in 1966 ended a quarter-century of mutual recrimination. Since then, the Dean's name has reappeared in the College catalogue. His portrait has been restored to public display. A law scholarship and a University building have been named for him. Many materials -- including the founder's prototype Suffolk Law School ring -- have been donated to Suffolk by the Archer family, and an Archer Archives has been established to house them.³

1. Suffolk Law School catalogue, 1923-24, p. 17.

2. Archer's name disappeared from the Law School catalogue in 1947-48, and from the College catalogue in 1955-56; it was restored to the College catalogue in 1978-79, but is still absent from the Law School catalogue.

3. A student initiative in the spring of 1968 began the rehabilitation of Archer's reputation. Led by Business School junior Lou Farina, a group of "interested students" petitioned the Trustees to have the "old" building (20 Derne Street) named for Gleason Archer, and to have a repository established for Archer's "books, papers, and other relevant materials." The Board voted to grant the latter request in September, 1968 -- although it was not actually implemented until eleven years later. The former request was satisfied when the "old" build-

Suffolk University is now in the process of reintegrating its heritage, and the work of Gleason Archer forms a central part of that inheritance. The man and his work remain partly in shadow. This pamphlet is intended to introduce Gleason L. Archer to his beneficiaries in the clear light of day.

He was, says one witness,

A big man, well proportioned with gray and thinning hair over a high forehead, and wearing glasses. Dean Archer, while friendly and humorous, fairly radiates the scholastic air. He is a man of enthusiasms.⁴

Archer remained throughout his life a "man of enthusiasms," of strong opinions and vigorous actions. The occasional quixotic episodes do not vitiate the worth of his causes.

This pamphlet is the third in the Suffolk University Historical Pamphlet Series, and the second to be published as part of the Suffolk University Heritage Project.

(left) *George A. Frost (1855-1936) was Gleason Archer's patron. He put Archer through college and law school, then became a principal supporter and life-long Trustee of Suffolk Law School.*



(right) *Martin M. Lomasney (1859-1933), "the splendid old War Horse of the West End," led Suffolk's defenders in the Massachusetts legislature.*



ing was named "in honor of the Archer family" in September, 1971. A Gleason L. Archer Law Scholarship was established by the Board in September, 1968. The portrait of President Archer now hangs -- unshrouded -- in the President's Conference Room, Archer Building.

4. Sam Smith, "Dean Archer's Career a Horatio Alger Story," *Boston Post*, February 6, 1927. Archer stood six feet, one and a half inches tall; his weight fluctuated between 175 and 200 pounds. His hair had turned gray by the time he was forty.

Gleason L. Archer

The man who founded Suffolk University to benefit aspiring young men of the working class, did so because he himself had come from poverty and had labored for success. His youth, in fact, was remarkably like those of the Horatio Alger heroes so popular with his generation.⁵

Gleason Leonard Archer was born into the rural poverty of the Maine frontier, on October 29, 1880. His home was a wilderness hamlet, Hancock County Plantation #33, known "by courtesy of the Post Office Department" as Great Pond.⁶ It lay thirty-five miles northeast of Bangor, in the midst of an unbroken forest. For several months a year the Yankee settlement was cut off from the outside world.

Isolation had produced generations of inbreeding; the eighty souls who occupied Great Pond's nineteen homes were all "cousins or close relatives." Gleason's father, John Sewall Archer, and his mother, Frances Martha Williams, were first cousins. Although neither knew it, their common ancestors had come to America on the *Mayflower*.⁷

John Archer was a blacksmith, but the limited population and remoteness of the area forced him to supplement his earnings by seasonal work as a woodcutter. As the size of his family grew, he became more dependent on lumbering to make ends meet. One by one, the boys were removed from school and required to join their father at the cabin several miles from Great Pond which served as the family logging "camp."

Gleason was the third son in a family that eventually included seven boys and one girl.⁸ At thirteen, like his

4 5. Horatio Alger was born January 13, 1834, and died July 18, 1899. He was the author of more than a hundred books, among the better known of which were *Ragged Dick*, *Tattered Tom*, and *Luck and Pluck*.

6. Gleason Archer, "Lumber Camp to College" (unpublished autobiography), p. 2½. For material on Archer's life prior to his departure for Sabattus, see "Lumber Camp to College," pp. 1-325, and two other unpublished autobiographies by Archer: "Rainbow Trail," pp. 1-268, and "Lumber Jack Land," pp. 202-386.

7. "Lumber Camp to College," p. 2½; see also Gleason Archer, *Ancestors and Descendants of Joshua Williams* (Boston: By the Author, 1927). Archer was Counsellor-General of the American Society of Mayflower Descendants from 1933 until 1939; he was also a life

brothers, he began work at the "camp." Since he weighed only seventy-six pounds, however, and cut rather a comic figure as a lumberjack, the new recruit was assigned cooking duties. He became quite proficient at his job, and the cook's post remained his for nearly six years, even after he began to equal his brothers in size.

Removal from school did nothing to dull Archer's appetite for knowledge. He became, and remained for the rest of his life, a voracious reader and a compulsive writer. Every spare moment found him poring over a borrowed book or a precious sheet of stationery. The young autodidact's intense desire for education did not go unrecognized, even by his family. Nor did his talent. He became a local celebrity when several of his articles appeared in the *Ellsworth American*, a Bangor-area newspaper.

The following autumn, Archer's family provided him the opportunity which they knew he deserved. His uncle, Leonard S. Williams, had attended the Cobb Divinity School of Bates College, in Lewiston. Williams became a Free Baptist minister and settled in Sabattus, a suburb of Lewiston. There, some hundred miles from Great Pond, the Reverend Mr. Williams found a place for his nephew: in October, 1899, Gleason became chore boy for physician Frank E. Sleeper. As payment for his services, young Archer was to receive bed and board during his studies at Sabattus High School.⁹

He spent most of the next three years in Sabattus. While still in high school, Archer was appointed Sabattus reporter for both the *Lewiston Journal* and the *Webster Herald*. He also edited the all-state *Maine High School* magazine. Having entered Sabattus High School as a sophomore, he graduated in June, 1902 -- valedictorian in a class of six.

member of the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants, an honorary life member of the National Society of Puritan Descendants, and a member of the Sons of the American Revolution.

8. The Archer children were: Clifford, 1876-1926; Hiram, 1878-1966; Gleason, 1880-1966; Percy, 1883-1903; Ella, born and died 1885; Maurice, 1886-1899; unnamed male infant, born and died 1888; Maude, 1889-1962; Harold, 1891-1968; and Claude, 1892-1910. Archer's mother lived from 1857 until 1905; his father was born in 1851 and died in 1931.

