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A Newsletter of the Friends of the Longfellow House and the National Park Service

June 2000

Longfellow House to Celebrate 225th Anniversary of American Revolution

Cince the Longfellow House served as OGeorge Washington's headquarters for ten months during 1775-6, it has been integrally connected to the American Revolution. Beginning in July, it will be one of the centers of the National Park Service's celebration of the 225th anniversary of the American Revolution.

The National Park Service's eight-year commemoration of events-from Paul Revere's ride in 1775 to the Treaty of Paris in 1783—will take place at over fifty national park sites. Battlefields, encampments, military headquarters, locations of important meetings, historic homes, related sites of industry and commerce, and memorials will all participate. Each of these sites will offer its own commemorative programs and events. In Boston the national celebration began on June 2nd and 3rd with a public symposium called "The

Changing Meanings of Freedom" sponsored by the Boston National Historic Park.

The Longfellow House will begin its part in the eight-year celebration on July 1st with a living history performance. Actress Dorothy Prince will play the role of poet Phillis Wheatley, the first black person in the colonies to publish a

book, who wrote a poem about, and may have met with, George Washington (see page 4). This will be followed by a concert on the lawn featuring music from Washington's era played by the members of the Longy School of Music, and chosen from a 1930s brochure produced by the Harvard



Howard Pyle (1852-1911) paintng of Martha Washington's arrival in Cambridge

Glee Club on music of the revolutionary period. Throughout the day Longfellow National Historic Site staff member Paul Blandford, in his inimitable theatrical style, will conduct tours around Harvard Square entitled "In the Footsteps of George Wash-(continued on page 2)

The House Which "Washington Has Rendered Sacred"

ven at the height of his fame, Henry W. ELongfellow never felt slighted when strangers knocked on the door and asked to see "Washington's Headquarters." He might have been bemused at the lack of interest in himself, but he shared the same feelings of awe about Washington's association with the House.

In 1837 when the young Harvard College professor Henry Longfellow first came to the House as a boarder, he was well aware of Washington's earlier presence there. His Harvard colleague and fellow tenant at Mrs. Craigie's house, Jared Sparks, was working-in the very rooms Washington had inhabited-to assemble all of Washington's existing letters for publication.

When Longfellow married Fanny Appleton in 1843, his wealthy father-in-law, Nathan Appleton, bought the Craigie House for them. Shortly after, Fanny wrote her

brother about her delight in living "where Washington [had] dwelt in every room:"

[The House] is, moreover, very interesting to us for its associations of which we have lately had very exact information from Mr. Sparks.... Yesterday



Washington bust, front hall of Longfellow House

we had a thorough explanation of the American lines & Bunker Hill, Prospect & Winter hills under Mr. Sparks inimitable guidance who gave a more vivid idea of the revolutionary days than I had before ...

In a letter to her brother two months later, Fanny announced the couple's intention to preserve the house's appearance and thus honor the memory of Washington's occupancy:

We have just returned to our home & are enraptured with its quiet & comfort after that Pandemonium, New York. It has now, too, the sentiment of the Future as well as the Past to render it dearer than ever, for since we left it has become our own, we are full of plans & projects with no desire, however, to change a feature of the old countenance which Washington has rendered sacred.

In 1844 the sacred Washington connection was memorialized inside the House by the Longfellows' prominent display of sev-

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ington." These walking tours of the neighborhood will continue through the summer and early fall.

The July 1st celebration at the Longfellow House dovetails with other City of Cambridge festivities, marking this anniversary of the arrival of George Washington in Cambridge, where he took command of the Continental Army. Following an opening ceremony at Fort Washington Park in Cambridgeport, a procession of officials and onlookers will meet "General George Washington" and escort him to the Cambridge Common. There day-long commemorations will include musket firing demonstrations and an encampment by the First Middlesex Regiment as well as samples of food and drink from the 1770s. In addition, the Cambridge Center for Adult Education will host a living history performance of Abigail Adams. The HooperLee-Nichols House on Brattle Street will feature costumed performances by "Loyalists" and Judith Sargent Murray, a successful eighteenth-century writer whose column "The Gleaner" in *Massachusetts Magazine* provided an eyewitness account of American history. (See schedule on p. 11)

The Longfellow House has worked with the Historic Cambridge Collaborative, a group of nonprofit historical and educational institutions, to develop other public programs that explore life in Cambridge during the early months of the Revolution. The programs will take place in Cambridge throughout 2000 and 2001.

A schedule of all commemorative events nationwide for the next eight years as well as a 1775-1783 day-to-day journal of American Revolutionary War events can be found on the National Park Service's Website at: www.nps.gov/revwar.

The House Which Washington "Has Rendered Sacred" (continued from page 1)

eral Washington artifacts. Longfellow bought the bust of George Washington, a copy of the famous 1785 original by Houdon, which he placed in the entrance hall, and beside it hung the Washington family coat of arms. On a wall by the front stairs, he hung an engraving of Washington on his white horse. Portraits of Martha and George adorned his study.

Longfellow enjoyed giving tours of the House and never failed to pay tribute to its historic role in the American Revolution. Blanche Tucker-Macchetta, who received such a tour in 1880, wrote in *The Home Life* of *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* that the poet described his study thus:

This was Washington's own private room; and where my writing desk now stands, there stood his table. These walls, lined with books, also shelved his literary lore. In fact, I think the arrangement of the room is exactly the same as when in his time.

Other members of Henry Longfellow's family took pride in living in Washington's former headquarters. After the family celebrated the hundredth anniversary of Washington's arrival in Cambridge, the poet's daughter Edith wrote to her sister Alice:

My interest and excitement is reading all about this summer 100 years ago in Sparks and Irving, and everyday I read the letters for that date written certainly in this room and probably by this very window where I write by dear George! Think what a privilege to spend this summer of all others in this house. I would not have missed it on any account and think it ought to have influenced us to stay under any circumstances. People go over land and sea to see just the place where some great man was born and died, and here all day long I can walk the floors this greatest of men to us Americans trod, go up and down the stairs... "Up and down these echoing stairs, Heavy with the weight of cares; Sounded his majestic tread" It is grand to feel the presence of so great a man and lifts me up quite out of the present life... when you come back I will read you his letter to his wife when he received his command and you will say it is full of manly, tenderness most inspiring.

