ALFRED SERENO HUDSON



THE HISTORY OF CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS

The History of Concord, Massachusetts

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PREFACE

The town of Concord is probably as attractive in historical features as any in this country. Its early connection with the American Revolution; its association with the life and works of Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau and other distinguished authors; and its having formerly been the County Seat of old Middlesex all contribute to make the place notable. It is thronged annually with thousands of visitors, some mere sightseers, some seeking inspiration from the shrines visited, some to say they have been to Concord.

The History of Concord written by Lemuel Shattuck and published in 1835, is not now easily obtainable. Only a few copies, if any, of the work of Charles H. Walcott, Esq., remain unsold; and the historical sketches of Rev. Grindall Reynolds, D. D., and the Hon. John S. Keyes were written for the Histories of Middlesex County, which are too bulky and expensive for common use.

Besides these standard works, nothing that we are aware of has been published of the town's consecutive annals, except occasional pamphlets and addresses. Because of these things we believe an available History may be desirable, and by the preparation of these pages we have sought to supply it.

The work is designed to be in two volumes; the first entitled Colonial Concord: the second, Provincial Concord.

Volume I includes the annals of the town from its origin in 1635, until 1692, at which time the Massachusetts Bay Colony became a Province, together with brief biographical sketches of the original grantees.

Volume II. will include the annals from 1692 through the Provincial period to the close of the Revolutionary war.

Volume I is divided into two parts. The first contains the story of the settlement setting forth the leading facts in the town's history, so far as known, to the year 1655.

In this portion of the work the writer has employed both fact and fiction; but in such a manner as to enable the reader easily to distinguish the one from the other. This method has been adopted because many of the early records were lost, and it is designed to supply the deficiency, as relates to manners and customs, by conjecture based on analogy as these were known to exist in other towns at the same time.

The second part is pure history. The facts are mainly given in chronological order and to a large extent set forth by copies of original records and ancient papers with references to the places where they are found.

A work on local history to be in the highest degree instructive should be more than a mere compilation of dates, statistics, and isolated facts, valuable only to antiquaries and genealogists. It should have such a background or setting of general history as will give the reader an intelligent understanding of the causes and results of the local events described.

For this reason, in instances where an occurrence is prominently connected with events in the country at large, the latter have been sufficiently described to show the relationship of one to the other.

No claim is made to great original research. The field of Concord history has been too carefully harvested in the past, to leave much opportunity for the gleaner to gather new sheaves, or to find much rich aftermath. We have collected our material from every available source whether of records, manuscript, publication or tradition. We have avoided dogmatic assertion and have intended to state hypothetically whatever is doubtful or unsettled.

Prominent among the writers of local history from whom we have quoted are those of Lemuel Shattuck, Charles E. Walcott, Esq. Rev. Grindall Reynolds, D. D. Hon John S. Keyes, and Albert E. Wood. We have also received valuable suggestions from the late Alfred Hosmer, and are also indebted to the historian, Rev. G. M. Bodge, to the Littleton

Historical Society, and others whose services have been kindly proffered and gratefully received.

That the work is free from errors it would be presumption to assert. No prudent writer of local history would make pretense to this. Neither do any who are charitably disposed and have had experience in the difficult work of the local annalist presume to judge the work of another from the standpoint of perfect accuracy. There are many subjects which will always be matters of doubt and controversy.

Evidence considered admissible by some might be rejected by others; and cases may occur when the evidence is considered about equal on either side.

This work has been written from the position of one who has great reverence for the religious faith of the fathers, and who recognizes in this faith a strong factor in whatever of greatness has accrued to us, as a Nation.

And if bringing out the facts, many of which are too little known, shall lead to a higher appreciation of the fathers and of the faith that made them what they were, one great object of the author will be accomplished.

A. S. H.

PART I. STORY OF THE SETTLEMENT OF CONCORD, MASS.

CHAPTER I.

A traveler's visit to an early homestead at Concord, Massachusetts — Scene at a Settler's fireside — Company expected—Strange sounds and sights talked about — Town Meeting topics discussed — Description of Concord in the present — Objects of Historic Interest — The North Bridge — Houses of the Revolutionary Period — The Wright Tavern — First Parish Meeting House—The Antiquarian House — Meriam 's Corner.