9. During his senior year, Archer stayed with the Williams family; on his time at Sabattus High School, see "Lumber Camp to College," pp. 326-461, and "Rainbow Trail," pp. 269-371.

There was a scholarship waiting at Bates College, but Archer's first visit to Boston convinced him that his future lay on Beacon Hill: Boston University had a law school, which Bates did not. Gleason borrowed money for tuition, and went to join his older brother Hiram in the metropolis. The younger Archer planned to attend the College of Liberal Arts for two years, and then to transfer to the Legal Division.

Gleason Archer arrived in Boston in September, 1902, with no money for rent or living expenses. He was determined, however, to extend his education. If that meant living frugally and supporting himself by odd jobs, then he was willing; sacrifice and privation were nothing new to the Archer family. During his first year at college, Gleason shared a room with Hiram at 83 Myrtle Street.¹⁰ He worked six days a week as a waiter to pay his share of the rent. This left him with a meager sixty cents a week for meals and other necessities.

At the end of his first college year, young Archer secured a job at the Cotocheeset, a resort hotel near Wianno on Cape Cod. His strength and vigor were just returning after the deprivations of the school year, when he shattered his left knee in a fall. Only in Boston was medical expertise available that could prevent permanent disability. On borrowed crutches and in the teeth of a howling gale, he began the painful journey.



Gleason Archer as a Freshman at Boston University, 1902.

The jolting coach carried only one other passenger: George A. Frost, a summer resident of Wianno and president of the renowned Boston Garter

10. During the remainder of his college and law school career, Gleason roomed successively at 70 Pinckney Street, 4th floor (summer, 1903); 48 Pinckney Street, 2nd floor (fall, 1903); 66 Myrtle Street (October, 1903-summer, 1904; owned by Mr. and Mrs. Jesse Dean); 63 Myrtle Street (fall, 1904-spring, 1905); and 66 Myrtle Street again (spring, 1905-summer, 1906). On his school days in Boston, see "Lumber Camp to College," pp. 462-632, and "Rainbow Trail," pp. 371-497.

Company. Much Archer's senior, Frost evinced a paternal concern for his injured companion. A conversation began, and -- typical and improbable Alger touch -- the wealthy man who met the youthful hero by accident admired his pluck, and brought him under his patronage. By the time the stage reached Barnstable railroad depot, Gleason Archer was George Frost's protégé.

The young invalid was taken immediately by parlor car to Boston. There he was met by Frost's coachman, and conveyed to the Newton Hospital, of which George Frost was president and principal benefactor. No charges for medical care, or for his month-long convalescence at the hospital, were ever sent to Archer.

Loans from Mr. Frost allowed Gleason Archer to complete his studies at Boston University free from deprivation or distraction. By the spring of his second year, he was already attending law courses. After formally entering the Law School, he completed the three-year curriculum in two. Graduation came in June, 1906, and was quickly followed by admission to the Bar. In August, Gleason Archer was invited to join the State Street law firm of Carver and Blodgett -- on George Frost's recommendation.¹¹

Archer's benefactor refused all monetary reimbursement for his loans. They were, he told the young lawyer, "an investment in human life." The only repayment he wanted, Frost insisted, was that "if you ever have a chance to pass this favor along to other boys, do it for me." The response was quick and sure. What he really wanted to do, young Archer told his patron, was to open an evening law school. Thus, he could pass his good fortune on to others like himself, by making it possible "for such young men to qualify as lawyers while working for a living."¹²

Archer was not without teaching experience. There had been a brief term at the Great Pond school while he was

11. "Lumber Camp to College," pp. 514-42; "Rainbow Trail," pp. 412-43; Gleason Archer, *Fifty Years of Suffolk University* (Boston: By the Author, 1956), pp. 1-2. The hotel name appears as "Cotocheset" in "Lumber Camp to College," p. 514.

12. "Rainbow Trail," p. 507; *Fifty Years of Suffolk University*, p. 2. On the general events of the summer of 1906, see "Lumber Camp to College," pp. 632-34, and "Rainbow Trail," pp. 498-509.

still a student at Sabattus High. More important, he had begun in October, 1905, to tutor a group of working men in the principles of contract law. That class had been short-lived, but several of its members urged Archer to renew his endeavor. Mr. Frost shared their enthusiasm, and he pledged his support for the new school.¹³

A first-floor apartment in Roxbury was quickly located, and there, at 6 Alpine Street, the first classes of "Archer's Evening Law School" took place on September 19, 1906. That warm night as the lecture closed, all nine auditors were glued to their seats -- by the new varnish on Archer's second-hand chairs. Once they tore themselves away, however, word spread that there was something more than varnish holding men to their places in the young educator's front room. Gleason Archer had found his life's work. George Frost remained the school's foremost backer until his death in 1936. And, somewhere, Horatio Alger was smiling.¹⁴

Archer's experience confirmed the world-view with which he grew up, the gospel of self-help. According to that gospel, those individuals who worked hard and sacrificed to improve themselves would be rewarded with success; the sluggards who did not would be punished by failure. This was the message carried by Horatio Alger and his fellow evangelists of the late nineteenth century. But only free competition, they asserted, would allow economic justice to prevail. Thus, in Gleason Archer's eyes, the precondition that made possible his success, and the salutary success of hard workers like him, was equality of opportunity. The struggle to maintain it in American society provides the organizing principle of his life.

13. Archer also taught at the Durham, Maine, school in the spring of 1902, after he had taught at Great Pond in the spring of 1901. On his 1905 law tutoring, see Archer's manuscript history of his "Evening Law School"; also "Lumber Camp to College," pp. 612-13, and "Rainbow Trail," pp. 489-90. Archer appears to have been personally fond of the Horatio Alger tales; his son, Gleason, Jr., recalls that Dean Archer made numerous books by Alger available to him and his siblings as they were growing up.

14. Gleason Archer, *Building A School* (Boston: By the Author, 1919), pp.48-49; the "flat topped mission office desk" at which Archer sat (p. 45) was donated to the Suffolk University Archives in 1974. In his search for an apartment, Archer had been drawn to Alpine Street because "Uncle" John Hanson, widowed husband of Lucy Archer, his father's sister, lived there.

The young schoolmaster was not alone in his concerns. Social tensions were emerging in the early twentieth century that worried many Americans. Industrial development and urban growth were changing the nation. Unparalleled immigration and concentration of wealth struck many people as threats to the unlimited individual opportunity that made America unique.

