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# SANITARY SURVEY

OF THE

# TOWN OF LAWRENCE,

BY THE

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSIONERS

APPOINTED UNDER A RESOLVE OF THE LEGISLATURE OF  
MASSACHUSETTS, RELATING TO A SANITARY  
SURVEY OF THE STATE.

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REPRINTED FROM THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION.

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BOSTON:

PRINTED BY DUTTON & WENTWORTH,

No. 37, Congress Street.

1850.



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No. 37, Congress Street.  
1850.

The Sanitary Commission consisted of LEMUEL SHATTUCK, Esq., chairman, of Boston; N. P. BANKS, Esq., of Waltham; and JEHIEL ABBOTT, M. D., of Westfield.

## SANITARY SURVEY OF LAWRENCE.

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### 1. *Natural and Atmospheric Condition of the Town.*

Lawrence was projected as a manufacturing town, in 1844, and incorporated April 17, 1847. It is 26 miles from Boston, 20 from Salem, 24 from Newburyport, and 29 from Manchester, N. H. Its latitude is  $42^{\circ} 42' 57.67''$ , and its longitude  $71^{\circ} 09' 05.84''$ , west of Greenwich. It contains 4,374 square acres, 344 of which is covered with water. 1,980 acres of the land on the south side of the Merrimack River was taken from Andover, and 2,050, on the north side, from Methuen.

The general character of the soil is a dry, sandy alluvial, resting on a rocky base, at a greater or less depth from the surface. Clay gravel prevails in the northerly parts of the town. On the south side of the river it is generally level, and also in the central parts on the north side. The top of the dam across the Merrimack is 45 feet above tide water. In the populous part of the town, the foot of Lawrence street is the lowest elevation, being 4 feet above the crest of the dam, and 37 feet below the highest elevation of the streets. Two hills, one on the easterly and the other on the westerly borders of the town, rise to the height of about 140 feet above the dam.

There are three streams of water—the Merrimack, near the centre; the Spicket, on the north; and the Shawsheen, forming, in its sluggish course, the easterly boundary of the town, on the south side of the Merrimack. The first two are rapid, but neither is subject to overflow its banks. The Merrimack, in its natural passage through the town, has a rapid here, known as Bodwell's Falls, which in some places falls 4 or more feet in a 300 feet passage. In a medium current, about 5,000 cubic feet of water passes per second, and it sometimes rises to 60,000 per second, thus affording a water power here nearly or quite equal to that of Lowell. Lake Winnepisiogee, in New Hampshire, containing about 120 square miles, the principal source of the Merrimack River, has been purchased by the owners of the water power in this and the other manufacturing towns above, to make the flow of water at all seasons equal to the general average. The Spicket falls 40 feet over a succession of dams, and discharges about 100 cubic feet per second. The Shawsheen has very little perceptible fall in this town.

The town seems to be free from natural sources of malaria; though meteorological and other similar observations have not been made for a sufficient time, nor with sufficient accuracy, to determine, with much exactness, the true natural character of the locality, nor to ascertain whether any atmospheric peculiarity or sanitary impurity exists.

### 2. *Artificial and Local Condition of the Town.*

The lands now comprised within the township, previous to 1844, were used principally for agricultural purposes, and contained, including the Methuen pauper establishment, less than 100 inhabitants. In that year an association was formed, consisting of Messrs. Samuel Lawrence, John Nesmith, Thomas Hopkinson, Josiah G. Abbott, of

Lowell, and Daniel Saunders, of Andover, by the name of the "Water Power Association," for the purpose of purchasing lands and creating a water power on Merrimack River, in Andover and Methuen. They selected the site and projected this as a manufacturing town; and purchased about three-fourths of the land comprised within the present limits of the township.

The same individuals obtained an act of incorporation by the name of the "Essex Company," dated March 20, 1845. The stock of this company was taken up and the company organized in April, 1845, at which time Hon. Abbott Lawrence was chosen President; Messrs. Patrick T. Jackson, William Sturgis, Nathan Appleton, John A. Lowell, and Ignatius Sargent, Directors; and Charles S. Storrow, Esq., Principal Agent and Chief Engineer. To this company all the lands purchased by the "Association" were conveyed.

Before commencing the enterprise, a careful survey was made and a general plan formed, under the direction of the chief engineer, for using the water power, for the location and construction of the dam, for the canal and the mills, and for the streets and public squares of the town. In the spring of 1846, the services of Capt. Charles H. Bigelow, formerly of the U. S. Engineers, were also obtained for the company, and under his immediate direction the works upon the dam and canal were successfully carried forward to their completion, in accordance with the original designs.

The results of the surveys were laid down upon a map, an outline of which is presented, accompanying this sketch. The streets are from 50 to 80 feet in width, and generally 200 feet apart. The building lots are 93 feet deep from the street, leaving a back passage-way of 14 feet in width between the two tiers of lots.

The elevation of the crossing of each street, above a given level, is stated in the plan, showing the grading proposed to be made by the Essex Company, as a guide to builders; and the streets were so drawn as to admit of surface drainage and under-ground sewerage. A large common sewer, the interior of which is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet high and 3 feet wide, admitting a man to walk erect, was constructed of brick laid in cement and of stone masonry, and passes under and 4 feet below the bed of the canal, near the foot of Lawrence street, into the Merrimack River. It is in a natural ravine, of gradual descent, with a constant stream of water passing through it, keeping it at all times sweet and clean. There are two other great sewers in other parts of the town, built of brick and stone, each 4 feet in diameter, passing under the canal. These sewers lead from Haverhill street, (the one most elevated,) southerly, into the Merrimack. Others lead northerly, into the Spicket, and a very effective drainage and sewerage are by these means afforded. The town has appropriated \$5,000, this year, for the construction of collateral sewers.

The main common or public square, near the centre of the town, comprises 18 acres, and was the gift of the Essex Company. The other lands were divided into lots and numbered, a plan of which was drawn on different sheets, and bound in a volume, on a scale sufficiently large to admit inserting in each lot the name of the original purchaser, and the successive owners to which it may be transferred for several years. A part of the lots designed for private use



were first offered for sale at auction, by the Essex Company, April 28th, 1846. Restrictions were imposed upon the use of some of these lands. On Haverhill street no lot can have upon it more than one house and the necessary out-buildings, for twenty years; and no house can be occupied by more than one family at the same time. On Essex street, brick or stone buildings only, three stories high, with slate or metallic roofs, can be erected. It is to be regretted that restrictions could not have been laid upon all the lands, as they might have prevented some inconveniences and sanitary evils. Many of the streets, public squares, and other inclosures, about the town and near the mills, are planted with ornamental trees and shrubbery. The frame of the first dwelling-house was raised September 12th, 1845; since that time many substantial buildings, brick and wood, and others of less permanent character, have been erected. A part of the town, above the dam, on the south side of the river, known as "Dublin," in a dry and elevated situation, has been discreetly appropriated for "shantees," for the accommodation of Irish laborers and their families. The number of private dwelling-houses, including 90 Irish shantees, and exclusive of the boarding-houses of the Bay State and Atlantic Corporations, was 335, in February, 1847; and 849, in 1849. Of 335 tenements, 12 were at that time occupied partly for stores; 96, including the half of the shantees, contained from 2 to 9 persons each; and the remainder, 227, from 10 to 74 each. In 1850, according to the assessors' return to the State, for the decennial valuation, there were 828 dwelling-houses; and according to the United States census, 1,081 tenements.

Water for domestic use is at present obtained from wells; it is considered good for drinking, though rather hard for many purposes. Cast iron pipes, connected with force-pumps at the mills, and with the water of the canal, for use in case of fire, are laid in part of the streets, and are to be extended to others and to reservoirs upon the top of the adjacent hills. An aqueduct company was incorporated May 10, 1848, to bring water into the town; but no definite measures have as yet been matured under its sanction.

The public buildings erected, prior to January, 1850, were—9 houses, for the accommodation of the primary and mixed schools, 2 for the grammar schools, and 1 for the high school; 6 churches, and a Town Hall. In all the public buildings the most approved modern sanitary plans for warming and ventilating have been adopted.

The High School-house is a substantial brick edifice, situated on Haverhill street, fronting on the northerly side of the common. It is large and elevated, and amply provided with the most approved, convenient interior fixtures and furniture, and with necessary out-buildings; and with room for exercise and recreation. It cost about \$15,000. Land is reserved in the neighborhood for the erection of additional buildings when needed.