THE fire flickered and the sparks flew up the broad chimney, as a traveler sat on a fall evening before the half-burnt backlog, in Goodman Hartwell's snug farm-house in Concord town about two centuries and a half ago.

It was evident from the appearance of things that company was expected, for besides the usual oaken settle and chairs there were standing about sundry stools and a long, low bench. Presently a sound was heard at the door as if someone were fumbling for the latchstring, and as it opened several neighbors entered and also Goodmen Buttrick and Heald from the North quarter and Miles and Dakin from the South. A little later, Parson Peter Bulkeley arrived with the Gobble boys who had come from down by the river bay in an oxcart and having overtaken the minister had brought him along.

While waiting for others to come, various subjects were talked about, among which were some strange noises which Colonial Goody Dean said she "heerd near the buryin ground."

Some said they were made by an earthquake, others suggested a landslide, but these explanations did not satisfy Duty, who declared that "the sounds ware above the airth, not under it nor inside it. Besides," said she, "the milk has soured twice sence I heerd them so I think the cows heerd them too fur they feed there."

The matter being referred to the minister he said, after a moment's reflection, "Such things being unusual contain a lesson and should lead us to be circumspect and careful in our conduct." He was about to say more but was interrupted by a faint rap at the back door which was at the end of a low entry under the lean-to roof.

Goodman Hartwell snatched from the mantlepiece a saveall on which a short candle stub sputtered and going out soon returned with Goody Rice who had come across lots for an evening call. The newcomer created a fresh breeze of excitement for she confirmed what Duty had said of the queer noises, and also told about a strange creature which had several times been seen near the "great meadows," sometimes looking like a man and sometimes like a goat, but always vanishing when approached.

It was at once agreed that since the strange sight and sounds were at about the same time they might have the same cause, and as the matter was a serious one it was thought wise before considering it further to wait till others came in, "For," said Ensign Hosmer who had just entered, "there's some up our way who've heerd things, and I consait seen things too, and perhaps the creature is the 'specter wolf folks have talked of."

The further time of waiting was mostly occupied in talking over the condition of Dame Smeadley, who, Goodman Farwell who had just visited her said, was "low and languishing and much in need of the physic and paynes of the chirugeon."

When a sufficient number had come in to begin business all other subjects were soon dropped and the business of the evening was entered upon, which consisted of an informal talk about things that were to be considered at a coming town meeting, among which were matters connected with the cow commons, "the seating of the meeting house,"

and the making of some new rules relative to strangers, it having been noised about that one or two of these might become the town charge.

As each new comer entered he was introduced to the traveler, and when it was understood that he had journeyed all the way from Watertown to observe the customs, manners, and ways of doing things of the people at the Musketequid plantation, great interest was at once taken in him and a disposition was manifested to aid him in every way possible.

Among other marks of cordiality was the promptness with which they invited him to their "housen," offering the freedom and hospitality of their firesides and promising if he would set a time they would come for him.

The traveler appeared pleased, and afterwards in accepting their invitations, sat at many hearthstones listening to the sparks and gathering much of colonial lore and pioneer experience of the settlers of Concord.

Before narrating, however, what he heard and saw, we will speak of Concord as it is, and briefly outline its earlier history. Concord, Massachusetts, is in Middlesex County about twenty miles from Boston. It has a territorial area of about fifteen miles and a population of between five and six thousand. It is intersected from north to south by the New York, New Haven and Hartford railroad and from east to west by the Fitchburg division of the Boston and Maine. The Lexington branch of the latter road enters the town from the east, terminating at Concord Junction near the Massachusetts Reformatory. The trolley cars, also have found their way here, and rumble over the old roads and past ancient homesteads; and where once the farm boy drove his herd afield amid the quietness of nature, may now be seen strange vehicles, whose whizzing and whirring

show plainly that Concord is not exempt from modern progress.

The Center or central village of Concord has a population of from two to three thousand and contains approximately five hundred private residences. It has no stores or shops beyond what are locally required; and more or less or its inhabitants are those who in retirement have sought here a restful retreat, or who, while doing business elsewhere, have made this their home. About midway of the central village is a small common or public square. In this square is a monument commemorative of the town's soldiers and sailors who died in the civil war. Near the corner of the Common to the easterly where the road turns towards the Battle Ground is the old County Court House where the District Court for central Middlesex holds its sessions. Southerly of the Court House is the Town House and on the opposite side to the westward is the old Registry of Deeds building used for county purposes when Concord was a shire town. To the northerly of the square is "The Colonial," a building associated with the Revolutionary war and the family of Henry Thoreau.