Many unskilled American workers were fearful that lower-paid immigrant labor might replace them; their incentive for "self-improvement" through education was thus greatly strengthened. These "true" Americans were natural champions of the Horatio Alger ethic. But others in American society, Archer and his allies felt, were being tempted by the new conditions to respond in more sinister ways. Self-made men were forgetting their roots; banding together against new talent, they strove to close the very doors through which they themselves had escaped poverty.

Archer felt he was speaking as a "true" American when he denounced such monopolists for the threat they posed to the nation and its traditions. His concern was that, denied advancement, some "true" Americans might attempt to subvert equality of opportunity for the new immigrants. This, in turn, could lead the new arrivals to fall back on the political traditions of their homelands. The overwhelming number of immigrants could thus open the shores of America to socialism and/or the paternalistic welfare state. With the advent of either one, free competition and the incentive to achievement would disappear. The "true" American, it was feared, would go the way of the passenger pigeon.¹⁵

Gleason Archer and other "Progressives" saw only one way to save him, and the ethos which he embodied. The octopus of monopoly had to be fought wherever it was found; equality of opportunity had to be protected from its tentacles. Archer's personal crusade aimed to keep every level of education open to all -- rich and poor, "true"

15. A defense by Archer of "true Americanism" first appeared in the Suffolk Law School catalogue, 1923-24, p. 18; it was reprinted more often than any other material in that catalogue, and was not eliminated until 1944-45.

American and immigrant alike. He fought any attempt by special interests and government to favor one individual or group over another. And, above all, he opposed any attempt to interfere in the free competition of the academic marketplace.¹⁶

Archer's Evening Law School grew rapidly. A law classmate, Arthur W. McLean, joined Archer on the "faculty" in the spring of 1907. By June, the school had outgrown the Roxbury flat. To handle its growing demands on their time, Archer and McLean consolidated their legal commitments by becoming law partners. When the new firm opened downtown offices at 53 Tremont Street in September, the suite doubled as law classrooms three nights a week.

The new location, combined with Archer's genius for obtaining free publicity, provided a fillip to attendance. The Dean, as he soon styled himself, was indefatigable. He taught, and handled all administrative duties. He courted political speakers, baited suffragettes, raced trains in his car, and gave away scholarships by popular vote -- anything to call attention to the school. But when one of his first students passed the bar exam in 1908, the publicity eclipsed the Dean's efforts. Roland E. Brown was a machinist by trade, and news of his achievement swelled registration. In December, 1908, Archer gave up law practice to devote full time to his Suffolk School of Law.¹⁷

He immediately assumed the task of writing textbooks for the school. His first effort, *Law Office and Court Procedure*, was begun in January, 1909. Little, Brown, and

16. On Archer's Progressivism, see David L. Robbins, *Setting the Scene* (Boston: Suffolk University, 1979; first pamphlet in the Heritage Series), pp. 20-21. For an excellent general discussion of American responses to immigration, see John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955).

17. *Building A School*, pp. 51-97; see also Archer's scrapbooks of newspaper clippings from this era. The prototype Suffolk Law School ring, designed by Archer at this time and bearing the seal he created, was worn by the Dean until it passed to his son many years later. It has been recently donated to the Suffolk Archives by Gleason L. Archer, Jr. Gleason, Sr., changed the name of "Archer's Evening Law School" to "Suffolk School of Law" when it moved to the old Suffolk Savings Bank Building in the fall of 1907; the name was changed to "Suffolk Law School" when the institution received its charter to grant degrees in 1914.

Company, a prestigious law publisher, brought it out the next winter. When *Ethical Obligations of the Lawyer* followed within the year, it was an unprecedented event; the obscure Archer had provided two of Little, Brown's three new texts for 1910. When T. H. Flood and Company of Chicago snapped up his next two books, Archer's reputation was established.

As the Dean's reputation and his school grew, so did his assured readership. From 1916 on, Archer dispensed with independent publishers. Each new text, and each new edition of an old text, was printed at the Wright and Potter plant on Derne Street; all appeared under the imprint of the Suffolk Law School Press. Archer wrote quickly, almost obsessively. He worked long after midnight, between packed days. By adhering to his murderous writing schedule, he produced between 1916 and 1930 ten new texts and five new editions for use at the school. During that time, he averaged one law book per year, in addition to his other writing and his backbreaking administrative duties. By 1931, a majority of the courses at Suffolk Law School were equipped with textbooks written by the Dean.¹⁸

After 1909, school business competed with writing for Archer's attention -- and usually won. When he closed his law office, Archer moved the school to the Tremont Temple. Spacious quarters and electric lighting offered a striking contrast to the old location, and numbers steadily increased.¹⁹ Economical evening classes were proving popular with working men bent on "improvement." But as Archer's school grew, so did his responsibilities.

He made few efforts to share them. A three-man Advisory Council was set up by Archer in 1908. When the School was incorporated as a charitable educational institution three years later, a seven-man Board of Trustees was established. Neither body seriously diluted Archer's authority nor reduced his duties. The Board regularly elected him

18. For a chronological list of Archer's publications, see Bibliography.

19. *Building a School*, pp. 108-11. The old Suffolk Savings Bank Building at 53 Tremont Street had been gas-lit.

its Treasurer; in this capacity, he wielded financial control over the institution of which he was also Dean. The combination of duties exhausted Archer, but it also left him with a free hand in school affairs. He served as Dean until 1942 and Treasurer until 1946; his close friend Thomas J. Boynton chaired the Board of Trustees from 1911 until his death in 1945. As long as the pairing lasted, Suffolk was Gleason Archer's school.

The Dean's duties had grown so demanding by 1914 that Archer became literally a full-time resident of the school. Enrollment jumped when Suffolk Law School was granted power to confer degrees; new energies and new facilities were required. Archer mortgaged his home to purchase a new school location at 45 Mount Vernon Street, and moved with his family to the top floor of the building.²⁰



Thomas Jefferson Boynton, Dean Archer's close friend and Chairman of the Board of Trustees from 1911 until 1945.