Alice Longfellow lived in the House for many years after her father's death. She conserved the house in her father's memory, yet she also honored its connection to George Washington, as is shown in a letter she received from her cousin Alexander Wadsworth Longfellow Jr.:

I want to see you soon, foregathering as a family, and wish I could see you honoring the Father of this Country and his admirers at his headquarters, with the spirit which you show and feel so deeply. I think you very fortunate to have inherited this and be able to do so much for his memory.

-Research by Robert Mitchell

Henry W. Longfellow's letter to Ferdinand Freiligrath, February 14, 1848: Do not think for a moment of going to New York. The roof under which you sleep in America must be Washington's (and mine). It is a poem in itself.

Interview with a Friend....Meet George Washington

In each issue of the *Bulletin* we include an interview with an individual whose interest in, or whose affiliation with, the Vassall-Craigie-Longfellow House is uniquely important. We are pleased to offer our readers an "interview" with General Washington in his own words at three different intervals during his stay at the Vassall House. We were delighted he gave his candid opinions despite the controversies they might arouse.

September 1775

The Longfellow House Bulletin: In June, shortly before your arrival here in Cambridge, you told the Continental Congress of your hesitation in accepting the appointment as commander-in-chief of the American forces. What were your thoughts at that time?

General Washington: As I wrote to my wife: so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to part with [Martha] and the family, but from a consciousness of it being a trust too great for my capacity.... But it has been a kind of destiny, that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking it is designed to answer some good purpose. It was utterly out of my power to refuse this appointment without exposing my character to such censures as would have reflected dishonor upon myself and given pain to my friends.

LHB: And what was your opinion of the troops of which you took command?

GW: I found a mixed multitude of people here, under very little discipline, order, or government.... I have already broke one Colonel and five Captains for cowardice and for drawing more pay and provisions than they had men in their companies...in short they are by no means such troops, in any respect, as you are led to believe of them from the accounts which are published, but I need not make myself enemies among them by this declaration, although it is consistent with truth. [There is] an unaccountable kind of stupidity in the lower class of these people which, believe me prevails but too generally among the officers of the Massachusetts part of the Army who are nearly of the same kidney with the Privates, and adds not a little to my difficulties...

LHB: And what was your first assessment of the enemy?

GW: I found the enemy in possession of

a place called Bunkers Hill, on Charles Town Neck, strongly entrenched and fortifying themselves. Their force including Marines, Tories, etc. are computed from the best accounts I can get at about 12,000 men. Ours, including sick, absent, etc., at about 16,000.

January 1776

LHB: Mrs. Washington arrived at Vassall House in December when soldier and civilian alike faced another common enemy.

GW: The Small Pox is in every part of Boston.... If we escape [it] in this camp and the country round about, it will be miraculous—Every precaution that can be, is taken to guard against this Evil both by



the General Court and myself.

LHB: In the past months there have been great changes in the numbers and the condition of your troops. What strategies did you use to bring about such improvement?

GW: It is easier to conceive than to describe the situation of my mind for some time past, and my feelings under our present circumstances. Search the vast volumes of history through, and I much question whether a case similar to ours is to be found; to wit, to maintain a post against the flower of the British troops for six months together, and at the end of them to have one army disbanded and another to raise within the same distance of a reinforced enemy...[w]hat may be the final issue of the last maneuver, time only can tell. Three things prompt men to a regular discharge of their duty in time of action, Natural bravery-hope of reward -and fear of punishment. The two first are common to the untutored and the disciplined soldier, but the latter most obviously distinguishes the one from the other.

LHB: We hear that Dunmore is encour-

aging the enlistment of Negro troops.

GW: In December it was represented to me that the free Negroes who have served in this army are very much dissatisfied at being discarded. As it is to be apprehended that they may seek employ in the Ministerial Army, I have presumed to depart from the resolution [of the Continental Congress] respecting them and have given license for their being enlisted.

[In August] several Indians of the tribe of St. Francis came here and confirmed the former accounts of the good dispositions of the Indian Nations, and Canadians to the interests of America. A most happy event.

March 1776

LHB: All reports declare the British have fled under the threat of bombardment from the fortifications erected by our troops upon Dorchester Heights in just one night.

GW: The last trump could not have struck them with greater consternation. On Sunday the 17th at 9 o'clock in the forenoon, the ministerial Army evacuated the Town of Boston, and...the forces of the United Colonies are now in actual possession thereof.

I have great reason to imagine their flight was precipitated by the appearance of a Work which I had ordered to be thrown up last Saturday night, on an eminence at Dorchester which lay nearest to Boston Neck, called Newkes Hill. The Town, although it has suffered greatly, is not in so bad a state as I expected to find it.

The situation in which I found [the enemy's] works evidently discovered that their retreat was made with the greatest precipitation. They have left their barracks and other works of wood at Bunkers Hill, etc. all standing and have destroyed but a small part of their lines.

LHB: Would you favor us with some of your reflections on these past nine months, sir, as you prepare to leave for Philadelphia?

GW: I believe I may, with great truth affirm, that no man perhaps since the first institution of armies ever commanded one under more difficult circumstances than I have done—to enumerate the particulars would fill a volume—many of my difficulties and distresses were of so peculiar a cast that in order to conceal them from the enemy, I was obliged to conceal them from my friends, indeed from my own army thereby subjecting my conduct to interpretations unfavorable to my character...I am happy however to find, and to hear from

(continued on page 8)

Phillis Wheatley's Poem for General Washington in Cambridge

As the first black person in America to publish a book, Phillis Wheatley stands at the head of the formal African American literary tradition. Her poems sometimes dealt with the momentous political events of her times, including a moving tribute to the then General George Washington.

She had arrived in Boston Harbor on the slave ship *Phillis*, in 1761, as a sickly African child, about seven years old. John and Susannah Wheatley, wealthy Bostonians, purchased the little girl to be a lady's maid. They named her after the ship on which she had suffered the trauma of the Middle Passage.

The Wheatleys soon realized that their slave was, in fact, a prodigy. Within six months she could read and write English. She went on to study the Bible, history, literature and astronomy. She read Virgil and Ovid in the original Latin. By her early teens, she was writing and publishing poetry, and eventually became widely known throughout the colonies and abroad.