The places of interest in Concord are both historic and classic. Foremost among the former is the site of the old North Bridge about a half mile from the public square. By this spot several Provincial and British soldiers were killed April 19, 1775. The slain Americans were Capt. Isaac Davis and Abner Hosmer of the Acton Minute Men and the Statue of the Minute Man designed by Daniel C. French a Concord sculptor marks the spot on or near where they fell.

The English soldiers slain were two in number. They were under the immediate command of Lieut. Edward Thornton Gould and were of a detachment of three companies under the command of Capt. Lawrie.

The spot where these soldiers fell and the British stood when they began firing upon the Provincials just over the river is designated by a stone monument erected by the town in 1836. Near this monument by the sidewalk protected in part by a stonewall and in part by a simple chain fence are the graves of the two fallen Britons.

The locality of these monuments is called the "Battle Ground." The original historic bridge was long since swept away by a river flood, and the present one was erected for a memorial purpose.

A short distance from the lane leading to the bridge on the road toward Concord center is the old Jones house built in 1654, now the residence of John S. Keyes, Justice of the Central Middlesex District Court. In this house there lived at the time of the Concord fight Elisha Jones, an ardent patriot whose zeal was so demonstrative on the retreat of the British that his house was made a target of, and the accuracy of the Englishman's aim may still be seen by a bullet mark in the east end.

About a mile from the North Bridge stands the old Barrett house, the home in the Revolutionary period of Col. James Barrett who commanded a regiment of Middlesex militia.

To this place a detachment of Regulars were sent under Capt. Lawrence Parsons by Lieut.-Col. Smith, who with the main body of English soldiers were stationed at the central village. In the door yard of this house the Britons burned a parcel of Provincial cannon carriages and endeavored to discover and destroy other public property.

Various incidents are told of the doings of the Red Coats during their short stay about the house, and of the Provincials who sought to foil them. It is said of the aged mother of the Colonel that she would not seek for herself a place of safety when told that the British were coming, but preferred to remain saying, "I can't live long anyway and I'd rather stay and see that they don't burn down the house and barn."

As a soldier seized a trunk containing some pewter plates she pluckily exclaimed, "That is private property," upon which it was let alone. She also expostulated with a British officer who had laid hold of Stephen, her grandson, causing his release. When the hungry Britons asked for

food she gave it saying, "We are commanded in the Bible to feed our enemies," and when offered money she said as she refused it, "It is the price of blood." In a field near the premises the provincials had concealed some muskets, and bullets were so disposed of in the house as to remain undiscovered, so that, all in all, Captain Parsons with his two companies of Regulars found but small compensation for his venturesome march. The Old Barrett house is about two miles north of Concord Center and is reached by the Lowell Road and the Barrett's Mill Road.

Near the Common or Public Square, and bearing a sign designating its historic importance is the "Wright Tavern" where it is asserted some of the English officers made their headquarters during their few hours sojourn in the town on April 19. Here, tradition says, Maj. John Pitcairn who commanded the British marines stirred his sugar and brandy saying as he did so, "In this way we will stir the blood of Yankees before night." This place was also the headquarters, or place of rendezvous, of the Concord Minute Men while awaiting on the morning of April 19, tidings of the advance of the English, and to this tavern Captain Smith and his company from Lincoln repaired and reported; so that it was within the course of a few hours the head center of two hostile forces who were to clash in battle on that fateful day. This tavern is very old. It was opened about 1747, by a militia captain named Ephraim Jones. In 1751, Jones sold the premises to Thomas Munroe formerly of Lexington, who continued the tavern business, and made the place, as Jones had done before him, a resort for the town officials on their days of public business, furnishing them with such refreshments as were demanded by the times and the special occasions.