The Town Hall is a brick edifice of great architectural beauty, 121 feet 2 inches in length, 64 feet 2 inches in breadth, and 55 feet in height. It fronts on the southerly side of the common, and was erected in 1849, at a cost of about \$40,000. It contains a large hall for the accommodation of the people in general town meeting, rooms for the selectmen, and the various town officers, or for the mayor, aldermen,

and common council, when a city government shall be established, and for the town and county courts.

These two buildings are unnecessarily large for the accommodation of the present inhabitants of the town, but are constructed partly with a view to its prospective growth.

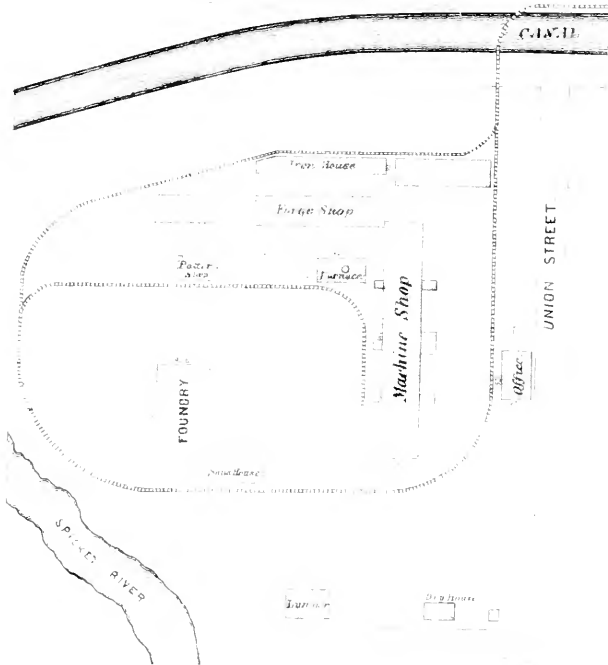
Several different companies have been incorporated in this town, for manufacturing purposes. The four principal ones that have commenced operations, are the "Essex Company," incorporated March 20, 1845, with a capital of \$1,500,000; the "Bay State Mills," incorporated February 2, 1846, with a capital of \$2,000,000; the "Atlantic Cotton Mills," incorporated February 3, 1846, with a capital of \$2,000,000; and the Lawrence Gas Company, with a capital of \$100,000. These companies together had expended, prior to July, 1850, about \$5,000,000. The "Union Mills" and the "Pacific Mills," each with a capital of \$1,000,000; and the "Bleaching and Dyeing Company," with a capital of \$500,000, have been incorporated, but have not yet commenced operations.

The Essex Company,—the owners of the water power and principal owners of the town,—have erected the dam, canal, and machine shop. They dispose of the water power to other companies on certain conditions, which are specified with great care and minuteness in the printed proposals for their sale. They define a "Mill Power" to be "thirty cubic feet of water per second, when the head and fall is twenty-five feet," which is to be graduated to a less or greater quantity as the head and fall shall be greater or less than twenty-five feet. According to this principle, a fall of 20 feet would require  $37\frac{1}{3}$  cubic feet, and a fall of 10 feet would require 80 cubic feet, per second. A similar principle has been adopted at Lowell. A mill power is considered equal to about 60 or 70 horse power. Among other conditions of sale, the water power and mill sites are to "be held, used, and improved, for mills or buildings appurtenant thereto, or for such dwelling-houses, boarding-houses, sheds, and other out-houses, as shall be required and actually used for the accommodation of the agents, clerks, overseers, machinists, watchmen, or operatives, employed in such mills, and not appropriated to any other purpose whatever." And "the grantees are not to use any building for, or to set up or continue any laboratory, powder mill, furnace, or forge, nor any chemical, or other works whatever, which may be so noxious or dangerous from fire or otherwise, as to impair, injure or endanger the life, safety or reasonable comfort of any person." And "no grantee shall, without license from the grantors, to be given and revoked at their pleasure, (which license is not to be given but with the consent of the mill owners next on each side adjoining,) keep or permit to be kept, any tavern or public house of entertainment, nor any livery stable, nor sell nor permit to be sold, any spirituous liquors of any kind, in any shop, store or building, upon the granted premises." These excellent stipulations are accompanied with suitable penalties and forfeitures in case of non-fulfilment. They have an important sanitary bearing.

The excavation for the foundation of the dam was commenced August 1, 1845; the first stone was laid September 19, following; and it was completed in 1848. The foundation is embedded in the solid rock, and bolted to it with iron. The structure is of solid masonry



PLAN  
of the  
**ESSEX COMPANY:**  
**MACHINE SHOP and FOUNDRY**  
**LAWRENCE,**  
MASS.



FRONT ELEVATION OF MACHINE SHOP

METHUEN STREET

Boarding House

Boarding House

CANAL

PLAN  
of the premises of the  
ATLANTIC COTTON MILLS  
LAWRENCE  
MASS.

Picker

Waste

Cotton House

Cotton House

WEBB WACK BUIES

FRONT ELEVATION OF ATLANTIC COTTON MILLS

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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laid in cement, 1,629 feet in length. The overfall is 900 feet; the south wing is 324 feet; and the north wing is 405 feet, constructed to unite with guard locks at the head of the canal. The dam is 35 feet thick at the base, and  $12\frac{1}{2}$  feet at the lower end of the coping crest-stone. Its greatest height is  $40\frac{1}{2}$  feet, its average height 32 feet. The water falls 25 to 27 feet, giving an effective head and fall of 28 feet for the whole of the river. The rock excavation, in preparing its foundation, was 1,700 cubic yards; the mass of masonry laid in cement is about 29,000 square yards; and the hammered granite surface 148,000 square feet. It cost \$250,000, including coffer-dams and all incidental expenses.

The pond, produced by this dam, flows back to the foot of Hunt's falls, in Lowell, which is nine miles distant. In consequence of the great length of the overfall, the height of the water in the pond varies much less than in other parts of the river, and not sufficiently to overflow the banks and affect the health of the inhabitants.

The water is taken from this pond by an artificial canal, 5,330 feet in length, 100 feet in width at the upper, and 60 feet at the lower end, measuring at the surface of the water; and 12 feet in depth in the middle, and 4 feet at the side walls. At the head of the canal are 6 sluice-ways, 12 feet deep and 9 feet wide; and a lock for navigation, 95 feet long and 21 feet wide, all built of hammered granite, laid in cement. At the lower end of the canal are three locks, of 9 to 10 feet "lift" each, which are 20 feet wide and 90 feet long; and a large waste weir of masonry, 120 feet in length. The earth excavated for this canal was 266,000 square yards. The side walls contain 12,000 square yards. It is about 400 feet from, and nearly parallel to the river; and in this space are the sites for the mills. The water is prevented from oozing into the adjoining sandy soil by sheet or plank piling. The cost of the canal and the structures connected with it, was about \$200,000.

The machine shop is 404 feet in length, 64 in breadth, and 4 stories high, of 13 to 16 feet each, admitting the free ingress and egress of locomotive engines; the forge shop, 232 feet by 53 feet 8 inches, and 17 feet high, to contain 32 forges; and the foundery, 154 by 90 feet,  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet high. The forges are arranged in the middle of the building, and the smoke is conveyed by an underground cylindrical flue of brick, 4 and 5 feet in diameter, to a great chimney in the middle of the yard. This chimney is a circular stone shaft, 142 feet in height, 14 feet exterior diameter at its base, and  $8\frac{1}{2}$  feet at its top. The interior flue is of brick, 5 feet in diameter, surrounded by an air chamber nearly to the top, and receives the smoke from the steam-heating apparatus, the annealing furnaces, and the forge-shop. Very little smoke is made at these works, however, the principal part of the fuel used being anthracite coal. The ware-house, store-house, picking-house, annealing-house, and heating-house, will constitute a range of buildings 315 feet in length, by 43 feet 6 inches in width, and mostly 2 stories in height. A pattern-house is to be built, 150 feet in length,  $53\frac{1}{2}$  feet in width, and 3 stories in height. All these structures are built of stone, warmed with steam, and are well lighted and ventilated. The motive power is supplied by two Fourneyron iron turbine wheels, improved by Boyden, of 120 to 150 horse power each,

for the machine shop, and one other for the forge shop. The water is conveyed 510 feet from the canal, in underground passages, and is discharged through an underground race-way, 1000 feet in length, consisting of two passages, each 13 feet in width and 15 feet in height, walled and arched with stone. The yard is accessible by a branch of the Boston and Maine Railroad, which completely encircles it and ramifies within it, affording the means of conveniently depositing, in store-houses, the iron, coal, and other heavy materials, so as to require little additional labor in their use. At this establishment machinery of all kinds is made, from a spindle to a locomotive steam-engine. The company will employ in their machine shop and foundery, when in full operation, 800 to 1,000 hands, all males. They now employ about 400.