During the seven years they lived there, Dean Archer worked at the school from nine A.M. until 9:30 P.M., six days a week. He taught, administered, lobbied, kept accounts, and acted as press agent. He personally directed the building of an annex in 1915, and when that proved inadequate, plunged into an expansion campaign. For it, Archer solicited funds, negotiated loans, engaged builders, fought strikers, and again supervised construction. His house was remortgaged, and his capital was invested in the undertaking. Personal borrowing was backed with added

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20. Archer married Elizabeth Glenn Snyder on October 6, 1906; they had met as students at Boston University. Four children were born to them, of whom three survived infancy: Allan Frost Archer (named for Archer's friend Allan Gleason and for George Frost), born in 1908; Marian Glenn Archer (named for one of her mother's sisters), born in 1910; and Gleason Leonard Archer, Jr., born in 1916. Norman Bradley Archer was born, and died, in 1912. After their marriage, the Archers lived at 6 Alpine Street, Roxbury, until June, 1909, when they moved to a house on Mishawan Road, Woburn. They remained there until removing to the top floor of the school building in September, 1914.

insurance on his life. The Dean was even forced by the scope of his exertions to give up teaching. When Archer moved with his family in 1921 to the top floor of the new structure on Derne Street, he had pledged himself for every aspect of the building.²¹

The incautious pledge, however, was soon redeemed; by 1930, Archer and his “family” had made Suffolk one of the world’s largest law schools. The Dean, his wife Elizabeth, and their three children retained

the top floor apartment until 1937. From the “imperial suite,” as he called it, Archer supervised school affairs twenty-four hours a day. Mrs. Archer’s father, the Reverend Henry S. Snyder, had been appointed Assistant Treasurer and Superintendent at the school in 1914; he and his wife lived with the Archers from that time on. Their son, H. Rossiter Snyder, also helped in the treasurer’s office when the need arose. Gleason’s brother Hiram had taught at the school as early as September, 1907. He was appointed Director of the Review Department in 1915, and thus became the first full-time faculty member. Elected a Trustee in 1930, Hiram Archer actively served Suffolk until his death in 1966. The Dean’s younger son, Gleason, Jr., also became a Trustee in 1939; like Hiram, he continued to teach at the institution after his election to the Board. His sister Marian managed the Bookstore, and served as Advisor to Women after 1934. Her husband, Paul MacDonald, headed



Dean and Mrs. Archer with their children, October, 1926: The eldest, Allan, is at the extreme right; Marian, the middle child and only daughter, and Gleason, Jr., the youngest, stand between their parents.

21. *An Important Message* (1919) was produced by Archer as publicity for this expansion campaign; it was reprinted in 1978 as the first number in the Suffolk University Historical Pamphlet Series. On this period, see Gleason Archer, *The Impossible Task* (Boston: Suffolk Law School Press, 1926). The Law School grew from 14 students in 1906, to 135 in 1914, to 761 in 1920, to a peak of 2604 in 1927. In the face of continued growth after 1920, a Temple Street Annex was added (also under Dean Archer’s supervision) to 20 Derne Street in 1923-24.

the Placement Bureau, and went on to become Bursar. Julia Archer, daughter of the Dean's eldest brother, served on the office staff, while the Dean's younger brother Harold was brought from Maine to work at the school in 1926; he preceded Marian as Bookstore Manager.²²

Maine provided the Suffolk "family" with a number of recruits. Dean Archer never forgot his origins. He brought to Suffolk all three sons of the uncle who in 1899 had found him a place in Sabattus. Upon graduation from the law school in 1927, Kenneth Williams joined Hiram Archer on the full-time faculty. Both his brothers also graduated from Suffolk; to pay living expenses as students, Leonard was appointed Recorder at the school, while Gerard became Assistant Engineer, then Librarian. Roger Stinchfield, who preceded Leonard as Recorder, followed in his cousin Kenneth's footsteps. Shortly after graduation in 1930, Stinchfield was appointed a faculty member by Gleason Archer. The Dean also became patron to a number of Maine boys who were unrelated to him. Monitors at Suffolk were always theology students at Boston University, but most other administrative positions were put in the hands of Archer's "Maine mafia." In these destitute students he saw himself, and he loved playing George Frost to them.²³



Catherine C. Caraher, Archer's right hand and Suffolk Law School's mainstay from 1919 until 1939. When this picture was taken in 1927, she was beginning a short-lived career as Suffolk's only female student.

22. Archer purchased a bungalow on Stetson Road in Norwell in 1916; five years later, he bought a larger house across Stetson Road from the bungalow. Although living most of the year at the law school, the Archers spent their summers and holidays in the "country" at Norwell. The bungalow was finally sold to Catherine Caraher in 1933. On the Archer family and its occupations in the school, see *Ancestors and Descendants*, as well as Suffolk catalogues and Trustee minutes for this period. An interview with Gleason Archer, Jr., also provided insight. Not to be outdone by her relatives, Elizabeth Glenn Archer composed a school song, "Hymn to Suffolk."

Archer's office staff rounded out his "family." Chief among them was the indefatigable, indispensable Catherine C. "Kay" Caraher. Hired as the Dean's secretary at seventeen in 1919, she became Archer's most trusted assistant. With Hiram Archer and, later, Kenneth Williams, Caraher handled the day-to-day running of Suffolk Law School until her resignation in 1939. The ingenious, and unique, system of selling class admission "tickets" was her creation: tuition payment and class attendance could thus be computed simultaneously. She headed up a close-knit band of Irish Catholics in a predominantly Yankee administration. Caraher's sister Margaret "Peg" Gillespie, Dorothy McNamara, and her sister Evelyn Reilly together compiled over a century of service to the school. Gillespie succeeded her sister as Law School Secretary in 1939, and the beloved "Dotty Mac" remained a Suffolk fixture for forty-six years as Bursar and Alumni Director. All were part of the Dean's "family." They received frequent invitations to join Archer and his relatives at Archer's Norwell estate, on fishing trips, or for drives in the Dean's old Stearns Knight.

At the head of his clan, Archer was tireless. He wrote the school catalogues, founded an Alumni Association, edited the *Alumni News*, and provided the association with a home. He recruited "family" member Alden Cleveland as Alumni Secretary and resident caretaker. When activities shifted to



Marian (Archer) MacDonald, with her father. The occasion was her graduation from Suffolk Law School in 1937; she was the first woman to graduate from the school, and her success convinced Dean Archer to open its doors to other women.

23. Both Hiram Archer and the Reverend Leonard Williams married Stinchfields: John F. Stinchfield served as Librarian at Suffolk from 1910 until 1912. On Archer's relatives, see *Ancestors and Descendants*; on their occupations and on the "Maine mafia," see the Suffolk catalogues and Trustee minutes for the period 1921-30. Useful information was also provided in interviews with Catherine (Caraher) Finnegan, Kenneth B. Williams, and Dorothy McNamara. In addition, Archer maintained until his resignation a pension list of needy individuals who had helped or befriended him during his early struggles at the school.