About 1760, it came into the possession of Deacon Thomas Barrett, by a mortgage and was sold by him to Daniel Taylor. In 1775, Amos Wright became its proprietor, and although he kept an Inn there but a short period, it was long enough to give it a lasting name, for it has been known

as the Wright Tavern ever since, notwithstanding it was sold in 1793, to Capt. Reuben Brown formerly of Sudbury.

Near the Wright Tavern on the south is the First Parish or Unitarian Meeting House, which stands on the site of one erected in 1712, where in 1774, the first Provincial Congress met, with John Hancock as President. The immediate predecessor of the present edifice after having been repeatedly remodeled was destroyed by fire April 12, 1900.

A few rods to the southerly, on the left going toward Lexington is the Antiquarian House, said to be one of the oldest buildings in Concord and formerly the home of Reuben Brown, a saddler. Here is now kept a collection of relics among which is the sword of Col. James Barrett, a gun of one of the English soldiers who fell at the North Bridge and a tobacco box of Maj. John Buttrick.

About a mile below the Antiquarian House on the Lexington road which was traveled by the English soldiers both in their advance and their retreat on April 19, is Meriam's Corner. Here was the first skirmish after the firing at the North Bridge, and the beginning of disaster to the retreating English, they having been attacked at this point by the Provincials who had crossed from the North Bridge over the "Great Fields" back of the Burying Ground, and also by companies from Reading, Chelmsford and Billerica.

A tablet suitably inscribed marks the spot of this memorable skirmish, and hard by, set back from the highway with its side upon the road to Bedford is the square antiquated dwelling house early occupied by the Meriams.

On one of its doors is the mark of a bullet received April 19th; and the brick oven and high mantle cupboard and corner beaufet are all indicative of the days of tallow candles and pewter plates.

On the east side of what is now Walden street at a place near the Congregational Trinitarian meeting house there stood on April 19, 1775, a store house in which some Provincial stores had been deposited by the Committee of Safety. These stores were saved from destruction by the English searching squad, by a ruse of the miller who had them in charge, who, placing his hands upon barrels of his own flour, said, "This is my flour. In the winter I grind my grain and in the spring I carry it to market."

The soldiers believing by this remark concerning his own flour that all the flour deposited there belonged to the miller departed saying, "We do not destroy private property."

CHAPTER II.

Places of Classic Interest — The "Old Manse" — Home of Ralph Waldo Emerson — The "Orchard House" — The "Wayside" Walden Pond— Thoreau's House — The Home of Frank B. Sanborn — Old Burying Grounds — Sleepy Hollow — Natural Objects.

THE places of classic interest in Concord are many and rare, for associated with its history both ancient and modern are men and women of world renown. Authors, poets, philosophers and jurists have contributed to the town's literary fame. The homes they once lived in are visited as shrines; and the paths once trodden by them are annually pressed by the footsteps of many who seek new inspiration by visiting the localities where these great men lived.

Probably the place of greatest interest is the "Old Manse." It is on the way to the "Battle Ground" and from its windows Rev. William Emerson witnessed the Concord Fight. Beneath its gray gables have lived a succession of the town's ministers; but what above everything else makes it distinguished is that it was for a time the home of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Nathaniel Hawthorne. Here the former wrote parts of his "Nature" and the latter "Mosses from an old Manse." It is about a half mile from Concord village standing back from the road amid a profusion of trees and shrubbery and has an air of antiquity and colonial comfort: The house was built for Rev. William Emerson in 1765.

The field between the "Old Manse" and the "Battle Ground" is supposed, on account of the many relics found there, to be the site of an Indian village.

Probably the object next in interest to the public is the house of Ralph Waldo Emerson. This like the birthplace of the bard of Avon is a place very dear to tourists. It is situated on the highway to Lexington and is easily distinguished by a cluster of pine trees which environ it. The house is of the colonial style of architecture, and of such pleasing proportions that it would be attractive to the passerby even were it not the home of the great essayist. It is now occupied by Miss Ellen Emerson, a daughter, and remains largely in its general outlook as when left by its former illustrious occupant.

The study which was on the first floor in one of the front rooms remains as when the great philosopher was alive, and the walks, the garden nooks, the home trees and such other objects as time, if let alone by man, leaves for years unchanged, are here much as in days of yore when Channing, Alcott, Hawthorne and Thoreau strolled among them.