In 1773, the year of the Boston Tea Party, Phillis Wheatley traveled to England where her collection of verse, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, was first published. She was received by, among others, the Lord Mayor of London and Benjamin Franklin. Not long after her return, she was given her freedom.

Wheatley had been enslaved throughout most of her writing career. In a few poems she dared speak eloquently against tyranny and oppression, often couching her personal feelings in the more acceptable form of political commentary. Her most clearly autobiographical statement appears in a 1772 poem to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies:

...I, young in life, by seeming cruel fate Was snatched from Afric's fancy'd happy seat: What pangs excruciating must molest, What sorrows labour in my parent's breast? Steel'd was that soul and by no misery moved That from a father seiz'd his babe belov'd: Such, such my case. And can I then but pray Others may never feel tyrannic sway.

Wheatley was an astute observer of the rising tide of revolution and revised some of her work as necessary to accommodate patrons on either side of the Atlantic.

In October 1775, Wheatley sent a poem to George Washington at Vassall House (later to become the Longfellow House), his headquarters in Cambridge. In her accompanying letter she concluded, "Wishing your Excellency all possible success in the great cause you are so generously engaged in." The forty-two lines of rhymed couplets close with the pronouncement that:

Fix'd are the eyes of nations on the scales, For in their hopes Columbia's arm prevails. Anon Britannia droops the pensive head, While round increase the rising hills of dead. Proceed, great chief, with virtue on thy side, Thy every action let the Goddess guide. A crown, a mansion, and a throne that shine, With gold unfading, WASHINGTON! Be thine.



Note: In the North "servant" was a common term for slave

This portrait is thought to be by Scipio Moorhead, a slave belonging to the family of Boston Presbyterian minister John Moorhead. Wheatley wrote this poem in praise of the young artist's work as both a painter and a poet:

To S.M. A Young African Painter, On Seeing His Works

To show the lab'ring bosom's deep intent, And thought in living characters to paint, When first thy pencil did those beauties give, And breathing figures learnt from thee to live, How did those prospects give my soul delight, A new creation rushing on my sight? Still may the painter's and the poet's fire To aid thy pencil, and thy verse conspire! And may the charms of each seraphic theme Conduct thy footsteps to immortal fame! But when these shades of time are chas'd away, And darkness ends in everlasting day, On what seraphic pinions shall we move And view the landscapes in the realms above? For nobler themes demand a nobler strain And purer language on th' ethereal plain. Cease, gentle muse! The solemn gloom of night Now seals the fair creation from my sight.

According to Wheatley scholar Julian D. Mason Jr., "It has been pointed out that her use of the term 'Columbia' for her country in this poem may be the first use of the term with this meaning in print in America."

On February 28, 1776, Washington replied from Cambridge. After apologizing for such a delayed response he thanks her "...most sincerely for your polite notice of me, in the elegant lines you enclosed; and however undeserving I may be of such encomium and panegyric, the style and manner exhibit a striking proof of your poetical talents; in honor of which and as a tribute justly due to you, I would have published the poem, had I not been apprehensive, that, while I only meant to give the world this new instance of your genius, I might have incurred the imputation of vanity."

Vanity aside, it would have caused a political uproar had Washington sponsored the publication of a poem in which he is envisioned crowned and seated on a throne of gold. Wheatley's poem and letter did appear two months later in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, edited at the time by Thomas Paine.

While Washington did not choose to publicize Wheatley's accolade, he did, in the same letter, extend an unusual invitation. The general, who owned hundreds of slaves during his lifetime, wrote to the black poet, "If you should ever come to Cambridge, or near head-quarters, I shall be happy to see a person so favored by the Muses, and to whom nature has been so liberal and beneficent in her dispensations." He concluded, in the convention of the time and apparently with no ironic intent, "I am with great respect, your obedient humble servant."

Did Phillis Wheatley visit George Washington at Vassall House? Mason wrote in 1966 that "Phillis accepted Washington's invitation that same year and was courteously received." In a 1984 volume, William H. Robinson, who devoted much of his career to Wheatley's life and work, is less certain. He cites Benson J. Lossing's brief 1855 account of such a meeting, but warns that "Phillis's visit with Washington is nowhere else cited, Lossing should be used with caution." The thousands of documents in the Longfellow House archives continue to cast light upon the history and inhabitants of the House. Information on this question might well lie somewhere within those many pages.

-Research by Marilyn Richardson

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Head Quarters, Cambridge: Washington's Occupancy of the Longfellow House

Today visitors to the Longfellow House frequently are surprised to learn that George Washington lived in the house and used it as his headquarters during the Siege of Boston from July 1775 to March 1776. No visitor in the nineteenth century would have had to be reminded of this historical fact. For them the house was inextricably associated with Washington's occupancy and the early days of the Revolutionary War. After all, Washington had lived in the House longer than anywhere else during the war.

In June 1775 the Second General Congress from Virginia voted Washington, one of its delegates, the commander of the New England militias besieging Boston. He hastened to Cambridge and arrived on July 2, 1775. That evening he was received by the officer corps, all New Englanders and all strangers to him including Massachusetts General Artemas Ward whom he was to replace as Commander-in-Chief. The next day he officially assumed his position. Popular legend describes Washington taking formal command under the "Washington Elm," but a small unpublished soldier's diary found in the Longfellow House archives and several other contemporary diaries record that the troops stationed across the front lines from Charlestown to Roxbury received the new Commander-in-Chief.

Meeting in nearby Watertown, the Massachusetts Provincial Congress arranged for Washington and his second in command, Major General Charles Lee, to live in Wadsworth House, Harvard College's president's house, which still stands today in Harvard Square on Massachusetts Ave. Since it was customary for generals to use their residences as their headquarters, Washington needed a conveniently located house large enough to accommodate staff meetings and councils of war, provide work space for his small group of aides, and have room for his large number of daily visitors. Wadsworth House could not accommodate those uses. The Vassall House-as the Longfellow House was then known—could.

The Vassall House had been built in 1759 for Major John Vassall, a Tory sympathiser, who was forced to flee with his family from Cambridge to Boston in September 1774. After the battle of Lexington and Concord, it was used as a hospital until June 22, 1775, when it was assigned to Captain John Glover's newly arrived regiment of Marblehead Mariners, who pitched their sailcloth tents on the lawns. The only scrap of information we have about Washington's actual move to the Vassall House comes from his account book: "Cash paid for clearing the House which was provided for my Quarters & had been occupied by the Marbleh. Regimt." The amount was two pounds ten shillings and ninepence.