They have four blocks of dwelling-houses, built of brick, containing 50 good 2-story tenements, with little gardens in front, upon the street, and deep yards leading to passage-ways in the rear, 14 feet in width. They occupy an entire square, have cost \$2,000 each, exclusive of land, and are good and convenient residences. They are intended exclusively for the families of the mechanics employed in the Essex Company's machine shop; 16 rent for \$100 each, and 34 for \$80 each. Another square is reserved for the erection of similar blocks.

The Atlantic Cotton Mills have erected a building 600 feet in length, 5 and 6 stories in height, partly 64 and partly 106 feet in width, which is devoted to the manufacture of brown cotton goods. It is designed to contain 42,500 spindles and 1,168 looms; 25,088 spindles and 728 looms are now in operation; and 164 male and 619 female operatives are employed. This number will be increased to about 1,200 when in full operation. The motive power is supplied by 3 Boyden's improved iron turbine wheels, each 8 feet in diameter and of 300 horse power,—12 mill powers are devoted to these mills. The boarding-houses belonging to these mills consist of 6 blocks, containing 68 tenements, are built upon a similar plan and have the same admirable arrangements for water, cleansing, sewerage, and other purposes, as those belonging to the Bay State Mills, presently to be noticed. Thirty-two of these tenements are intended for the female operatives; and 36, equally good, but containing fewer rooms, are intended for the overseers in the mills, and for men with families, who may also take boarders. A ground plan and an elevation of these mills is presented in the accompanying plate.

The manufacturing establishments at Lawrence have been erected under favorable circumstances. They were planned and constructed under the guidance of the scientific skill and practical experience which had been acquired by wise and successful men, in a series of years, in other places, aided by an excellent water power, ample capital, and under reasonable national and state legislation. The results have appeared to us so admirable, and so highly worthy of imitation, that we have supposed we could not perform a more useful public service, than to give a more particular description of one of them. It will show, in a favorable light, the intelligence, the enterprise, and the liberality, that has generally presided over all the affairs of this town.

The establishment belonging to the "Bay State Mills," is devoted to





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ASSEMBLED BY  
 OF THE  
**BAY STATE MILLS**  
 LAWRENCE, MASS.



the manufacture of cassimeres, shawls, and other fancy woollen goods ; and was planned and erected under the general superintendence of Samuel Lawrence, Esq. It is the largest mill of the kind in the world ; and will consume, when in full operation, more than 2,000,000 pounds of wool annually. The mills occupy a parallelogram of 1,000 feet in length by 400 feet in breadth, between the canal and the Merrimack River. Buildings are erected on the outer borders of this site, affording a spacious central area. That on the river side is 1,000 feet in length and 40 feet in breadth, with two wings, at right angles, at the ends, 240 feet by 40 feet, and outer porches for ingress and egress. The whole is three stories in height, excepting the centre,—52 feet by 42 feet,—which is five stories high. On the side next the canal is another line of buildings, 800 feet in length, 38 feet in width, and 2 stories in height, designed for counting-rooms, store-houses, watch-houses, and other purposes. Within the interior the three principal mills are erected, each 200 feet by 48 feet 8 inches, containing, including the basement and the attic, 9 working floors. All these mills are substantially built of brick and covered with slate. The rooms are 11 to 13 feet in height ; and are warmed by steam and lighted with gas. The apparatus for warming consists of wrought iron pipes, 1 or 3-4 inches in diameter, placed in three, four or five parallel lines around the interior of the building, immediately under the windows in each story, maintaining in all the rooms, at all times, a uniform temperature of about 68 degrees. A structure to supply the steam is situated in each wing of the river building, and has twelve boilers and a chimney 135 feet in height. All the rooms are provided with hydrants, to which force pumps and hose are attached, that may be used in case of fire, for washing, and other purposes. A person is employed in each room to keep every part of it and the stairways clean. Each mill is also provided with extra porches,—one in front and the other in the rear,—and with four iron ladders reaching from the bottom to the top, for ascent or descent in case of fire, or for any other purpose. The motive power for these mills is obtained from seven breast-wheels of the first class, 23 feet 4 inches in length, 26 feet in diameter, and of 125 horse-power each ; two of which are placed in each principal mill, and one in the river mill. Eight mill-powers were purchased by this company.

The boarding-houses are on the opposite side of the canal, and consist of four blocks, substantially built of brick and covered with slate, each 250 feet in length, 36 feet in breadth, 3 stories high, of 10, 9 and 8 feet respectively ; with 4 L's in the rear, 1 story high, to each block. Each block contains 8 tenements ; and each tenement, except the end one, is 33 1-3 feet in width and 36 in depth exclusive of the L, and contains 20 rooms, including the attic ; and is designed to accommodate 36 boarders. The location and the size of the rooms will appear from the accompanying plan and illustration. The end houses are 25 feet in width, a little smaller than the others. The houses in each block, excepting the end ones, are like that on the right of the plan here presented. As you enter this tenement on the left, there is a small room appropriated exclusively to the mistress of the house. At the right are two dining-rooms, connected by folding doors, each forming pleasant sitting-rooms at other than meal times. Passing through the entry

you enter the kitchen, which is furnished with all necessary conveniences. Beyond this is the back kitchen, containing a large boiler and conveniences for various other household purposes. In the rear of this is the wash-room, from which you pass into a large yard, enclosed by a high tight fence, having at the end the wood-shed, 14 feet wide, and the privies; the whole bordering on a common passage way, 14 feet wide. Under each alternate fence is a double cess-pool, serving for two houses, and having an underground passage leading to the common sewer under the sheds. A well of pure water is connected with every four tenements, and all are supplied with soft water, for washing and other purposes, by cast iron pipes, leading from cisterns in the mills to the sinks in the several houses. On the second floor is the parlor, and also a sick room,—a small chamber with a fire-place, designed for an invalid who may need seclusion and extra warmth. Besides these are sleeping apartments for the boarders in the second and third stories, and in the attic, designed to accommodate 2, 4 or 6 persons each, according to the size of the room. Each tenement cost about \$4,000 exclusive of the land; and will compare to advantage with respectable dwelling-houses in Boston, and are much better than the average in country villages.

To protect the health of the inmates, underground sewers are constructed, under the sheds, in the rear of each block, through which a current of water, supplied by iron pipes connected with the canal on the left, or above the block, is constantly running, carrying off all the contents of the privies, cess-pools, and other filth; and passing at right angles under the canal, discharging them into the river, preserving the houses perfectly free from offensive smells. A plan of these sewers may be seen in the accompanying illustration. *Thirty thousand dollars* was expended by this company in their construction alone, for the benefit of the health of the operatives!

*Labor begins*, or the gate closes, at 5 o'clock, A. M., from May 1 to September 1; and at ten minutes before sunrise, the remainder of the year. A first bell is rung about 40 minutes before, to allow time to prepare for work. *Labor ends* at 7½ P. M., from September 20 to March 20; at 7, from May 1 to September 1; and at 15 minutes after sunset, for the remainder of the year. It is intended to secure, on the average, 12 working hours, each day. *Breakfast* is served at 7 A. M., from April 1 to September 20; and at 7½ for the remainder of the year. *Dinner* during the whole year at 12½ M. 45 minutes are allowed for each meal.

The number of operatives at present employed in these mills is 1,867, of whom 956 are males and 911 are females. When entirely completed and in full operation, they will employ about 2,500, and require a town population of 7,500. The principal part of the operatives work by the job; the males earning on the average about \$5 80 per week, and the females about \$2 75 per week, besides board, which is \$1 50 to \$2 00 per week for males, and \$1 25 for females. The females are principally inmates of the boarding-houses. Most of the males, however, at present have houses of their own, or board elsewhere.

The boarding-houses for the accommodation of the operatives in these mills, as in other manufacturing establishments, are owned by

the corporation. They have been erected, not for an investment of capital on which a profitable income is to be anticipated, but as a means of preserving a proper supervision over the operatives employed, and for their benefit. Boarding-houses of this kind generally afford less than 4 per cent. interest on the capital invested. Some afford no income at all, and even become an annual expense to the owners. They are kept in repair and rented to the tenants, subject to such regulations and restrictions as the company see fit to establish. The rent and the price of board are fixed by the company; but both are subject to such alteration as the circumstances of the times, and of all the parties interested, shall render just and proper.