Seldom, perhaps, in our land or in any land has a home been visited by more distinguished guests. From near and from far, from countries beyond the seas men have come to this spot and gone away bearing with them as an ample compensation the thought that they had visited the home of Emerson, walked in his footsteps, sat amid his trees and vines and heard the singing of birds and the humming of bees as he had heard them.

A quarter of a mile or more to the east on the left of the road is the "Orchard House". Here Bronson Alcott and his famous family lived; and here Louisa Alcott found material for "Little Women" and "Little Men" and several other of her notable books. In this house, Mr. Alcott founded the Concord School of Philosophy which was afterwards carried on in the small building at the rear.

Beyond the "Orchard House" is the "Wayside," another home of the Alcotts. It was sold by them in 1852 to Nathaniel Hawthorne who lived in it till his death, thus giving it double renown. The "tower room" at the rear was

Hawthorne's study, and there he wrote "Tanglewood Tales" and "Our Old Home".

It is stated that the larches between the "Orchard House" and the "Wayside" were brought by Mr. Hawthorne from England. The place is now the residence of Mrs. Daniel Lothrop, who as Margaret Sidney wrote "Little Maid of Concord Town" and other books.

To the south of Concord center, distant a mile and a half over the fields and meadows toward the town of Lincoln is Walden Pond, made famous by the author, poet, and naturalist, Henry Thoreau. The pond is about a mile long and three miles in circumference. It is almost entirely surrounded by woods and has no visible inlet or outlet. Its waters are said to rise and fall but through what cause no one knows, for it is sometimes higher in dry than in wet seasons. Upon the northerly side of this pond Thoreau built a house which served him for a home for two years and two months. He moved into it in 1845, and it cost him, apart from the frame work, twenty-eight dollars and twelve and one half cents. The boarding was of material obtained from the house of a laborer. The frame was of timber cut and hewn by himself with a borrowed axe.

The building which was ten feet wide and fifteen feet long stood upon slightly rising ground about twenty rods from a small cove. It had a garret, a closet, a large window on each side, a door at the end and a brick fireplace. The land upon which it was situated was owned by Ralph Waldo Emerson who charged his tenant no rent. The site of the house is marked by a simple cairn made of stones placed there by tourists.

Not far from Thoreau's house was his bean field, where he raised one year "nine bushels and twelve quarts of beans" which he says he sold at a "pecuniary profit of eight dollars seventy-one and one-half cents."

As is the case with many forest lakes, Walden has its legend and as usual it relates to the Indians, who, as the story runs had displeased the Great Spirit by their profanity at a powwow, whereupon in place of a pleasant hill came a pond which took its name Walden from an old squaw who was the only survivor.

About this pond there lived several emancipated slaves left over from that period of New England history when the rum habit and human servitude were not considered inconsistent with a high standard of morality. Of these Thoreau mentioned Cato Ingraham who lived east of his "bean field, slave of Duncan Ingraham, Esq., Gentleman of Concord village;" and Zilpha, a colored woman who had a little house "where she spun linen for the towns-folk, making the Walden woods ring with her shrill singing." He also states, that on Blister's Hill down the road on the right lived Brister Freeman a "handy negro" slave of Squire Cummings and "Fenda his hospitable wife who told fortunes." Other habitants of the pond precinct mentioned in Thoreau's writings are one Breed whose hut he says was about the size of his own; and an Irishman, Hugh Quoil, whom rumor said had been a soldier at Waterloo. "Napoleon" as the writer continues, "going to St. Helena and Ouoil to Walden woods."

Apart from its association with Henry Thoreau, Walden pond has attractions peculiarly its own. The waters are at times remarkably transparent partaking of the changeful sky tints, reflecting from the calm, clear depths the rich foliage upon its banks. In some places the adjacent ground slopes gradually forming a miniature beach where the bathers can walk out several feet, while in others it falls rapidly with a sharp, steep descent and the trees standing gracefully beside it give a very pleasing effect, so that all in all the variety of shore line affords the beholder very much the aspect of the famous Lake George in New York.

Walden pond may be reached from the Fitchburg R. R. station by a short walk down the track; or by carriage road down Thoreau street; or it may be reached from Monument Square by way of Main and Walden streets.