In Washington's time, a general's staff was referred to as his "family," no doubt because they lived and dined with him daily. Wash-



1863 photo of Longfellow House

ington's family in Cambridge was remarkably small and consequently overworked. It consisted of several young aides and General Horatio Gates, who served as adjutant general. When Martha Washington arrived on December 11, 1775 with a small party that included the Commander's step-son Jackie Custis, and Mrs. Gates, the family increased in size. The household was attended to by a retinue of servants and slaves: a steward, Ebenezer Austin, whose monthly pay of seven pounds ten shillings included the services of himself, his wife and daughter; a French cook, Adam Foutz; Mrs. Morrison, kitchen-woman; Mary Kettel, washerwoman; Dinah, "a negro woman;" Peter, "a negro man;" and William Lee, Washington's slave and body-servant from Mt. Vernon who served him throughout the war.

The Commander used the ground floor room to the right of the entrance as his dining room where he entertained numerous official and unofficial visitors, including Benjamin Franklin and Abigail and John Adams. Washington also used the same room as his office, just as Longfellow did later on. During Washington's councils of war, his major generals and their aides crowded into this room to debate strategy. In this room Washington gave Benedict Arnold command of a small army to attack Quebec from the rear, over the Maine mountains. And in late September 1775, it was here that Washington confronted Dr. Benjamin Church, one of the most trusted Massachusetts patriot leaders, with evidence that he was a spy for the British.

In the southwest corner of the house, to the left of the entrance, was Washington's reception room, which Martha Washington used as her parlor and probably for the gala party the Washingtons gave that winter to celebrate their wedding anniversary. Behind

Washington's study, was the General's writing room, where his aides were kept busy drafting orders, maintaining Washington's extensive correspondence (most of the over six hundred letters were headed "Camp in Cambridge" but some read "Head Quarters, Cambridge"), and keeping his accounts. Washington slept in the southeast room above his office.

In this House during the Siege of Boston, Washington struggled with numerous problems. He had to defend an extensive coastline against an attack by the welltrained British troops only a few miles away, supported by a squadron of British ships. The Commander worried about his army's lack of discipline and training, the officer corps' suspicions of him as an outsider and Southerner, an unexpected and extremely serious shortage of gunpowder, insufficient troops to man his extended lines, and the ever-pressing need to find salary, supplies, and arms for his troops.

By spring 1776, however, Washington's army was reasonably disciplined with a stable command structure, and new enlistments increased its strength. On March 4 Washington miraculously placed a cannon on Dorchester Heights and forced the British to evacuate Boston. He won the Siege of Boston without a battle, which would have cost many lives and demolished Boston. For this Congress voted him a medal, and Harvard gave him an honorary degree.

While in the House, Washington put in place a secret network of spies in Boston to stay ahead of British plans. He approved the building and arming of ships to prey, with some success, on British ships supplying Boston, thus inaugurating the United States Navy. More important still for the future of the nation was the crucial precedent he set of deferring to civilian authority in all important matters.

—Research by Robert Mitchell

The Past and Present Here Unite:

Alexander Wadsworth Longfellow Jr. com-

Cince the Longfellow family first occu-Dpied the Craigie House in 1843, it served as the setting for many celebrations of anniversaries, birthdays, and national holidays. Of particular interest to the family were the House's associations with George Washington and the American Revolution. The Longfellows literally reveled in living in the house where George and Martha once resided during the early years of the American Revolution.

In his poem "A Gleam of Sunshine" Henry Wadsworth Longfellow wrote:

This is the place. Stand still, my steed, Let me review the scene, And summon from the shadowy Past The forms that once have been.

The Past and Present here unite Beneath Time's flowing tide, Like footprints hidden by a brook, But seen on either side.

The poet's three daughters traveled to Philadelphia during 1873 through 1876 to see the international exposition which celebrated the centennial anniversary of the founding of their country. To commemorate the centennial, G.J. Raymond and Co. of Boston photographed places associated with the American Revolution and published them commercially as stereo views. The Longfellows were

proud to have their house included in the series, as evidenced by the poet's signature on the back of a stereograph card on which he recorded "July 3, 1875 Centennial Cele-

bration of Washington's taking command of the American Army."

On January 6, 1776 George and Martha Washington had celebrated their sixteenth wedding anniversaryonce the General was convinced that it would be seemly to do so under the circumstances-with a Twelfth Night Party at the House. A hundred years later, on the evenings of January 3 and 4, 1876 the Longfellows marked the occa-

sion for their family, friends, and neigh-



Edith, Alice, & Annie Allegra Longfellow, Philadelphia Centennial, 1876

described the event: "The stage is a great success. So large and prettily arranged and

> draped. We seated a hundred guests last night and probably more tonight."

Twenty years later in 1896 Alice Longfellow, the poet's daughter, held another great Twelfth Night party in the parlor of the family's house in honor of the one hundred twentieth anniversary of the Washingtons' wedding anniversary party. Guests arrived dressed as historic figures from the original party and were announced by the young but already flamboyant Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (Harry) Dana. Alice's cousin



Frances Dana as "Lady Washington," 1896

bors with a grand Twelfth Night centennial celebration of the Washingtons' wedding anniversary party. They turned the library into an elaborate stage for a theatrical presentation. Over one hundred guests attended. In her letter to her cousin Mary King Longfellow, Edith Longfellow vividly

Clapp Porter Longfellow: "I took in the Craigie house costume ball and it was awfully pretty. We met young faces under powdered wigs and looked deliciously fresh. Frances [Dana] as Lady Wash-

ington did not get her troubled and responsible look off till they went by the second time. Dickie [Dana] was quite at home and to see all the distinguished characters announced by Harry [Dana] in a long brown

silk coat with ruffles and to see them march in and bow and curtsey and then to see them get out of the room it was fine. Allston [Dana] and little Lyman girl as Pepperell chuildren in the picture were fascinating and Delia [Dana] as a pink fairy with star and wand was the sweetest of all. Aunt Mary [Mary Longfellow Greenleaf] was all about with her poor eyes... Mr. Roger Sherman signed the Declaration of Independence with high hair and powder."