Norwell for the summer, Dean Archer held open house. There he marshalled a formidable array of Maine frontier skills. He cooked, fished, farmed, pruned, cut wood; he even constructed a trout pool and built a log cabin by hand. His relentless activity provided an example to his household which none could match --but which none could disregard.²⁴

The remarkable success of Suffolk Law School by 1930 was a "family" achievement; a sense of mission passed from the Dean through his staff to the students themselves. Prosperity, however, resulted from more than morale. Gleason Archer was offering a very marketable product, as the 2,600 men who filled his school in 1927 testified. Evening classes allowed students to retain jobs. A part-time faculty kept costs down and tuition low. The case method was discarded as unsuitable to part-time students. And there were no entrance requirements; Archer offered every man an opportunity to study law.

His approach provoked hostility. Suffolk's Trustees petitioned in 1912 for the right to grant degrees; their request sparked the fiercest educational struggle in the Massachusetts legislature's history. The resistance, Archer argued, came from arrogant monopolistic interests. This "Educational Octopus," Archer asserted, despised the common man, the "true" American; it was dedicated to the preservation of privilege. Had not President Lowell of Harvard taken a personal hand in the legislative proceedings, and a Harvard overseer sneeringly denounced Archer's attempt to "turn cart horses into trotters"?²⁵

24. Alden Cleveland lived at 73 Hancock Street until 1939, when it was given up by the Alumni Association; he had managed the Suffolk Bookstore before being drafted by Archer as Alumni Secretary. At Norwell, Archer constructed with his own hands a log cabin and a screened, open-air dining platform. They were christened, respectively, the "Reverie" and the "Air Castle." Both were located well away from the main house, beside a bubbling spring. Archer also dug a trout brook and pond there, using the run-off from the spring for water. He stocked the pond with trout and trained them to bite on hamburger, so that only his guests could successfully fish the pond. Ultimately, he even constructed a net over the pond to repel predatory birds. It was an extraordinary complex, and it provides an excellent indication both of Archer's manual dexterity and of the lengths to which he would go to provide hospitality for his guests. Interviews with Catherine (Caraher) Finnegan and Gleason Archer, Jr., afforded me some indication of why an invitation to Norwell was so highly valued; and Elizabeth Archer's first book, *Poems on Nature and Human Nature* (Boston: By the Author, 1930), also contains a revealing set of verses on "The Air Castle."

25. Gleason Archer, *The Educational Octopus* (Boston: By the Author, 1915), p. 278; *Building A School*, p. 78; Gleason Archer, *How Suffolk University Was Captured* (Boston: By the Author, 1956), p. 1.

Suffolk's Dean sought help from an unfamiliar quarter. Archer had been a Republican from the cradle, born into a community where there were "not more than four Democrats of voting age."²⁶ Republican complicity in the effort to "control" education shocked him, however; the attack on free competition contradicted his fundamental beliefs. As a result, Archer was soon in contact with top Democratic leaders. Irish almost to a man, they were no strangers to the fight against exclusiveness and privilege. Thomas Boynton was a local Democratic chairman. Through him, General Charles Bartlett, James Vahey, and Joseph O'Connell were brought onto the Board of Trustees. Their mediation brought Martin Lomasney and Mayor James Michael Curley into the fray. After a three-year legislative battle, Archer and his allies finally won. They even managed to unseat Governor Eugene Foss in the process. Newly-elected Democrat David Walsh signed the Suffolk Law School charter on March 10, 1914.

Archer's Democratic ties did not end with the charter fight. Lomasney, "the splendid old War Horse of the West End," remained Suffolk's champion until his death in 1933.²⁷ His loyalty confirmed the importance attached to Archer's school by the West End constituency. Curley, too, was a constant supporter. The Mayor made Archer a member of his "brain trust." He appointed the Dean to a number of executive commissions, and in 1930 designated him Vice-Chairman of the Boston Tercentenary. Although Archer never could accept Democratic machine politics, he respected Curley, Lomasney, and their colleagues as fellow campaigners for equality of opportunity.²⁸

26. "Rainbow Trail," p. 39.

27. Gleason Archer, "Journal II" (1920-32, unpublished), p. 384. Half of Suffolk's students were of Irish descent throughout Archer's tenure (for example, see survey in Suffolk Law School catalogue, 1925-26, pp. 21-22).

28. "Archer Refuses to Serve Curley," *Boston Traveler*, July 25, 1936. Among other civic offices to which Archer was appointed were: chief state arbiter for the Springfield Street Railway strike, 1914; special assistant to Massachusetts Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, 1926-28; Conference Committee on Unemployment, 1930; State Utilities Commission, 1935; and Shoe Industry Committee, 1935. In addition, he was a Trustee of the First Methodist Church, one of the first presidents of the Park Street Men's Club, on the Advisory Council of the Committee for Constitutional Government, a member of the Bostonian Society, and a Rotarian. Throughout his life, he was also an active supporter of temperance organizations and prohibition.

The Dean repeatedly appealed to the legislature and its Democratic majority for aid against his "monopolistic" antagonists: the Board of Education, the Bar Association, the Bar Examiners, the Board of Collegiate Authority, and, ultimately, even his own Trustees. The General Court, Archer asserted, was "close to the people"; it therefore had both the power and the responsibility to override selfish dictates by committees, boards, and professional associations. The Democratic Party defended legislative primacy against bureaucratic usurpation and private interest. At least until the advent of the New Deal, Gleason Archer and the Democrats were natural allies.²⁹

His first encounter with the "Educational Octopus" left Dean Archer profoundly suspicious of any movement to "control" education in the name of "standards." When the American Bar Association proposed in 1921 to require two years of college for admission to the bar, Archer was outraged. He viewed the action as an attempt to exclude workmen from law study, to make law a "millionaires' racket." After all, less than two percent of Americans in 1921 could afford the privilege of attending college. Behind the proposal, he saw the hand of the "educational trust." The same sinister interests that had opposed Suffolk's charter in 1912 were now moving, he believed, against all schools of Suffolk's type. Tuition costs already excluded newcomers from the universities which formed the "Educational Octopus." The monopolists, Archer argued, were now out to close the legal profession to all except graduates of their chosen universities, just as, early in the century, they had closed the medical profession. Harvard Law School and Boston University Law School were singled out as centers of militant monopolism. The Association of American Law Schools was denounced as a pressure group for the exclusive "University" law schools. It had been AALS

29. "Dean Archer Lauds Solons," *Boston Evening American*, March 29, 1932; "Archer Joins New Deal Foes," *Boston Traveler*, August 13, 1936; "Archer Declines Governor Curley Appointment," *Boston Evening Transcript*, July 24, 1936. All of Suffolk's charters (1914, 1935, 1937) were challenged by the State Board of Education; on the other conflicts, see below, notes 31 and 39.