Among other localities especially associated with Henry Thoreau is the "landing place," a spot by the river near the South bridge, where he embarked on his trip for "A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers," and to which repeated reference is made by him.

The birthplace of Thoreau is on the Virginia road, a somewhat disused way, opening from the Bedford road, and the house where he died is the third on the left before reaching the corner of Thoreau street as one goes up Main street. At the time of Thoreau's death the house was occupied by his family and afterward by Bronson Alcott and his daughter Louisa.

Just east of the South bridge with stone arches, on Elm street, is the home of Frank B. Sanborn, a well-known journalist and the biographer of Alcott, Thoreau, Channing, and John Brown. The house was for a time the home of William Ellery Channing, and to it men of letters have oft times repaired for literary and social converse.

Its distinguished owner and occupant became conspicuous in ante bellum days, by an attempt to kidnap him on an alleged order of the President of the United States Senate for contempt in not appearing before that body to be examined in the interest of the southern slave power. The scheme so far succeeded as to result in the capture of Mr. Sanborn under pretense of a lawful arrest but was soon foiled by the persistence and pluck of Mrs. Sanborn and the granting of a writ of habeas corpus by Judge E. Rockwood Hoar, then of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court.

Mr. Sanborn was a friend of John Brown of Harper's Ferry renown, and through his influence the latter made a visit to Concord and lifted up his voice in behalf of freedom for the slave.

Next to the places made prominent by the Revolution and the objects and localities made famous by its distinguished men are its burying grounds. These places are of more than usual interest and few tourists leave the town without visiting them.

The one on the hill is supposed to be the oldest. Its exact age is not known but presumably it began as a church yard, for on a spot in the midst of it is supposed to have been built in 1635 or 1626 a little log meeting house; and it is altogether probable, as we shall subsequently state, that nearby contemporaneous with the erection of this first meeting house was the laying out of land, according to the old English custom for a place of burial. But be this as it may, the ground dates from about the beginning of the settlement and since then representatives of many generations have been buried there.

This yard contains fourteen or fifteen of the oldest gravestones in Concord, and more than two thirds of all the monuments and other grave markers bearing names of the original inhabitants of the town, are in this enclosure.

Upon these ancient tablets are the familiar names of Hosmer, Hartwell, Buttrick, Fletcher, Flint, Blood; also of Heald, Brooks, Wheate, Stow, Heywood, Temple, Taylor, Chandler, Clark, Minott and Melvin, — family names which, it will be observed as we pursue our narrative, are of men who were prominent in shaping the town's history. Besides the names, inscriptions and epitaphs in this yard have added to its interest. Conspicuous among them is one on the gravestone of the negro John Jack once a slave which is supposed to have been written by Daniel Bliss.

God wills us free; man wills us slaves.

I will as God wills; God's will be done.

Here lies the body of JOHN JACK

A native of Africa who died March 1773, aged about 60 years.

Tho' born in a land of slavery, He was born free.

Tho' he lived in a land of liberty, He lived a slave,

Till by his honest, tho' stolen, labors,

He acquired the source of slavery,

Which gave him his freedom;
Tho' not long before Death, the grand tyrant,
Gave him his final emancipation,
And set him on a footing with kings.
Tho' a slave to vice, He practised those virtues
Without which kings are but slaves.

Upon the summit of the hill within an altar tomb are the remains of Rev. Daniel Bliss, at one-time Pastor of the Concord church. Nearby is a tablet to the memory of the Rev. William Emerson. By the Catholic church, near Main and Bedford streets is a row of tombs in one of which repose the remains of the Rev. Ezra Ripley.

Space forbids a further notice of the names and exact place of sepulture of the honored dead. It is enough to say that the place is teeming with sacred associations of both the near and remote past; and as one looks up to it from the busy highway beneath, he may well feel it is a place unusual even in a town of exceptional interest.

The burying ground supposed to be second in age is on Main street a short distance west of the Bank. Tradition says that the land was given to the town for burial purposes by two maiden ladies. When it was opened for this purpose is not known; but it is designated in the records as existing as a burying ground as early as 1673.

The earliest stone is that of Thomas Hawthorne, who died November 17, 1697, and the next date found there is 1713. There are but few monuments and the stones are mostly slate. Prominent names on these stones are Hayward, Buss, Barrett, Miles, Potter, Stratton, Dakin, Jones, Davis, Prescott, Hubbard and Conant. Just east of this yard is the site of one of the town's old garrison houses.