Thirteen years later, Christmas Eve 1909, Alice Longfellow hosted another costumed event in the parlor to commemorate the one-hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the Craigie House. Family members dressed up as a particular former resident of the house. It must have been difficult to decide who would portray George and Martha.

Even before Washington's birthday became a national holiday in 1856, George



Five soldiers from "When Washington Came to Cam



Two women from "When Washington Came to Cambridge," 1930

Commemorations at the Longfellow House

Washington's birthday was always a favorite time to commemorate around Boston and Cambridge. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow often acknowleged the day in his journal

and letters. Usually there was a party at Mrs. Harrison Gray Otis's house in Boston or at the Craigie House. Mrs.Otis's birthday fell on the same day as Washington's, as did James Russell Lowell's, Andrew Craigie's, and Henrietta Dana Skinner's (the daughter of Richard H. Dana Ir.). The tradition continued throughout the early twentieth century at the Craigie House. On February 22, 1932 there was a huge nationwide celebra-

Harry Dana, 1896, in his great-great-

Harry Dana, 1896, in his great-greatgrandfather's (Francis Dana's) vest, still in the House collection

tion of the bicentennial of George Washington's birth. Harry Dana, grandson of Henry W. Longfellow and resident of the Craigie House, was on the local bicentennial committee. He hosted a number of special tours and events at Craigie House in honor of George Washington. Three years later, the National Broadcasting Company transmitted a special national program on George Washington's birthday from the House's study.

One of the most ambitious commemorative events ever to take place at the House occured on the occasion of Cambridge's

Cambridge."

tercentennary: the staging on the Longfellow House lawn in 1930 of a three-act play written by Harry Dana entitled "When Washington Came to

A tour-de-force complete with songs, poetry, and dance, Dana's play opens with John Vassall and his friends and relatives at his new house on "Tory Row" drinking a toast to King George III while the townspeople watch through the hedge and mock them. When he learns that his



bridge," 1930

brother-in-law Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Oliver has been forced to resign, Vassall and his family flee the house. Then "the Revoluionists decide to keep the house as

> Head-Quarters for their future leader," Harry Dana wrote in his playscript.

Act II portrays Washington taking command of the army, Martha arriving in Cambridge, and President Langdon of Harvard College reading a declaration from Congress on the taking up of arms. In Act III Washington returns from Dorchester Heights to announce that the British have evacuated Boston. Following an exuberant celebration, Harvard College confers on Washington an honorary degree.

The play seems to have been a real community event with the "actors" from the local community and Harvard University staff. The cast also included two of Henry W. Longfellow's and Richard Henry Dana's grandchil-

dren: Harry Dana as Major John Vassall and Anne Thorp as Mrs. John Vassall. There were over sixty cast members in all, playing the roles of the Chronicler, the Tories, children of Tories, Tony Vassall (Negro boy), the Minuet Dancers, Townspeople, Harvard College professors, the Continental Army, Washington's relatives,



Mary King Longfellow as Nelly Custis (Martha Washington's granddaughter), 1876

and the Committee from Congress. The program announced that the children in the cast were from the Cambridge Neighborhood House, a settlement house. African-Americans participated in the production in roles as revolutionary-era blacks.

According to the printed program, Harry Dana's extravaganza was directed by Mr. Frederick C. Packard Jr. and Miss Pauline Jones. Fortunately, the complete playscript, cast list, program, and photos survive in the Longfellow House archives.

—Research by James M. Shea



Martha Washington's arrival from "When Washington Came to Cambridge," 1930

Washington Interview (continued frm page 3)

different quarters that my reputation stands fair—that my conduct hitherto has given universal satisfaction...

LHB: So to sum up the matter thus far...

GW: It is a great stake we are playing for, and sure we are of winning if the cards are well managed.

Sources: George Washington: Writings, (The Library of America, 1997)

Henry Steele Commanger and Richard B. Morris, eds., *The Spirit of Seventy-six: The Story of the American Revolution as told by Participants* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1995)

George Washington Papers, at the Library of Congress

Rehabilitation Update

If you walk by the Longfellow National Historic Site, which has been closed to the public for about a year and a half, you will see signs of the extensive rehabilitation in progress. The project aims to improve fire protection, security, and environmental control systems, collections storage, and handicapped access.

Beginning this spring, the driveway was excavated to lay new utility lines and geothermal heating system wells. Exterior work will continue through early summer. Upgrades to building systems and storage inside the House will take place over the next year, and will be followed by the return of the collections. The \$1,645,000 contract was awarded to Lumus Hahs Corporation of Wakefield, Massachusetts

National Park Service staff spent many months preparing for this project by packing and storing over 600,000 paper archives, thousands of fine and decorative art objects, and 11,000 books from the Longfellow family library. The Park Service used this opportunity to assess the condition of these items and determine which were most in need of conservation. Local conservators have already begun treatment on more than a dozen pieces of furniture, Japanese screens, and gilded frames, with more to follow. The vital work is being funded through grants from the Fidelity Foundation and the White House "Save America's Treasures" program, as well as generous gifts from private donors.

You can stay up-to-date on the rehabilitation progress by visiting our Web site at:

www.nps.gov/long or E-mailing us at: frla_longfellow@nps.gov

Friends Acquire Richard Henry Dana Jr. Letters

The Friends of the Longfellow House generously voted to purchase a group of letters written to Richard Henry Dana Jr. while he was on his trip around the world in 1859-60, which complement the Dana collections already in the Longfellow House archives. The letters were offered for sale by a rare-book dealer from San Francisco at the Boston International Antiquarian Book Fair in November 1999.

Included in this group of about twentyfive letters are six letters from Dana's wife. Sarah Watson Dana. and six from his father. Richard Henry Dana Sr. One of the letters, dated November 29, 1859 is from eight-year-old Richard Henry Dana III who tells his papa that this is his first attempt at letter writing and "I have done it all myself." This is probably one of the "three letters from Dick" that Richard Henry Dana Jr. received on June 15, 1860 on his one-day stopover in Singapore, and almost missed receiving!

Richard Henry Dana Jr. is best known as the author of *Two Years Before the Mast.* After dropping out of Harvard College due to eyesight weakened by measles, Dana, the son of a noted poet, chose to travel as a common sailor on the brig *Pilgrim* bound for California in 1834. From his journals of the voyage, he wrote his famous book as a truthful prose narrative, a marked departure from Romanticism to Realism. Published in 1840, *Two Years Before the Mast* achieved great popularity.