The tenants of the Bay State boarding-houses now pay \$150 each, annually, as rent, which is about *three per cent.* on the cost. The furniture of the houses is obtained and owned by the tenants themselves; and they furnish provisions and other articles of consumption for the inmates. They now receive \$1 25 per week for the board of females, and \$1 75 to \$2 00 for males. The fare provided is of a plain, substantial and wholesome kind, well prepared, neatly served, and in sufficient quantities. Operatives are under no compulsion to board in one tenement rather than in another; it is for the interest of the boarding-house keepers, therefore, that the bill of fare should be attractive and satisfactory. The keepers are sometimes men with wives and families; but they are generally widows, or females who have been accustomed to perform the principal part of the business of providing for their families, and who desire a remunerating means of subsistence. Applications for these situations are generally numerous, but they can be obtained by none but persons of known capacity and respectability. And whenever indications of a different character are manifested, the obnoxious keeper is immediately ejected. Males and females are not allowed to occupy the same house, not even a man with his wife, as boarders.

Several classes of regulations to be observed by the inmates of these houses, are printed and placed conspicuously in each house. One code is as follows:—

I. The tenants must not underlet any part of their tenements, nor board any persons not employed by the company, unless by special permission; and, in no case, are males and females to board in the same house.

II. The tenants must, when required by the agent, give a correct account, in writing, of the number, names, character, habits and employment of their boarders; and whether they are habitual attendants on public worship. They must, also, on the first Monday of every month, send to the counting-room, a list of all the boarders they have taken, and of all who have left their houses, during the preceding month. They must, also, at the same time, render a list of the names of all such boarders as have required the services of a physician, on account of sickness, during the same period.

III. The doors must be closed at 10 o'clock in the evening, and no one admitted after that time, unless some reasonable excuse can be given.

IV. The boarders must not be permitted to have company at unseasonable hours.

V. All improper conduct among the boarders, and all rude and disorderly deportment, must be prevented by the tenants, if possible, and if persisted in, must be reported to the agent.

VI. It is confidently expected, that all children over twelve, and under fourteen years of age, living in the houses, be kept constantly at school.

VII. It is indispensable, that all who live in the houses should be vaccinated, and this will be done, at the expense of the company, by a physician, at the counting-room, for all those employed by the company, and for the families of the tenants.

VIII. The health of the inhabitants requires that particular attention should be paid to the cleanliness and daily ventilation of the rooms.

IX. Neither water, nor filth of any kind, must be thrown out in front of the houses, nor be allowed to remain in the cellars, back-yards or sheds.

X. Ashes must not be kept in wooden vessels, nor will any carelessness be allowed in the use of fire or lights. Neither camphene, nor any other explosive compound used for lights, will be allowed on the premises.

XI. The rooms must not be mutilated, nor defaced; and, in all cases, where the plastering of the walls is broken, either by driving in nails, screws, or pins, or by rubbing with furniture, or by any carelessness, or by any other means beyond ordinary use and wear, the injury will be repaired, and the cost thereof charged to the person leasing the house.

XII. A suitable chamber for the sick, must be reserved in each house, so that they may not be annoyed by others occupying the same room.

XIII. Window glass must not be allowed to remain broken, longer than one day.

XIV. Wood and coal will not be permitted to be taken into the cellars, nor from them, through the front windows.

XV. The closest supervision will be exercised to enforce these rules, and the tenants themselves are particularly required to pay close attention to them, and to assist upon their observance on the part of their boarders.

XVI. No tenement will be leased to persons of immoral or intemperate habits, and any tenant, who, after occupancy, shall be found to be of such habits, or to receive boarders of such habits, will be notified to vacate the premises.

*The tenants are particularly desired to lend their aid in the preservation of the trees in front of the houses, and to give immediate information to the agent, if any injury be done them.*

Similar regulations are issued by the Atlantic Cotton Mills, besides an additional code, one section of which is the following:—

A proper observance of the Sabbath being necessary for the maintenance of good order, all persons in the employ of this company are expected to be constant in attendance at public worship, and those who habitually neglect this regulation, or whose habits shall be found to be intemperate, or otherwise irregular or incorrect, or who are known to attend improper places of amusement, will be discharged.

The execution of these and other police regulations of the whole establishment, is entrusted to the general agent and a sufficient number of subordinate overseers, who are daily present at the mills. The agent is required to be a man who, by his known capacity, his experience, and his character, is fitted for the station. Under his wise and systematic supervision, the boarding-houses, and all the departments of these extensive mills, are managed with the same care as a small, well-regulated family.

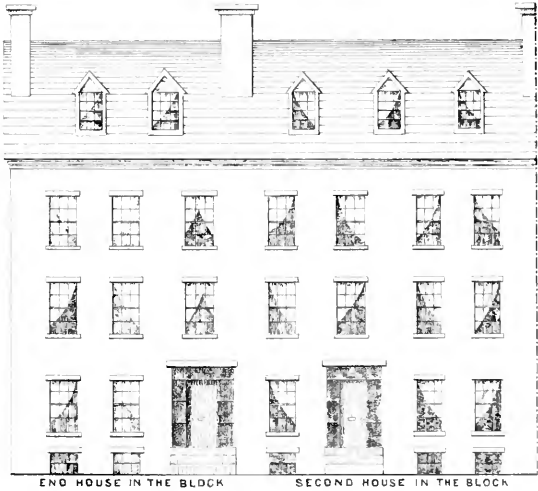
The influence of the system by which the boarding-houses are regulated, is immensely beneficial, whether we consider it in a social, moral, or sanitary point of view. It is an influence which is felt by all the operatives, at all times, while they are out of the mills as well as in them. In the boarding-houses too, a care, attention and oversight, is frequently exerted by the landlady over her boarders, which is nearly allied to that which a kind parent exerts over her children, and which produces almost as strong a mutual attachment in the one case as in the other.

The Lawrence Gas Company commenced operations January 1st, 1849. The mills, streets and public buildings are now lighted with gas, and it is to be extended as needed. The gas establishment is on the banks of the Merrimack, below the populous part of the town and the entrance of the Spicket, that no inconvenience may be experienced from its drainage or otherwise. Besides the establishments already noticed, there are several others of minor importance,—among which may be mentioned, a card clothing manufactory, a large piano manufactory in the northwest part of the town, and works for the manufacture of paper hangings. No slaughter-house, nor any manufactory unfavorable to the health of the inhabitants, is permitted near the centre of the town.

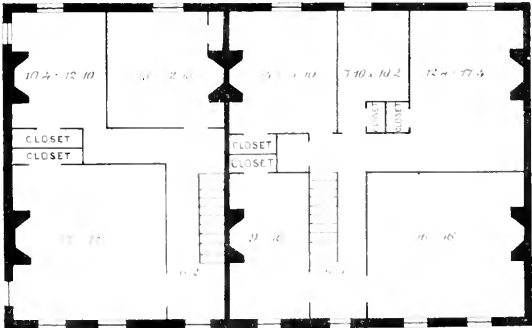
The return of the assessors, for the State Valuation in 1850, di-



PLANS OF THE BOARDING HOUSES BELONGING TO  
THE BAY STATE MILLS IN LAWRENCE.



SECOND & THIRD FLOORS









vides the lands of the town into 60 acres of tillage land; 214 of English and upland mowing; 33 of fresh meadow; 202 of pasturage; 408 of woodland; 2,702 of unimproved land; 62 of unimprovable; 300 used for roads; and 374 covered with water. This gives a total of 4,355 acres, or 19 less than the survey as stated, page 437.

The annual agricultural produce of these lands is stated at 20 bushels of wheat; 32 of rye; 350 of oats; 350 of Indian corn; 159 tons of English hay, and 17 tons of meadow hay; and there were in the town 185 horses, 37 oxen, 107 cows, and 58 swine.