30. "Dean Archer Lauds Solons," *Boston Evening American*, March 29, 1932; Gleason Archer, "Equality of Opportunity Demanded," *Boston Evening American*, April 4, 1932; Gleason Archer, "Dean Archer Checks on Bar Test Correctors," *Boston Evening American*, April 5, 1932; "Journal II," pp. 121, 248. Archer refers to the "juggernaut of monopoly" in "Journal III" (1932-34, unpublished), p. 1.

activity which pushed the new “standard” through the ABA Section of Legal Education.³⁰

Suffolk’s Dean led opposition to the “college monopoly.” For the next ten years, Archer criss-crossed the country. He attended ABA conventions and addressed state bar associations; he spoke to groups of lawyers, to law educators, and to the general public. He lobbied in legislatures and cooperated with sympathetic legislators, like Martin Lomasney in Massachusetts. His enemies labeled him a “reactionary” for his opinions and his rejection of the case method; they sought to discredit him by denouncing Suffolk as a “proprietary school” dedicated only to maximal profits. He took the abuse, exposed the distortions, and fought on. To counterbalance the AALS, Archer organized in 1922 the National Association of Day and Evening Law Schools. The campaign earned him honorary degrees from two charter members of the new association. More important, it left him with a permanent hostility toward all accrediting bodies and toward any form of educational “control.” Finally, it made him a public figure. By 1929, Gleason Archer was a nationally recognized spokesman for “equality of opportunity.”³¹

It was a speech on that very topic which led Dean Archer into radio broadcasting. He took the microphone as a substitute speaker at WBZ-WBZA on September 29, 1929. Within a fortnight, he had his own show; his hard-line broadcasts on crime and criminal law immediately won attention for him and his school. A natural showman, Archer grasped the possibilities of radio; he developed a passion for the new medium.

31. “Archer and Law School Scored,” *Boston Herald*, February 18, 1930; “Journal II,” pp. 120, 125-26; “Journal III,” p. 1. Archer was attacked as a “reactionary” not only because he opposed compulsory college training for lawyers, but also because he denounced the case method in favor of black-letter law. The National Association of Law Schools was still alive, if only on paper, in 1945-46; that was the last year in which the Suffolk Law School catalogue identifies Suffolk as a member. Archer’s honorary degrees came from Atlanta Law School (LLD, 1926) and John Marshall Law School, Chicago (LLM, 1944). When Archer became convinced in 1932 that the Massachusetts Board of Bar Examiners was discriminating against evening law school candidates, he opened a full-scale attack on the Board, its members, and the “monopolists” with which it was “conspiring.” Archer not only appealed to the General Court to curb the Bar Examiners’ power; he also carried his case to the general public in spirited newspaper columns and radio broadcasts. On the significance of this and the “college monopoly” fight, see Jerold S. Auerbach, *Unequal Justice: Lawyers and Social Change in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

Mayor Curley in 1930 appointed him Chairman of the Boston Tercentenary Radio Broadcasting Committee. In that capacity, Archer delivered the inaugural Tercentenary radio address; he also assembled, through the National Broadcasting Company in New York, a nationwide network for his Tercentenary historical broadcasts. When these ended, public response had been so impressive that NBC asked Dean Archer to begin a series on legal issues. "Laws That Safeguard Society" remained an NBC staple for three years. Dean Archer traveled weekly to WEAF in New York, where his network transmission originated. His facility for popularization also led to an historical series on WBZ-WBZA which lasted from 1930 until 1934.³²

Subsequent publication of material from both series attested Archer's popularity, and that wide appeal opened the doors of many broadcasting luminaries. David Sarnoff, Rudy Vallee, and John Shepard of the Yankee Network were all brought by Archer into Suffolk affairs. John Clark, Program Director at WBZ, became a close friend. The inside knowledge gained from them eventually enabled Archer to produce his two-volume *History of Radio*; a pioneering effort when published in 1938-39, it remained for years the authoritative statement.³³



Dean Archer at the microphone. His nationwide NBC network broadcasts, on law and colonial history, originated from WEAF in New York.

His school, however, remained Archer's first love. He never hesitated to exploit for its sake the exposure and the connections which he derived from broadcasting. During a

32. The account of Archer's radio career is based on "Journal II," pp. 274-79, 298-325.

33. For a list of the books based on Archer's broadcasts and broadcasting experience, see Bibliography.

time of economic depression, Suffolk needed all the help it could get.

That aid was all the more necessary because, as the twenty-fifth anniversary Jubilee approached, Gleason Archer had ambitious plans for his law school. He had long fought the "educational trust" over the college requirement for bar admission. Now, he proposed to banish the specter of a "college monopoly" in the professions by opening a college that working people could afford. The new college, he asserted, would become a "haven of opportunity," and Suffolk "a great evening University."³⁴

Expansion followed the founder's blueprint. During the prosperity of the late twenties, Archer had purchased Beacon Hill property against just such an eventuality. He had already given 73 Hancock Street to the Alumni Association; his building at 59 Hancock Street, however, was quickly readied to receive the new "collegiate department."³⁵ The Suffolk College of Liberal Arts was founded in 1934. To its charter was affixed the signature of James Michael Curley, now Governor of the Commonwealth; he also received the College's first honorary degree. Three years later, the Main Building at 20 Derne Street was expanded from three stories to five. The structure had been designed in 1920, on the Dean's insistence, to accommodate the added weight. When the state legislature approved a charter creating Suffolk University in 1937, Archer became the first President of the new institution. The founder's vision had been realized. Of that realization, however, there was an ironic consequence. For the first time since 1914, no residential space was available at Suffolk; reconstruction of the school drove Gleason Archer and his family from it.³⁶

34. Suffolk College of Liberal Arts catalogue, 1934-35, p. 4; "Journal II," p. 348.

35. Archer had purchased 32, 34, 59, and 73 Hancock Street, and 2 Myrtle Street, by 1927. He bought 5 Hancock in December, 1927, and sold it again in 1928. He then purchased 40 Hancock Street in the spring of 1928. According to Dorothy McNamara, his plan was that Suffolk should one day expand northward from 20 Derne Street in the block bounded by Derne, Temple, Hancock, and Cambridge Streets -- much as it has done many years later. Archer was also counsellor to a real estate operation in Duxbury run by Carrola Bryant (see below, note 39).