Aboard the Pilgrim, Dana was deeply disturbed by the captain's flogging of the sailors, and he resolved to devote himself to doing away with this cruel practice. He returned to Harvard in better health, and graduated from Harvard Law School. After being admitted to the bar, Dana often took up cases of seamen against rich ship owners and merchants. He associated the flogging of sailors with the whipping of slaves, and after the passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, became involved with the cases of several escaped slaves and further antagonized rich Boston cotton merchants. While walking home after defending fugitive slave Anthony Burns, Dana was hit on the head by thugs.

In 1859 Dana was advised by his doctor to take a voyage for his health. He decided to retrace his steps to San Francisco and the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) and from there sail to China and Japan. Five days out of port his ship, *The Mastiff*, caught fire and sank, although all but one aboard were rescued. When Dana reached Hawaii, there was no ship bound for China, so he returned to San Francisco and booked passage for China from there. He traveled via Hong Kong to Canton, where he was one of the first foreigners to enter the gates of the city.

From there he went to Japan and sent an application to Townsend Harris, the U.S.

minister at Yedo [Tokyo] for permission to visit that city. By treaty Yedo was closed to Americans or foreigners not connected with the embassy. Mr. Harris replied with his regrets in a letter that resides in the House archives. After further travels in Japan and China, Dana wrote in his journal on June 9, 1860: "Westward and Home bound at last!"

On June 15th Dana arrived in Singapore for one day, and most likely picked up the recently

acquired letters there. His journal entry reads, "...drive to Boustead & Co. to see if my letters have been sent here fr. Calcutta, as I directed. The junior partner says 'No' positively. Great disappointment. Let out some of my grief & surprise to the Senior, who sends for the file, looks it over & finds a complete budget for me, fr. Calcutta, & I sit right down & read them all—dates are fr. Dec. to Feb. & fr. all the family, & all are alive & safe. Three letters fr. Dick,—dear little fellow."

Dana headed home via India and Egypt, then on to Greece and Venice, through Switzerland and up the Rhine to Cologne. He took a train to Antwerp, then a steamer to London, arriving on September 8th. In London he found letters from home awaiting him, the first he had received in six months. On September 15th he boarded the steamer *Persia* for New York and arrived in the U.S. on the 27th. The last entry in his journal of this trip reads: "This day opens in America—home. Been absent 433 days, of wh. spent about 233 days on the water & 200 on land. New York completes the circumnavigation of the globe!"

—Research by Anita Israel

Danas in the Revolution

wo members of the Dana family figured promi-Two members of the Lammanning of a third nently in the American Revolution, and a third played a role in commemorating it.

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Richard Dana (1700-1772) was born in Cambridge, graduated from Harvard, and became a representative to the General Court of Massachusetts from Marblehead in 1738-39. He and his wife, Lydia Trowbridge, moved to Charlestown about 1739 and from there to Boston in 1748 where he remained until his death. Richard Dana was an eminent lawyer, Justice of the Peace and of the Quorum, Magistrate, ardent patriot and an original member of the Sons of Liberty. He was a leader in the town meetings at the Old South Meeting House and at Faneuil Hall where he spoke out boldly for American Independence. He was active in the defeat of the Stamp Act and administered an oath of non-enforcement to Andrew Oliver, secretary of the colony, under the Liberty Tree. Dana signed the official record of that fact, thereby exposing himself to charges of treason. He was on the committee to investigate the Boston Massacre. He and his wife had nine children, seven of whom survived. Their fourth child was Francis Dana.

Francis Dana (1743-1811) was a lawyer and patriot. A member of the Sons of Liberty and married to Elizabeth Ellery, the daughter of William Ellery of Rhode Island who signed the Declaration of Independence, he took an active part in the American Revolution and in American foreign diplomacy. On the eve of the revolution, Francis carried secret letters to Britain for Benjamin Franklin. Upon his return he reported to George Washington that reconciliation was impossible. He was elected to the Continental Congress in December of 1776 and in January 1778 became chairman of the congressional committee to visit the army at Valley Forge. There he spent several months conferring with George Washington and helped him devise plans that were submitted to Congress. Later, he went with John Adams to procure help for the United States from France and Holland. In December of 1780 Francis Dana was appointed minister to Russia to gain recognition for the Americans from Catherine the Great. John Adams's fourteen-year-old son, John Quincy Adams, accompanied him as Dana's private secretary. Although Francis Dana spent two years in St. Petersburg, the Empress Cathe-

Toined to the Longfellows through the marriage of the poet's daughter Edith to Richard Henry Dana III, the Danas left their substantial collection of family history to the Longfellow House archives. This year the Northeast Museum Services Center will complete a two-year project of cataloging the Dana Family Papers: Collected Manuscripts, Genealogies, and Research Materials, 1661-1960.

This archival collection was originally compiled by Elizabeth Ellery Dana (1846-1939) and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (Harry) Dana (1881-1950) from their research into Dana family history. Elizabeth Ellery Dana became interested in genealogy at the age of nineteen and pursued this pas-

sion until her death at the age of 92. Collaborating with her nephew Harry Dana, she intended to publish a genealogy called "The Dana Family in America."

Their book, however. remained unfinished at her death and the responsibility for completing it was turned over to Harry

Dana. Two years later in 1941, Harry published The Dana Saga: Three Centuries of Danas in Cambridge, but the more comprehensive work remained incomplete when he died in 1950. Finally in 1956 Harry's nephew, Henry Longfellow DeRahm, with the help of Thomas de Valcourt who acted as curator and librarian of the Longfellow House and its collections after Harry's death, published The Dana Family in America.

Not only did Elizabeth Dana correspond with every Dana she could find in order to get genealogical information, but she also collected family history facts, photographs, and original manuscripts. Consequently, the collection of Dana papers in

rine refused to see him because she did not want to alienate either Britain or France. Upon his return Dana was re-elected to Congress. In 1785 he was appointed Judge of the Massachusetts Supreme Court and served as chief justice for fifteen years.

Richard Henry Dana Jr. (1815-1882), great-grandson of Richard Dana was the featured orator at the centennial celebration of the American Revolution in Lex-

the House archives is divided into two primary subcollections:

I. The Dana Family in America Records consists of records generated in researching and writing the comprehensive genealogy, including correspondence, notes and notebooks, genealogical questionnaires, orders, proofs, and an annotated copy of the published work.