### 3. *Number and Condition of the Inhabitants.*

At the first enumeration of the inhabitants, made February, 1847, Lawrence contained 3,577; of whom 2,289 were males, and 1,118 females; 1,271 lived in Irish dwellings. At the second enumeration, made January, 1848, it contained 5,949, of whom 3,750 were Americans, 2,130 Irish, 28 English, 16 other foreigners, and 16 colored persons. At the third enumeration, September, 1849, it contained 7,225. The State Census, May, 1850, gave 8,358, living in 1,416 families, or an average of 6 to a family; of whom 7,620 were on the north and 738 on the southern side of the Merrimack. Legal voters, March, 1850,—south side of the river, 84, north side, 993, total, 1,077. Militia enrolled, 1,031. An abstract of the United States Census, just completed, gives 8,500 inhabitants, living in 1,415 families, and 1,061 tenements; averaging 6 to a family and 8 to a tenement. The following is an abstract of this census, furnished us by the assistant marshal:—

Ages.	Males.	Females.	Both.	Place of Birth.	Number.
Under 5,	467	437	904	Massachusetts, . . .	2,266
5 to 10,	346	345	691	Maine, . . . . .	919
10 to 15,	278	339	617	New Hampshire, . . .	1,486
15 to 20,	378	609	987	Vermont, . . . . .	350
20 to 30,	1,007	1,487	2,494	Rhode Island, . . . .	18
30 to 40,	595	572	1,167	Connecticut, . . . .	37
40 to 50,	298	272	570	New York, . . . . .	75
50 to 60,	122	109	231	New Jersey, . . . . .	4
60 to 70,	41	44	85	Pennsylvania, . . . .	12
70 to 80,	14	16	30	Other States, . . . .	18
80 to 90,	3	0	3	Foreigners, . . . . .	2,554
				Unknown, . . . . .	761
Total,	3,549	4,230	7,779	Total, . . . . .	8,500
Under 15,	1,091	1,121	2,212	Colored persons, . . .	14
15 to 60,	2,400	3,049	5,449	Insane, . . . . .	3
Over 60,	58	60	118	Deaf and dumb, . . .	5
Total,	3,549	4,230	7,779	Number between 5 and	
Persons whose ages are } not specified, . . . }			721	15, is here stated at	
Total population, . . .			8,500	1,308; number return-	
				ed by school commit-	
				tee, in May, . . . . .	1,180

The whole population in the manufacturing towns, averages about three times the number of the operatives employed. According to this

rule, when the mills now existing or are in the process of erection are in full operation, Lawrence will require about 5,000 operatives, and a town population of 15,000; and those that are projected, but not yet commenced, will require about as many more.

The names, dates of commencing business in the place, and other interesting particulars concerning professional and other occupations, are presented in "The Lawrence Courier," the oldest weekly newspaper of the town, for February, 1847, January 8, 1848, and April 4, 1849. It appears that the first mechanic came into town, May 15, 1845; the frame of the first dwelling-house was raised September 12, 1845; the first attorney came March 10, 1846; the first physician, October, 1845; the first apothecary, June 24, 1846; the first printing was done September 26, 1846; and the first newspaper was issued October 9, 1846. The "Essex County Sentinel" was first issued September 2, 1848. The Post Office was established August, 1846.

The first public tax in Lawrence was assessed in 1847. The aggregate valuation of the real and personal property, estimated at its market cash value; the number of ratable polls; the amount of the taxes assessed; the rate per cent., or the number of cents on \$100 of the valuation; and the average amount on each poll, and on each inhabitant, in different years, have since been as follows:—

Year.	Aggregate Valuation of the Property.			Number of Ratable Polls.	Amount of Taxes assessed.	Proportion on each.		
	Real.	Personal.	Total.			\$100	Poll	Inhabitant.
1847	\$1,563,045	\$156,159	\$1,719,204	1,679	\$7,871 75	\$0.39	\$4 62	\$2 20
1848	3,466,586	347,840	3,814,426	1,730	18,610 39	0.42	10 75	3 12
1849	4,781,950	948,760	5,730,710	2,262	25,790 94	0.39	11 40	3 17
1850	4,890,264	1,012,477	5,902,741	2,249	32,243 41	0.49	14 31	3 85

It appears from this statement, that each \$100 value of the property paid 39 cents, in 1847, and 49, in 1850; that for each ratable poll was paid on the average \$4.62, in 1847, and \$14.31, in 1850; and that for each inhabitant of the whole town was paid, on the average, \$2.20, in 1847, and \$3.85, in 1850. The greatest proportion of the taxes is paid by the manufacturing property.

The taxes paid by the incorporated companies within the town, for the last three years, are as follows:—

Companies.	In 1848.	In 1849.	In 1850.
Essex Company, . . .	\$4,950 96	\$7,400 25	\$8,590 85
Bay State Mills, . . .	3,028 20	3,637 34	6,614 99
Atlantic Cotton Mills, . . .	2,100 00	4,291 17	5,031 56
Bay State Bank, . . .	54 60	50 70	78 40
Boston and Maine Railroad, . . .	21 00	276 90	296 74
Essex Railroad, . . .	.	35 10	24 50
Gas Company, . . .	.	.	245 00
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$10,154 76	\$15,691 46	\$20,882 01
Proportion per cent. of } whole tax, . . . }	54.56	60.84	64.76

If any argument were necessary, at this day, to show that corporations are in many respects beneficial to the people, these facts furnish a conclusive one. Here is an instance where more than one half, (and for this year, \$20,882 04 of the \$32,243 41, or 64.76 per cent.—nearly *two-thirds*,)—of all the public taxes raised by the town, for the social, pecuniary, educational, moral, and sanitary welfare of the whole people, is paid by the corporations established within it. These corporations give employment and means of subsistence to a large portion of the population of the town, and create a market for the agricultural products of the neighborhood, and thus diffuse their beneficial influence among all classes. This is a direct, positive good, obvious to every one. They also deposit in the town foreign capital, or capital not previously existing there, to be publicly taxed for the general good. This, though a less obvious, is none the less a great public blessing; and contributes to the general welfare and sanitary improvement of the people.

The following statement exhibits an abstract of the income and expenditures of the town, for the last two years, ending the first of March; and specifies the sources from which the income was derived, and the purposes for which the expenditures were made:—

INCOME.		
	March 1, 1849.	March 1, 1850.
From Taxes, . . . .	\$18,011 89	\$24,329 97
Rents, . . . . .	.	472 64
Fees and licenses, . . . .	79 00	12 00
State School Fund, . . . .	99 82	174 24
State paupers, . . . . .	516 82	2,833 88
Loans, . . . . .	24,892 55	35,662 60
Balance of last account, . . . .	.	81 45
	<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>
	\$43,600 08	\$63,566 68

EXPENDITURES.		
	March 1, 1849.	March 1, 1850.
For Public buildings, . . . .	\$8,000 00	\$27,174 09
Schoolhouses, . . . . .	13,370 16	10,129 24
Schools, . . . . .	4,061 81	5,895 79
Roads and bridges, . . . .	2,711 03	3,552 98
Health, . . . . .	553 31	335 75
Fire department, . . . . .	3,480 84	4,852 19
Pauperism, . . . . .	3,522 16	3,622 14
Police, . . . . .	631 24	437 55
Militia, . . . . .	.	723 00
County tax, . . . . .	614 90	614 90
Interest, . . . . .	975 01	2,597 56
Contingent, . . . . .	5,598 17	2,504 07
Balance on hand, . . . . .	81 45	1,127 42
	<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>
	\$43,600 08	\$63,566 68

This statement shows that appropriations and expenditures have been made in this town, for various public purposes, with great liber-

ality. It has been considered wise policy and good economy, in making these expenditures, even at the risk of creating a public debt, to keep in view, not merely the wants of the present inhabitants, but of those who may, according to reasonable anticipations, hereafter, within a few years, become inhabitants. In establishing a new town like this, accommodations must be provided for transacting the public business, for public schools, and for various other purposes. Such buildings have now been constructed; and no considerable expenditure will be needed on that account for years to come. It is intended that all current expenses shall hereafter be paid by current income; and that the town debt shall be cancelled by annual instalments and by a sinking fund.

The Public Schools of Lawrence are—1. Primary Schools, for the education of children under 7 years of age; 2. Middle Schools, for those between 7 and 10; 3. Grammar Schools, for those between 10 and 12; and, 4. a High School, for those over 12. The classification of the scholars depends, however, upon their qualifications to be transferred from a lower to a higher grade of schools. Where it is impracticable, on account of locality or other causes, to divide the children under 10, into middle and primary schools, they are associated in what are termed mixed schools. We gather the following facts regarding the schools, from the returns of the school committee to the Board of Education, on the first of May, in each year specified:—

	In 1848.	In 1849.	In 1850.
Children in town, between the ages of 5 and 15, . . . . .	620	1,089	1,180
Number of public schools, . . . . .	8	11	15
Number of scholars at the schools, . . . . .	825	1,050	1,006
Average attendance, . . . . .	615	651	939
Number of teachers, . . . . .	7	13	16
Money raised for the support of schools, . . . . .	\$2,000	\$3,750	\$6,602
Average for each child between 5 and 15, . . . . .	\$3 23	\$3 44.4	\$5 59.5
School rank of the town in the county, . . . . .	4th.	4th.	1st.
School rank of the town in the State, . . . . .	55th.	55th.	19th.