"Sleepy Hollow" the latest cemetery in Concord is situated on the outskirts of the central village to the eastward, and a few minutes walk from the public square. The land was bought of the heirs of Reuben Brown in 1855. At its dedication the oration was delivered by Ralph Waldo

Emerson, and an ode was sung which was written by Frank B. Sanborn.

The natural conformation is admirably suited for the purpose of a cemetery, and the locality was called Sleepy Hollow long before it was used as a place of burial. The first interment was in 1855. Here by the Ridge Path is the grave of Hawthorne marked by a simple stone bearing only his name. Just behind it is that of Thoreau, at the head of which is a common red stone, and near this is the grave of Emerson marked by a large piece of rock. In 1869 the town obtained a strip of land which united the New Hill burying ground with Sleepy Hollow.

The most notable natural object in Concord is the river. It takes its rise in Hopkinton and Westboro, and empties into the Merrimac at Lowell. Its original name is Musketequid, signifying in the Indian language grassy ground. It is about two hundred feet wide where it enters the town and three hundred where it leaves it. Its current is so slow as sometimes to be scarcely perceptible. Its meadows are broad and in places extend to woody uplands, fertile fields and pleasant secluded nooks, where grow the cranberry vine and the wild grape.

There are places of interest along the banks of this river in other towns as well as Concord; a few miles southwesterly in the town of Wayland is the Old Town Bridge of Sudbury over which the Indians under King Philip were driven in 1676. Nearby stands the late home of Lydia Maria Child, noted author and abolitionist. And on a tributary of this stream in the adjoining town of Sudbury stands the "Wayside Inn" made famous by Longfellow.

Other of the prominent natural features of Concord are three hills, Nashawtuc, Annusnuc and Punkatassett. These names are all of Indian origin. Nashawtuc is just west of the river, near the South bridge. At or near the foot of this hill was the wigwam of Tahattawan, and the squaw Sachem, two of the aboriginal owners of the Concord territory. At the southwesterly was the homestead of Major

Simon Willard, the site of which is marked by a tablet. Annusnuc is at Concord Junction near the Massachusetts Reformatory. About this hill in the early days of the settlement was the "Hog-pen walk" a tract of land set apart by the original grantees for the pasture of swine.

On the plain land stretching to the southwesterly was held the famous State Muster by order of Gov. Nathaniel P. Banks, where in 1858 were encamped all the volunteer militia of Massachusetts.

Punkatasett is in the northeast part of Concord, about a mile from the North Bridge. It is conspicuous in Concord history as being the point of observation for the "embattled farmers" as they awaited events on the morning of April 19, 1775. Upon and about these hills there is a good outlook from which a large portion of the town can be seen and more or less of the winding river courses may be traced.

Fairhaven hill in the southwest part of the town overlooks Fairhaven pond, a tract of water or bay in Concord river having an area of about seventy-three acres. Brister's hill is beyond Walden pond near Lincoln. These latter places are frequently referred to in the works of Henry Thoreau.

Among the highlands which hardly attain hill proportions is the "Ridge" which skirts Concord center toward the east and south. This locality is of much historic interest as along the base of it was the "little strate strete", now a part of Lexington road along which the earliest house lots were laid out.

Upon the uplands to the rear were some of the first cornlands of the settlers, and from the more prominent points of this natural observatory they could look off upon their meadow lands which in those first years were the main means of sustenance for their livestock.

The Public Library building is of recent date being erected in 1873. It's situated at the junction of Sudbury road and Main street and stands upon or near, the spot where one of the town's old-time taverns early stood.

This Library is of especial interest because of what it contains of Concord authorship, having, besides the books that were written by Concord men and women, a valuable collection of the manuscripts from which the books were produced. There are also deposited here relics, pictures and pieces of sculpture relating to or made by Concord people. The Library is but a short walk from the public square and on the way to the Fitchburg Railroad station.

On the right hand side of Main street going westward and nearly opposite the Public Library is the house formerly occupied by the late Hon. Samuel Hoar. Here were born Hon. E. Rockwood Hoar, formerly a Judge of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court and Attorney General in the Cabinet of President Grant, and Hon. George F. Hoar, United States Senator.