36. After Marian Archer's marriage in 1935, her mother lived mainly in Norwell, while Dean Archer continued to reside at the school. He moved to 40 Hancock Street in 1937, when reconstruction of the University Building began, and remained there until 1948.

In a larger sense, too, the events of 1937 prepared the founder's departure. Expansion during the Depression was a bold step; when war followed, the University was left with no income to service its mortgage. Archer, as Treasurer, had built no endowment to cover such crises. By 1945, University finances were in a desperate condition.

So were relations between President Archer and the Trustees. The 1937 charter had raised the number of Board members from seven to eighteen. New membership undermined the Board's docility; Archer's management encountered unprecedented scrutiny, which became more insistent as conditions deteriorated. The President, for his part, had been sensitive to criticism throughout his life; he tended to view those who disagreed with him as "enemies." Years of success, culminating in the triumphs of 1937, had pushed him from self-assurance to complacency. A self-made man and a rugged individualist, he found it hard to view the Board's "control" as anything but conspiracy against him, his values, and the school that embodied them.



Dean Archer enrolls Rudy Vallee in Suffolk Law School, 1932. Fellow State of Mainers, the two men became great friends during Archer's broadcasting career. For the publicity that it would give the school, Vallee agreed to enroll, just as he later consented to be listed as a Trustee and as an instructor in the College of Journalism.

Archer's abhorrence of "control" contributed, as well, to other frictions with the Trustees. The President was reluctant to seek ABA accreditation because it would mean submitting Suffolk Law School to "regulation." Accreditation, however, seemed a matter of growing urgency to Trustees like Hiram Archer and Frank Donahue, as well as to Frank Simpson, who replaced Gleason Archer as Dean in 1942. The maverick status of Suffolk and its founder

worried them; they wanted to standardize Suffolk education with that given at "quality" law schools, and they saw ABA requirements as a useful guide in that process.³⁷

A second conflict arose over President Archer's views on New Deal efforts at "control." By 1936, he was convinced that New Deal "liberalism" was not furthering, as it professed to do, equality of opportunity. Archer viewed it, instead, as a confused mixture of socialism and monopolistic paternalism. As a Progressive, he had spent much of his life fighting these twin threats to "true American" free competition; and like many other former Progressives, he turned on the New Deal. Archer denounced Roosevelt's "alien-minded" advisors who, he insisted, were working to transform the United States into "a Bureaucratic Totalitarian State -- with themselves as perpetual overlords." He broke with Governor Curley in 1936 and associated himself with the National Jeffersonian Democratic Party, an anti-Roosevelt splinter group. Eight years later, the American Democratic National Committee revived the crusade. Suffolk's President became national chairman of the organization; he also produced *On the Cuff*, a scathing attack on the New Deal.³⁸

Archer's efforts cost Suffolk indispensable federal programs during the wartime financial crisis. They also earned him the enmity of several more Trustees. Bernard Killion, Roosevelt campaign treasurer in Massachusetts, was furious; he was supported in his indignation by Bretton Woods proprietor David Stoneman and by Judge

37. On these conflicts, see Trustee minutes and the transcripts of Board meetings that were taken from 1946 until 1948. See also Gleason Archer's "Status of Suffolk University, January 16, 1939" (reply to Hiram Archer's memorandum to the Board), President Archer's "Program for Accreditation of Suffolk University (April 10, 1947)," his "In re the Evans Bill -- Senate 433 (Remarks before Joint Committee on Education, January 26, 1948)," and *How Suffolk University Was Captured*. Interviews with John Griffin, Kenneth B. Williams, Donald Goodrich, and Gleason Archer, Jr., have also been very helpful.

38. "Dean Archer Heads Anti-Roosevelt Drive," *Boston Herald*, August 14, 1936; "House Probes Dean Archer's Organization," *Boston Traveler*, October 7, 1944; "Archer Group Probe Shifts to Dallas, Texas," *Boston Traveler*, October 10, 1944; Gleason Archer, *On the Cuff* (Boston: Suffolk University Press, 1944), back jacket; see also Otis L. Graham, Jr., *Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the New Deal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967). As head of the American Democratic National Committee, Archer found himself with some unsavory bedfellows: the organization (and *On the Cuff*) received enthusiastic support from both the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin's Christian Front and Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party. The subsequent Congressional investigation of the ADNC did nothing to raise Archer's standing in the eyes of his Trustees.

Donahue, who had for years been a major figure in Massachusetts Democratic politics.³⁹

At war's end, a majority of the Board viewed as imperative the retirement of their sixty-five year old President. His abilities were still redoubtable; but his rogue-elephant style contrasted sharply, in their view, with the needs of the University in an increasingly corporate and bureaucratic educational world.

The sequel was unedifying. Three years of acrimony and litigation finally ended in August, 1948, with President Archer's tearful departure. Most of his remaining "family" went with him.⁴⁰ Archer had transferred formal ownership to the Board in 1914, but Suffolk had been "his" school - as Dean, Treasurer, and President - for over forty years. Enforced withdrawal was profoundly difficult. He never did fully understand the reasons for his ouster; a belief that he was the victim of injustice dogged him for the rest of his life, as did a terrible sense of loss.⁴¹

Archer remained indomitable, however. At 67, he was still an entrepreneur. Immediately after his dismissal, he purchased a Pembroke farm; there he initiated the growing of cultivated blueberries in Massachusetts. He founded, and for years presided over, the Massachusetts Cultivated Blueberry Association. The Pembroke Historical Society

39. The attempt to attract financial support during Suffolk's wartime crisis had brought to the Board ambitious, strong-willed men. Tension quickly developed between them and Carrolla Bryant. Archer had hired Miss Bryant, a former radio executive at WEAf in New York, as Registrar of the new "collegiate departments" in 1936. When Suffolk became a University one year later, she became Executive Secretary of the University. By 1939, she had replaced Catherine Caraher as Archer's right hand. A number of Trustees blamed her influence over the President for his obduracy. During the postwar crunch, a proposal was floated in the Board to retrench financially by abolition of the fledgling colleges. Miss Bryant, chief administrative officer of the colleges, steered Archer against the Trustees' plan; by using his own money, he was able to keep the colleges open in the fall of 1945. Over opposition by the Board of Collegiate Authority, President Archer appealed to the state legislature, so that the Suffolk colleges could receive accreditation and the students there become eligible for G.I. Bill funding. Accreditation was granted in March, 1946; the colleges were saved. The Trustees, however, dealt harshly with the defiant saviors. Miss Bryant was summarily dismissed; Archer was deposed as Treasurer, and most of his authority as President was stripped from him. It was at this point that he petitioned both the courts and the legislature for suspension of the Trustees' authority. The internecine struggle became a public brawl.