The following statement, furnished us by the secretary of the school committee, shows the state of the schools October 1, 1850:—

Number of Schools.	Male Teachers.	Female Teachers	Scholars.	Annual Expense	For each Scholar.
7 Primary schools, . . . . .	0	9	599	\$2,375	\$3 96
2 Mixed schools, . . . . .	0	2	95	570	6 00
5 Middle schools, . . . . .	0	5	250	710	2 84
2 Grammar schools, . . . . .	2	5	330	3,075	9 31
1 High school, . . . . .	1	1	53	1,300	24 52
Total and average, . . . . .	3	22	1,327	\$8,030	\$6 05

The female teachers receive \$225 salary each, per annum; the teachers of the grammar schools, \$700, and of the high school, \$800. All the schools are kept the whole year, except two weeks of vacation in winter, and four in summer. It appears by this statement, that the annual expense of educating each scholar, on the average for all the schools, is about \$6; in the primary schools, \$3.96; and in the high

school, \$24.52. This town was fourth in rank in the county, in 1849,—Salem, Newburyport, and Essex, only, being higher; and it was *first* in 1850, having paid for education, at the rate of \$5.59½ for every child in the town, between the ages of 5 and 15 years. The admirable school system and the schools of Lawrence, have been justly commended for their elevated character and rank.

A bank, with a capital of \$300,000; a savings bank, in which the deposits are rapidly increasing; and a mutual fire insurance company, exist in this town. Railroads intersect at this place, which form a direct connection with Boston, Salem, Lowell, and various other places in this and the neighboring states, and afford all needful means of intercommunication.

Two military companies, the Lawrence Light Infantry and the Lawrence Mechanic Rifle Company, have been organized, each containing about 50 members.

The Franklin Library received from Hon. Abbott Lawrence \$1,000, which has been increased by other donations. It has already a collection of valuable scientific and miscellaneous works. An able course of scientific and literary lectures is given annually, before the lyceum of the town.

The inhabitants enjoy comfortable means of subsistence, and their general character is industrious and temperate. The greatest proportion of the intemperance, pauperism, crime, and disease, which has existed in the town, has been among the transient population. There are six public houses, either hotels or taverns, at all of which intoxicating liquors *may* be obtained. No licenses, however, for their sale, are granted.

The average compensation for mechanical labor is, for carpenters, \$1.37½ per day; for masons, \$1.75 per day, without board. For common American laborers, \$1.00; Irish, 70 to 80 cents. Building materials are abundant, at reasonable prices. The prices of provisions are about the same as in Boston. Coal is \$7.00 per ton—firewood \$3½ to \$6 per cord.

In the year ending March 1, 1849, the overseers of the poor paid for the partial or entire support of 243 persons, expending \$3,771 56. This is nearly 1 pauper to 27 inhabitants; and 50 cents for each inhabitant. The number returned to the State, November 1, 1849, was 455. For the year ending March 1, 1850, the town paid for 3,792 days of pauper support, which is equal to the support of a little more than 10 persons during the whole year. The number actually in the poor-house, July, 1850, was 14; of whom 8 were foreigners—3 adults and 5 children; and 6 were Americans—3 adults, and 3 children.

For the year ending October, 1850, the number of persons convicted before the police court of Lawrence, was 270; of this number, 127 were convicted for drunkenness, 43 for assault and battery, 21 for simple larceny, 19 for disturbing the peace, 18 for selling spirituous liquors, 9 for violating the Sabbath, 7 for assaults on officers, 7 for assaults on females, 5 for obtaining goods on false pretences, 2 for lewd and lascivious behavior, 2 for wilful trespass, 2 for larcenies in dwelling-houses, and 1 each for receiving stolen goods, for store-breaking, for arson, for rape, for bigamy, for adultery, and for conspiracy.

A very large proportion of these criminals were transient persons,

who had arrived but a short time before their arrest. All but 12 of those convicted for drunkenness and for disturbing the peace, were of this character. A marked improvement is said to have taken place among the Irish population, during the past year; and very few of this class have been arrested for crime.

The following statement will exhibit the religious opinions and institutions of the people of Lawrence :—

Denominations.	When Organized.	Cost of Churches.	Sittings.	Annual Exp. of Pub. Wor.
First Orthodox Congregational,	Aug. 3, 1846,	\$12,000	1,200	\$1,200
Second " "	Dec. 19, 1849,		Worship in Hall,	1,450
Episcopalian, . . . . .	April 29, 1847,		Worship in Vestry,	1,000
Unitarian, . . . . .	Aug. 30, 1847,	\$3,000	900	1,500
Baptist, . . . . .	Aug. 17, 1847,	9,000	300	1,000
Methodist, . . . . .	June 1846,	6,000	800	800
Universalist, . . . . .	Nov. 15, 1847,		Worship in Hall,	600
Freewill Baptist, . . . . .	April 1846,	\$3,000	500	600
First Roman Catholic, . . . . .	April 1846,	1,500	200	600
Second " " . . . . .	Dec. 1846,	4,000	1,200	1,000

It appears by this statement, that about \$10,000 is annually contributed by voluntary donation for religious instruction. Flourishing Sabbath schools exist in all the churches. The Roman Catholics are building a stone church to cost over \$30,000.

#### 4. *Municipal Regulations and Sanitary Police.*

The municipal government of the town consists of 3 selectmen, a town clerk, a treasurer, 3 assessors, 5 school committee-men, and several other subordinate officers, all chosen in March, annually. The selectmen act as a board of health, and as overseers of the poor. The police is composed of 1 deputy sheriff, 5 constables, 1 coroner, and 24 night and day watch and police. The watchmen are paid 20 cents per hour, while on duty. A special act establishing a police court was passed May 5, 1848. A fire department was also incorporated May 10, 1848, the members of which receive 25 cents per hour, while on duty. The selectmen, as a board of health, have issued the following code of rules and regulations :—

In accordance with the 21st chapter of the Revised Statutes of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the following regulations were established at a meeting of the board, for the health and safety of the inhabitants of Lawrence :—

**ART. I.** Every tenement in the town, used as a dwelling-house, shall be furnished with a suitable receptacle under ground to carry off the waste water—and also with a privy, the vault of which shall be under ground—to be built in the manner prescribed in the fourth article of this chapter, and of sufficient capacity in proportion to the number of inhabitants of such tenement.

**ART. II.** When the board of health shall be satisfied that any tenement, used as a dwelling-house, is not furnished with a sufficient receptacle, privy or vault, or either of them, they shall give notice, in writing, to the occupant, owner or his agent, requiring that a suitable receptacle, privy or vault, or either of them, be constructed within such time as they shall appoint, for the use of such tenement; and in case such requisition be not complied with, the board shall cause such receptacle, privy or vault, or either of them, to be constructed, the expense of which shall be charged to such occupant, owner or agent.

**ART. III.** Whenever the board of health shall find that the number of persons occupying any tenement is so great as to be the cause of nuisance or sickness, or a source of filth; or whenever any tenement is not furnished with a suitable privy, vault and receptacle under ground, according to the provisions of this chapter, the board may cause all or any persons occupying such tenement to be removed therefrom—first giving them notice, in writing, to remove, and allowing them the space of at least forty-eight hours, in which to comply with said notice.

**ART. IV.** All vaults and privies hereafter built, shall be so constructed that the inside of the same shall be at least two feet distant from the line of every adjoining lot, unless the board of health, or the owner of said adjoining lot shall otherwise agree and consent, and also from every street, lane, alley, court, square, or place, or public or private passageway; there shall be no communication between any vault or privy, and any common sewer



or drain, and every vault shall be at least five feet deep from the surface or grade of the surrounding land, and shall be constructed of brick or stone, laid in cement, or of good plank, at least two inches thick, and to be made water tight—and all vaults or privies already constructed, not conforming to the foregoing, shall, within thirty days from the date hereof, be so altered, repaired, or rebuilt, as to conform to the above requirements; and whenever any vault or privy shall become offensive, the same shall be cleansed, and the owner or his agent, or the occupant of the land in which any vault or privy may be situated, the state and condition of which shall be in violation of the provisions of this article, shall cause the same to be removed, cleansed, altered, amended, or repaired, within a reasonable time after notice, in writing, to that effect, given by the board of health; and in case of neglect or refusal, the same shall be performed under the direction of the board of health, at the expense of the owner, agent, or occupant aforesaid.