The portion of Main street from a point a little to the east of this place is of comparatively modern construction, the old road passing a little to the north of the present one, leaving the burying ground to the south of it.

The short strip of Main street between the Public Square and the beginning of Walden street was formerly in part the Mill Dam and was not used as a regularly laid out highway until almost within the memory of people now living.

The site of the first "Corn Mill" in Concord was here, at a spot just east of the Old Bank building. The pond which furnished the mill power extended from the dam southward.

The Trinitarian Church is upon, or near the site of Concord's first store which was kept by Robert Meriam, who had over a score of acres of land granted him in that locality.

The three-story dwelling house on the same side of Walden street, and next but one north of it, was long the only three-story house in Concord. It was built and owned by Duncan Ingraham, a wealthy merchant and father of Captain Ingraham of the United States Navy, who cleared the decks of his warship for action in the harbor of Smyrna,

Turkey, in behalf of the Hungarian refugee, Martin Koszta, remarking, "Blood is thicker than water."

On the corner southwest of the Public Square, at the beginning of Main street was the Old Middlesex Hotel, where in the days when County Courts were held at Concord, many noted jurists were entertained.

Such is Concord in the present; and the foregoing are some of the objects and places much visited by the tourists, who on gala occasions and throughout the milder seasons throng into the town sightseeing, gathering souvenirs and pensively pondering upon the past.

CHAPTER III.

Origin of Settlement — Early Results — Erection of "Corn Mill" — Meeting House — Parsonage — Resumption of Traveler's Narrative — Coming from Watertown — First Conference with the Concord Colonists — Visit to the Home of William Hartwell — Indian Mission Service at Nashawtuc

THE earliest mention of this region was probably made by William Wood, in a book entitled "New England Prospects", a work supposed to be based upon his personal observation about 1633. An early description is also given by Johnson, in his "Wonder Working Providence of Sion's Savior in New England," published in 1654, in which the writer sets forth the Concord plantation as a place where the pioneers found hard fare and built their huts by leaning the rough logs against the hillside, which served the double purpose of a support and a chimney back.

The breaking of ground upon this plat for a permanent settlement was about 1635, when there arrived from England by way of Watertown, then Newtowne, which town, with Cambridge, then bounded Concord on the easterly, the other sides being bounded by an unclaimed wilderness, a company of colonists, under the direction of Rev. Peter Bulkeley, Elder John Jones, and probably Simon Willard, a merchant. Among the names of these colonists are some still familiar in Concord, which designate ancient and honored households, whose continuity with the distant past has never been broken by time's rude touch, and like faithful waymarks of history still chronicle by their suggestiveness what has made the old town great.

Supplemental to such friendly services as borne by the living is that borne by the dead, and

"In that village on the hill,

Where never is sound of smithy or mill,"

the old-time tombstone, with its grime and its gray, and its quaint, weather-made defacement, stands representative of connecting links, as if, by a poor proxy like this, it could make the past and present, one.

That success attended the settlement is well attested by early results; and though the records of these results have been lost, so that for a half century and over not a sentence comes to us from the written page, save as we receive it from colonial sources, or in scraps and fragments of family documents, yet tradition, often true in its intent to preserve, and trustworthy even in matters of moment, speaks unmistakably of Concord's early town life. The earth and brush cabins soon gave way to substantial structures; the forest was felled along the plain land and the meadow margins; and a mill was erected "to grind the town's corn."

The spot selected for the mill was near what is now the Common, or public square, and the little stream upon which it was situated is known as "Mill Brook," though it is now so small as might lead one to doubt whether it ever had any mill power at all. But we should remember that not only do times and customs change, but nature changes also, and while the little brooklet that once ran a-roaring by the plain can still sing in the sweet strain of Tennyson, "And men may come and men may go, but I go on forever," yet it runs with a lessened current and speaks with a voice more subdued. Why it has become thus modest is not because it stands abashed at the busy human tide that trips over it, or because in many instances the traveler is all unconscious of its former worth and never stops to reflect that it once ground the fathers' corn and furnished meal for the brown bread and pan dowdy; but its modesty is occasioned doubtless by a changed condition of surroundings.