40. Hiram Archer, however, remained; he had outspokenly criticized his brother and Miss Bryant since before the war, and he was instrumental in organizing opposition to them. Hiram continued to serve the University, as Police School Director, Alumni Director, and finally as Suffolk's first Archivist, until his death in 1966. His "defection" in 1948 left a wide family rift; it was years before the two brothers were reconciled. Also see above, note 37.

appointed him Director. In 1963, Archer married his old friend Pauline (Wilfong) Clark; he was 83, she 57. They sold the blueberry nursery, but Archer remained vigorous and active until stricken with cancer in 1965. He died, just three months after his brother Hiram, on June 28, 1966.⁴²

Gleason Archer's valediction to Suffolk came during the Jubilee Year of 1956. "It is my most sincere desire," the founder pleaded, "that the compact I made with George Frost fifty years ago may continue to animate the University." Only in that way could the institution's efforts be, as Archer asserted his "life interest" had always been,

vitaly focused upon the preservation to present and future generations of that democracy in education and in the opportunities of life which our ancestors transmitted to us.⁴³

The words evoke Horatio Alger; but no more fitting epitaph could be found for Gleason L. Archer. Nor could any pronouncement more accurately delineate the heritage bequeathed by him to the University he founded.

41. During the confrontation of 1945-48, irresponsible accusations were hurled by both sides. The one which received most notoriety, however, was the charge by one Trustee that President Archer had, over the years, siphoned some two million dollars from the school. Since indictment always receives larger print than exoneration, I feel constrained to dignify the charge by noting that an independent audit conducted by order of the Trustees in 1947 found Gleason Archer free from any financial wrongdoing. Stories have since circulated at Suffolk (from what source, I cannot ascertain) about Archer's loose handling of school monies -- as, for instance, his having grabbed (literally) handfuls of tuition money at registration to take his staff to dinner. Catherine (Caraher) Finnegan, who maintained the scrupulous financial records which gained Archer a clean bill of health in 1947, indignantly denies that any such thing *could* have taken place. It would have disrupted her accounts, she asserts, and she would not have permitted it.

42. Archer and his first wife, Elizabeth, had been separated for years by the time she died in 1961. Archer had moved in 1948 from 40 Hancock Street to the ten-acre farm he purchased on Old Washington Street in Pembroke. Elizabeth Archer continued to live at the Norwell complex until 1955, after which she lived with relatives until moving, two years before her death, to a Hanover, Massachusetts, nursing home. Polly Clark, a singer and radio-TV personality, was an old friend of Archer: her husband was John Clark, the WBZ Program Director who had launched Archer's broadcasting career. The Clarks had lost touch with Gleason Archer, but, after John Clark's death in 1959, Polly Clark's career brought her back to Boston -- where contact was reestablished by the widowed Dean. After their marriage, Gleason Archer and his new wife moved to 222 Hollis Avenue, North Quincy, where they remained until Archer's death. He was buried in Centre Cemetery, Pembroke. An interview with Polly Archer has proved very helpful, as have materials contributed by her.

43. *Fifty Years of Suffolk University*, p. 8; "Journal II," p. 385.



President Archer, Hiram Archer, and Gleason Archer, Jr. (extreme left), with Trustees James M. Swift (center) and William F.A. Graham (right), 1941. Factionalism in the Board was already growing, and within three years the President's supporters (Swift, Gleason, Jr.) would scarcely be speaking to his detractors (Hiram Archer, Graham).

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"Weekly Broadcasts on the History of the Massachusetts Bay Colony" (roughly two years' worth; these broadcasts followed the two years of broadcasts on Plymouth Plantation which were published in *Mayflower Heroes* and *With Axe and Musket at Plymouth*).

"Lumber Camp to College," 1947 (1880-1906 autobiography, with addenda).

"America 1620-1932" (2 copies); also part of same entitled "New England in America" ("Brewster, Bradford, Winslow, and Co."), dated 1950-51.

"Lumber Jack Land" (autobiography, 1889-April 17, 1896; second half of first part of 1880-1906 autobiography of which "Lumber Jack to Lawyer" is the second part).

"Lumber Jack to Lawyer" (autobiography, April 17, 1896-1906); dated February, 1959. Chapter I is Chapter XXX in "Rainbow Trail."

"Rainbow Trail" (autobiography, 1880-1906); ca. 1959.

"The Tudor Dynasty" (1961).

"Princess Magda's Embattled Trout Brook" (1962).

"More Than A Man" (biography of George Washington), n.d.

"The New England Colonies 1628-92," n.d.

"Plymouth Pioneers" (1628-29), n.d.

Radio

Sunday afternoon, September 29, 1929: "Equality of Opportunity," WBZ-WBZA.

Beginning November 12, 1929, Tuesday afternoons, 4:15-4:35 (moved to 7:15 PM shortly thereafter): "Crime" ("Criminal Law"), WBZ-WBZA.

March 17, 1930, Monday, 4:45-5:00 PM: Inaugural Boston Tercentenary broadcast, WNAC; also later Tercentenary broadcasts (WEEI, WBZ-WBZA, WLOE, WLEX).

Beginning April 11, 1930, Fridays, 11:45 AM: NBC network Tercentenary historical broadcasts, WEAf (New York); after end of historical series, begins (July 15, 1930, Tuesdays, 7:15 PM) "Laws That Safeguard Society," WEAf/NBC. Moved to Saturdays, 7:15 PM, from January 10, 1931 until series ended June 4, 1933; also aired on WBZ on Thursday evenings from January 19, 1933.

Beginning January, 1931, Tuesdays, 7:45 PM: "Colonial History" (first Plymouth Plantation, then Massachusetts Bay Colony), WBZ-WBZA; moved to Sundays, 3:00-3:15 PM in February, 1931. Still broadcasting this series (Sundays, 4:15-4:30 PM) in April, 1934.

January 31-February 12, 1932: eight broadcasts on "Bar Exam Abuses in Massachusetts," WBZ-WBZA; also March 20, 1932 broadcast on the "Bar Exam of January, 1932," WBZ-WBZA.

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