ART. V. No vault shall be opened between the 15th day of May and the 14th day of October, in each year, unless on inspection caused to be made, the board of health shall be satisfied that the same is absolutely necessary for the health or comfort of the inhabitants; in which case they may grant special permission, under such restrictions as they may deem expedient; and no vault shall be opened at any time during the year, until 10 o'clock, P. M.

ART. VI. Whenever it shall appear to the board of health that any cellar, lot or vacant land is in a state of nuisance, or so situated that it may become dangerous to the public health, they may cause the same to be drained, filled up, or otherwise prevented from becoming or remaining a cause of nuisance or sickness, and shall charge all reasonable expenses incurred in so doing, to the several owners, or parties occupying such cellar, lot, or vacant land: *provided*, notice shall have been first given, and the space of forty-eight hours thereafter allowed, as provided in the second article of this chapter: *provided*, that if no owner or occupant is known to the board of health to be a resident in the town of Lawrence, notice shall be given at least two weeks, in one or more of the newspapers of said town of Lawrence.

ART. VII. No person or persons shall throw or deposit, or cause to be thrown or deposited, in any street, court, square, lane, alley, public square, or vacant lot, or into any water, any dirt, sawdust, soot, ashes, cinders, shavings, hair, shreds, manure, oyster or lobster shells, waste water, rubbish, or filth of any kind, or any animal or vegetable matter or substance whatever.

ART. VIII. No person shall bring into the town for sale, nor offer for sale, any diseased, unwholesome, stale or putrid meat, fish, or other articles of provisions, nor any fish, except salmon and shad, and except smelts and other small fish, that shall not first have been cleansed of their entrails and refuse parts.

REVISED STATUTES—[Chap. 21, sec. 5:]—"The board of health shall make such regulations respecting nuisance, sources of filth, and causes of sickness, within their respective towns, as they shall judge necessary for the public health and safety.

And if any person shall violate any such regulations, he shall forfeit a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars.

All persons will hereby take notice that the above rules and regulations must be strictly complied with.

Whenever a complaint is made against any person for a violation of these regulations, a notice, containing a copy, is served upon such violator, and he is required to remove the nuisance in 48 hours.

Lawrence has two places for the interment of the dead. One, containing five acres, lies in a pine grove, about a mile from the town-house, and was bought by the town of the Essex Company, for \$1,000. It is beautifully laid out, intersected by avenues and paths, and divided into family lots, 10 by 14 feet, and into single graves; the whole designed to furnish burial accommodations for about 5,000 bodies. Each family lot, and each single grave, is numbered and marked, and a record is made of the persons interred therein. The right of burial for a single grave is free. A family right, 10 by 14 feet, for 8 graves, is sold for \$3.00. The ordinary expenses for interment are,—for a good pine coffin, \$4.00; digging the grave and the undertaker's fees, \$3; total, \$7, besides carriages. A greater amount, of course, is sometimes expended. The other is a *Catholic ground*, and contains 3 acres. It is the private property of Rev. Charles D. French, the eldest Catholic priest in the town. Rights for burial for single graves in this ground, are sold at \$5.00 for adults, and at \$3.00 for children. A "family right," or a right to dig any depth and deposit as many bodies as one pleases,

one upon the top of another, is sold for \$9.00! Charity graves are sometimes granted.

5. *Health, Sickness, and Mortality of the Inhabitants.*

The records of births, marriages, and deaths, were commenced May 1, 1847, and have since been continued. For the last eight months of 1847, and the two subsequent years, we obtain the following abstract of these records:—

	May to Dec. 31, 1847.	In 1848.	In 1849.	Total.
Births, . . . .	139	185	61	325
Marriages, . . . .	19	81	40	130
Deaths, . . . .	84	83	162	329

The records of births and marriages are imperfect. Of the births recorded, 193, or more than 50 per cent., were of children of foreign parents. Some of the deaths are supposed not to have been recorded, in 1847 and 1848; but for 1849, all are supposed to have been entered. In 1848 there was one recorded death to 71 inhabitants; and in 1849 there was one to 44. Assuming this as a means of comparison, it will show, in the last year, an excess of about 50 deaths above a healthy standard.

The aggregate and average ages of all whose ages are specified in the records, was as follows:—

Date.	Deaths of Persons whose Ages are known.	Aggregate Ages.	Average Ages.
1847,	79	1,819 yrs. 6 ms. 14 ds.	23 yrs. 0 ms. 11 ds.
1848,	79	1,317 " 0 " 23 "	16 " 8 " 2 "
1849,	156	2,082 " 6 " 7 "	13 " 4 " 4 "

The specific divisions of ages exhibit the following results:—

Ages.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Proportion.
Under 15, . . . .	63	65	128	40.8
15 to 60, . . . .	71	73	144	45.8
Over 60, . . . .	21	21	42	13.4
Total, . . . .	155	159	314	100

And in the different seasons of the year they were, as far as specified, as follows:—

Quarter.	Under 15.	15 to 60.	Over 60.	Total.	Proportion.
Winter quarter,	25	25	2	52	17.5
Spring quarter,	31	22	1	57	19.2
Summer quarter,	79	48	5	132	44.4
Autumn quarter,	26	28	2	56	18.9
Total, . . . .	161	123	10	297	100

The causes of death, as far as specified on the records, are exhibited in the following statement:—

Causes of Death.	Males.			Females.			Total.
	Under 15.	15 to 60.	Over 60.	Under 15.	15 to 60.	Over 60.	
<b>SPECIFIED CAUSES.</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>282</b>
1. Zymotic Diseases, . . .	26	36	5	35	16	6	124
2. Of uncertain seat, . . .	1	.	3	1	4	.	9
3. Of the Nervous Organs, . . .	4	2	.	9	3	1	19
4. Of the Respiratory Organs, . . .	10	13	1	8	30	4	66
5. Of the Circulative Organs, . . .	.	1	.	.	.	.	1
6. Of the Digestive Organs, . . .	9	3	5	2	4	6	29
7. Of the Generative Organs, . . .	.	.	.	.	9	.	9
8. Of Old Age, . . .	.	.	3	.	.	1	4
9. Accidental Deaths, . . .	5	12	1	2	1	.	21
Total specified, . . .	55	67	18	55	67	18	282
Causes not specified, . . .	8	4	3	8	6	3	32
Total, . . .	63	71	21	65	73	21	314

The specific diseases and causes of death, as stated in this table, are as follows:—

1. Cholera Morbus, . . . 5	3. Apoplexy, . . . 2	Disease of Bowels, 13
Cholera Infantum, . . . 4	Convulsions, . . . 7	Jaundice, . . . 1
Croup, . . . 4	Disease of Brain, . . . 10	Teething, . . . 7
Dysentery, . . . 26	Total, . . . 19	Total, . . . 29
Typhus Fever, . . . 52	4. Consumption, . . . 58	Child-birth, . . . 9
Hooping Cough, . . . 2	Pneumonia, . . . 7	8. Old Age, . . . 4
Influenza, . . . 2	Pleurisy, . . . 1	9. Accidents, . . . 15
Measles, . . . 11	Total, . . . 66	Intemperance, . . . 3
Scarlatina, . . . 18	5. Disease of Heart, . . . 1	Want, . . . 3
Total, . . . 124	6. Gastritis, . . . 2	Total, . . . 21
2. Dropsy, . . . 6	Canker, . . . 6	Not specified, . . . 32
Hæmorrhage, . . . 1		Still-born, . . . 8
Scrofula, . . . 2		
Total, . . . 9		

It will be seen by this statement, that typhus fever, dysentery, scarlatina, and measles, among the greatest epidemics of the State, and consumption, the most to be dreaded of all diseases, have prevailed here to a large extent, producing, respectively, 52, 26, 18, 11, and 58, of the total mortality of 282 cases in which causes are specified. Of the fever victims the greatest proportion have been males in the productive periods of life, some of whom were laborers on the public improvements. A majority of the deaths by consumption, were those of

females in the same period. No case of Asiatic cholera has occurred in the town.