II. The Dana Family: Research and Collected Manuscripts consists of research about specific family members and occasionally their extended families. It is arranged, as is The Dana Family in America, into five individual series:

A. Richard Dana (1617-1690) and Family

(the first of the Danas

to come to America

from England), fol-

lowed by his sons and

their descendents; B.

Descendents of Jacob

Dana (1654/5-1698); C.

Descendents of Jo-

seph Dana (1656-

1699/1700); D. Descendents of Benjamin

Dana (1569/60?); and

E. Descendents of



Three Richard Henry Danas: (l. to r.) Sr., III, and Jr. 1749).

Within each series the papers are arranged chronologically by the birth date of the Dana family member, and thereunder into two sections: Research and Personal Papers. Research includes notes, correspondence, photographs, photocopies and other material collected by Elizabeth and/or Harry Dana relating to that individual. Personal Papers includes original documents written, signed, or owned by the individual, many of which were purchased from dealers by Harry Dana.

The finding aid includes an outline of the collection listing the Dana family members, as well as biographical notes and genealogical charts.

ington in April of 1875. He was well known because of the speech he delivered at that event. According to a letter in the Dana collection at the Longfellow House archives from a lady artist, her milkman, while waiting to be paid, saw the portrait she had painted of Richard Henry Dana Jr. When asked if he recognized the man, he exclaimed, "Of course, that's the Lexington orator."

Dana Papers Catalogued at House

Recent Discoveries in the House

While excavating for new utility lines on the west side of the House, a bricked-overcellar doorway was discovered below the formal west entrance of the addition built by Craigie in the 1790s. A brick pavement leading up to the doorway at the same elevation as the present cellar floor was also unearthed. This passageway provided access to the cellar via a ramp or stairs and would have been hidden from view by the porch to the first floor entrance. Fill soil outside this entrance revealed a one-cent piece dated 1816.

Under the driveway two small trash deposits contained numerous pieces of locally made earthenware or redware representing a large milkpan, jar, and flowerpot, and the complete base of a Chinese export porcelain plate. The second deposit consisted of a layer of dark soil with broken wine-bottle glass. Neck and base fragments indicate bottle forms in common use during the second half of the eighteenth century. Accompanying the glass were pieces of redware, English creamware, and bone fragments. This deposit dates somewhere within Vassall's and Craigie's occupation of the House or possibly during Washington's (1775-76). Washington's accounts reveal that a total of 217 bottles of Madeira wine were purchased in one two-week period for the headquarters. (See photo below.)

Trenching has also revealed the site's history through its soils. The ground surface present at the time of Vassall's original construction appears as a dark brown layer approximately three feet below the present west yard surface. On top of this layer is soil that was probably deposited when the cellar for the north addition was excavated during Craigie's tenure in the 1790s. Eighteenth-century artifacts were found in this layer—including ceramics, glass, nails, and bone fragments from past meals .

To A Child

Longfellow's 1845 poem "To a Child" includes a moving meditation on Washington's cares within the walls of Vassall House during the first months of the Revolutionary War.

Once, ab once, within these walls, One whom memory oft recalls, The Father of his Country, dwelt. And yonder meadows broad and damp The fires of the besieging camp Encircled with a burning belt.

Up and down these echoing stairs, Heavy with the weight of cares, Sounded his majestic tread; Yes, within this very room Sat he in those hours of gloom Weary both in heart and head.

Thirty years later, on August 18, 1875, the poet used these lines to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of Washington's Cambridge period.



Recent archaeological finds during rehabilitation

Longfellow's Ancestor in the Revolution

While growing up in Maine, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow often heard stories from his maternal grandfather, Captain Peleg Wadsworth (1748-1829), who had played an important role in the American Revolution. Wadsworth achieved recognition as the officer who designed and supervised the construction of the fortifcations on Boston's Dorchester Heights, which led to the defeat of the British troops and their evacuation from Boston. He later became a general under Washington's command and was responsible for the whole district of Maine, which at the time also included Massachusetts.

Longfellow House in Print

In American Art Review's "Eastman Johnson, 1840-1858," Theresa A. Carbone includes information on thirteen portraits commissioned by Henry W. Longfellow which are all at the Longfellow NHS. Four of these portraits are traveling with the Eastman Johnson retrospective organized by the Brooklyn Museum of Art.

This September the Library of America will publish *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: Poems and Other Works*, edited by J.D. McClathy. This will be the most comprehensive volume of Longfellow's works available in the past twenty-five years.

Martha Brookes Hutcheson's 1923 book *The Spirit of the Garden* has been reprinted by the Library of American Landscape History. It includes photographs of the Craigie House garden from that time.

In the March 2000 *New England Quarterly,* a feature article by Matthew Gartner called "Longfellow's Place: The Poet and Poetry of Craigie House" describes how the House inspired Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poetry.

Daniel G. Donoghue in *Harvard Magazine's* March/April 2000 issue wites: "Seamus Heaney is not the first Harvard professor to translate Beowolf. In fact one of the earliest was attempted by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, LL.D., 1859, who as a professor of Romance languages in 1838 published a few dozen lines in the *North American Review* within a long article on Anglo-Saxon Literature." The article, "Beowolf in the Yard: Longfellow, Alfred, Heaney," also includes a picture of and information on Longfellow.

In March the Massachusetts Historical Society reprinted *Paul Revere: Three Accounts of His Famous Ride* (one of which is Longfellow's poem) with an introduction by Edmund S. Morgan and fine illustrations.

The premier issue of the new annual *Massachusetts Historical Review*, 1999, contains an article entitled "The Hinge of the American Revolution: George Washington Confronts a People's Army" by Fred W. Anderson.

The Old House Journal (February 2000) in an article on Georgian Colonial houses suggests the Longfellow House as a place to visit

Henry W. Longfellow's Journal, October 16, 1866:

A stranger called today, to see Washington's Headquarters. He asked me if Shakespeare did not live somewhere about here. I told him I knew no such person in the neighborhood.

Thematic Connections Workshop

On March 23 and 24 representatives from the seventeen National Park Service sites in New England gathered to discuss the themes and untold stories that link their sites. Through lectures and discussions the group identified what stories emerge when we expose thematic links among different sites. Participants considered how these links help people understand each site's significance, and how this awarness of thematic ties and larger stories benefits public appreciation of National Parks.

The workshop was moderated by National Park Service historican Dwight Pitcaithley and featured a keynote talk by Edward T. Linenthal, author of *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past.* In "The Problems and Promises of Public History," Linenthal looked at the role of historic sites in forming America's collective memory, and how sites such as Little Bighorn and Harper's Ferry become battlegrounds between history and heritage.

The audience attended a panel discussion of model theme-based collaborative programs underway in the Boston area. Small group discussions explored stories and themes currently interpreted at New England sites and sought new connections and partnerships.

Most of the Longfellow House staff participated in this workshop. This was a great opportunity to explain the House's diverse collections to the other sites—collections related to Washington's Headquarters, Charles Sumner's writings on abolition, Longfellow's poems about New England sites and figures such as Paul Revere and Evangeline. As a result, during Patriots' Week, Longfellow interpreters worked with Boston National Historical Park, the Paul Revere House, and the Old North Church on a reenactment of Paul Revere's crossing from the North End to Charlestown, and with Minute Man National Historical Park on a reading of "Paul Revere's Ride" at the site of his capture.

Stanley Paterson Lecture and Fellowship

The Longfellow House recently cele-L brated the memory of Stanley Paterson-a founding member of the Friends of the Longfellow House and author of two volumes of annotated transcriptions of Longfellow's diaries-with a lecture and the awarding of the first Paterson Fellowship. On Sunday February 20, the Friends and the Nahant Historical Society came together at the Nahant Country Club for a lecture by William Fowler, Director of the Massachusetts Historical Society and maritime historian, entitled, "Washington by Land and by Sea." His talk explored the era of George Washington at the onset of the Revolutionary War in recognition of this 225th anniversary. This was the first in an ongoing series of annual lectures honoring Stanley Paterson, who was also the long time president of the Nahant Historical Society.

Gretchen A. Adams received the firstever Paterson Fellowship, created by the Friends as part of their mission to promote research and scholarship related to the Vassall-Craigie-Longfellow House and its occupants. Ms. Adams is working on her doctorate in history at the University of New Hampshire. Her thesis titled "The Specter of Salem in American Culture" explores how the Salem witch trials became an important cultural metaphor, and includes a look at Longfellow as a "major force in the perpetuation of a New England-centered telling of the nation's past." She has used the Longfellow House archives to research "HWL and his circle" and promises to share the results of her research with the Friends in the near future.

WUpcoming Events **D**

Walking Tours : June 3-October 21, Wed. through Sat., 11 A.M. "Footprints on the Sands of Time: Longfellow's Cambridge." Meet at the Longfellow National Historic Site. Saturdays, 1:30 P.M. "George Washington in Cambridge." Meet at the information booth in Harvard Square, just outside the MBTA Red Line subway entrance.

Revolutionary Cambridge Discovery Day (Partial) Schedule of Events, July 1, 2000 9-9:30 A.M. Opening ceremony at Fort Washington Park, the only surviving site of the patriot defenses in Cambridge. Flag raising, poetry reading, fife and drum music. 9:30-10:15 A.M. Walk from Fort Washington Park along Putnam Avenue, stopping at

9:30-10:15 A.M. Walk from Fort Washington Park along Putnam Avenue, stopping at site of Revolutionary War Fort No. 2 (62 Putnam Ave.).

10:30 A.M. Marchers arrive at Wadsworth House to meet General Washington and escort him to Cambridge Common, site of encampment.

10 A.M.-4 P.M. Events on Cambridge Common, including First Middlesex Regiment encampment, musket firing, tent for children. Christ Church and Old Burying Ground open with interpreters on site. Hooper-Lee-Nichols House (Brattle Street) activities: 5th Regiment of Foot Soldiers; reading by Judith Sargent Murray, 18th century woman (performance by Bonnie Smith); story of Baroness Riedesel (Claus deBansa, interpreter). 1:15-2:30 P.M. "In the Footsteps of Washington: A Walking Tour." Meet at Longfellow National Historic Site, 105 Brattle Street.

4-5 Р.м. "Music of Washington's Day." Concert featuring musicians from Longy School of Music. At Longfellow National Historic Site, 105 Brattle Street.

July 9: Longfellow Summer Festival Family Day. Noon-5 P.M. Activities for all ages. Program includes poetry reading by X.J. Kennedy, garden painting, conversations with children's book author and illustrator, Eva Deutsch Costabel, and the Armenian Children's Chorus of Greater Boston.

July 16: Longfellow Summer Festival Garden Concert. 4 P.M. The Apple Hill Chamber Players perform Beethoven's "Ghost" Trio, Mozart's Flute Quartet in D Minor, and Shubert's "The Trout."

July 16: Longfellow Summer Festival of Poetry on the Lawn. 4 P.M. Works and commentary by F.D. Reeve, Lloyd Schwartz, and Diana der Hovanessian.

July 30: Longfellow Summer Festival Garden Concert. 4 P.M. A performance of classical music by the Boston Saxophone Quartet featuring works by Bach, Debussy, Dvorak, Mozart, Puccini, and Poulenc.

All Summer Festival events are on the east lawn of the Longfellow House and are free and open to all.

Spotlight on an Object

In each issue of the newsletter, we focus on a particular object of interest in the Longfellow House collection.

This time our spotlight shines on a revolutionary bayonet which was found in the Longfellow garden. The original news story appeared in the March 18, 1930 *Boston Post* and ran as follows:

Recent examination by a firearms expert of a bayonet dug up from a garden of the Henry Wadsworth Longfellow home...bas revealed that the bayonet was used in the revolution and probably belonged to a sentinel when George Washington made the house his headquarters, according to H.W.L. Dana, Longfellow's grandson.

The bayonet was found some time ago by a gardener and turned over to Mr. Dana, who kept it at his home at 105 Brattle Street, Cambridge. Although realizing that it was of historic significance, Mr. Dana said that it was only recently that he had attempted to have its origin traced.

A firearms expert, after studying its design and the quality of its material, gave his opinion that it was a French bayonet, brought to this country by a soldier during the French and Indian wars. Later, he said that it fell into the hands of revolutionary soldiers, as did a great quantity of French military equipment.



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