Since the foregoing abstract was prepared, a record of the deaths during the 6 months, ending July 1, 1850, has been obtained, from which it appears that 59 deaths took place during that period,—31 males and 28 females. Their aggregate ages were 1381 years, 5 months, 10 days, and their average age 23 years, 5 months. Of these, 14 died of consumption—7 males and 7 females,—7 were Americans and 7 foreigners; 9 died of typhus fever—5 males and 4 females, all Americans but 2; and 7 died of *small-pox*—4 males and 3 females—all Americans but one, and whose deaths were traceable to a neglect of vaccination. These three diseases were the causes of more than half the deaths.

#### 6. *Conclusions and Recommendations.*

The *conclusions* to which the foregoing facts lead are :—

1. That the natural situation of Lawrence, its dry soil, its waters, and its general features, seem to be favorable to the promotion of health. The town is, however, as yet, too young, and observations have been too limited, to determine its true sanitary character.

2. That in the artificial and local arrangements for the manufacturing establishments and their accompanying structures, in the plan and location of the streets of the town, in the dwelling-houses, and in the public squares and public buildings, many of the most approved principles of sanitary science have been introduced.

3. That the pecuniary, social, and moral welfare of the operatives in the mills, is as well cared for here as in any place within our knowledge. Their house accommodations, means of subsistence, and the moral and sanitary supervision under which they act, cannot be too highly commended.

4. That the public educational, and other institutions of the town, and the social condition of the inhabitants, are such as must contribute to their general welfare and improvement, physical, intellectual and moral.

5. That the facts regarding the mortality of the town, especially for the last year, exhibit a remarkably low average age at death. This is not to be taken, however, (for the reasons we have already given in this Report, pp. 139, 140) as an exact test of the sanitary character of the inhabitants. The population is necessarily young, the births are numerous; and the deaths among the children will consequently be proportionably numerous. Comparatively few old people exist in the town to die. This must depress the average age at death.

6. That temporary causes have operated in Lawrence, as in other new places, to depress the public health, and to produce an unnatural increase in the number of deaths. Among these causes may be mentioned ;—1. The transition from one place and from one mode of living to others ;—2. The bringing together of persons and adventurers of different characters and habits, sometimes with broken fortunes or debilitated constitutions ;—3. The digging up and removal of the soil and earth, sometimes producing unwholesome exhalations ;—4. Exposure in working in mud and water, in constructing the dam, canal, and other works ;—5. The insufficiency of proper house accommodations ;—And 6. The habitations, habits, and peculiar modes of

living of the Irish laborers. These and other causes have produced fevers, dysentery, scarlatina, consumption, and the other fatal diseases which have prevailed here; and have operated to produce an excess of deaths above a healthy standard. These causes will operate less extensively, however, as the population becomes more settled and stationary.

7. That there is reason to believe that the natural position of the town, its artificial and local arrangements, the social and pecuniary condition of the inhabitants, and the means provided for their welfare and improvement, will render Lawrence one of the most healthy manufacturing towns in the State, especially if all its affairs continue to be wisely and properly regulated and conducted.

And it is *recommended*—

1. That such wise and practical sanitary rules and regulations be made by the board of health, and always kept in force, as will prevent nuisances and secure cleanliness in every street and avenue, and around, near, and in every dwelling-house.

2. That every practical effort be made to prevent crowding too many houses upon one lot, and too many families or persons into one house; and whenever such a sanitary evil may be found, that it be immediately corrected.

3. That as soon as practicable, means should be provided for introducing into every dwelling-house an abundant supply of pure, soft water for domestic use.

4. That water should not be permitted to stagnate in any street or low grounds, within the populous parts of the town; and wherever such cases exist, that the locality be drained or filled up as speedily as possible.

5. That the Catholic burial grounds and other places for the interment of the dead, be placed under the control of the board of health of the town, and be subject to such regulations as they shall see fit to establish.

6. That a thorough sanitary supervision be exercised by the police or other authority over every department of the town, and, as far as practicable, that every avenue to intemperance and other vice be closed; that every violation of every sanitary regulation be immediately detected, and that nothing unfavorable to the public health be suffered to exist.

7. That exact observations be made by the manufacturing companies and in the public schools, concerning the sickness that occurs, as recommended in this Report, (pp. 171, 178, and pp. 404-407,) that the true sanitary character of the locality and of the various occupations may be fully ascertained.

8. That such of the measures suggested in this Report, as are applicable to this town, be adopted and carried into effect by the board of health and by the inhabitants.

9. That a general report be made annually, by the board of health, or by the selectmen, which shall embrace a concise abstract of the facts concerning the several public departments and offices of the town, gathered during the preceding year, exhibiting its sanitary progress and its condition; and which shall recommend such measures as may lead to improvement; and that the same be printed and distributed among the inhabitants.









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PETITION OF THE ESSEX COMPANY,  
AND OTHER DOCUMENTS.

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*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of  
Massachusetts, in General Court assembled:—*

The Petition of the Essex Company represents that on the sixth day of June, A. D. 1856, an Act was passed by the legislature of Massachusetts, the first section whereof is in the terms following:—

“An Act for the preservation of Fish in Merrimack River.

*Be it enacted, &c., as follows:—*

“SECT. 1. The Essex Company shall, before the first day of February, which will be in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven, make and forever thereafter maintain, in or around their dam in Lawrence, a suitable and sufficient fishway for the usual and unobstructed passage of fish during the months of April, May, June, September and October, in every year, under a penalty of not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than five hundred dollars for every day said company shall neglect to make and maintain such fishway after said first day of February, to be recovered by indictment in either county of Essex or Middlesex, one-half to the use of the complainant, and one-half to the use of the Commonwealth.”

And now your petitioners respectfully pray that the said first section may be repealed; and in explanation and support of their Petition, they ask leave to submit the facts and considerations which follow.

They were created a corporation on the 20th day of March, A. D. 1845. They were so incorporated for an object, in the

judgment of the legislature, and in the public sentiment of this Commonwealth, of great importance, and eminently deserving of the favorable regard of government. This object was chiefly the creation and supply of a water-power on the Merrimack, at the point which has since become the city of Lawrence, for the uses of mechanical and manufacturing industry.

To accomplish this object, it was known to those who applied for the charter, and known to the government, that a vast expenditure of capital in the first instance must be ventured—the original extent of which, the necessary subsequent additions thereto, and all results of success or failure to follow—were involved in far more than the ordinary and inevitable uncertainty which belongs to all similar undertakings attempted upon a large scale, and essentially experimental; and that therefore the enterprise had need, in an unusual degree, from the beginning, and always, of considerate, just and stable legislation.

It was known, especially, that there was one means alone by which the design could be accomplished; and that was the construction of a dam—the largest of its kind in the world—across a river of great width and depth of water—rising and falling from time to time through more than twenty feet—carrying on its surface large and heavy timber, and masses of ice under no control of man, and scarcely capable to be withstood by any work of art. To devise a structure which should be equal to the trials of such a situation, it was foreseen by all, would be one of the hardest problems, and, if successful, one of the most brilliant triumphs of civil engineering.

All foresaw and all intended—the legislature as well as those who sought the charter—that at whatever cost, and at whatever interference with other objects, against the hazard of being carried away under any circumstances, it must be completely and certainly guarded, since the destruction of a dam which should have gathered above it so vast a body and so vast a force of water as this, after mills had been erected, and millions of dollars invested on its security, and a population of thousands assembled below it, would involve consequences of evil impossible to be compensated.

It was with full knowledge then of the nature of the thing to be done; of its difficulties, importance and probable cost, that

the legislature incorporated your petitioners to do it. Parts of the Act of incorporation are appended to this Petition.

It will be observed that while the paramount object contemplated by the legislature was the creation of water-power, and as the indispensable and only means for attaining this object the construction and maintenance of a dam which would certainly resist all possible assaults, there are contained in it provisions upon the subject of the passage of fish.

These provisions are found in the 5th and 7th sections; and it is most plain upon their terms, that in framing them the legislature intended to reconcile, as far as might be, the purpose of allowing some passage for fish—which must be unavoidably embarrassed to some extent by any dam however constructed—with the other, and that larger and leading purpose of enabling and compelling the corporation to devise and execute such a plan for the construction of a dam, as should insure its perfect and its constant fitness for the great objects which the charter designed it to accomplish. They intended, it seems quite plain, to enable the corporation to know before hand, and—if possible and if necessary—while the theory of the structure of the dam was being matured, or while it was in process of construction, and still capable to be modified, what they were to do for the passage way of fish; and how it was to be done. They certainly intended to enable them to know when they had done enough; and to allow them to repose at length on the assurance that all their obligations were performed, and all their rights fixed and certain.

Accordingly, while the 5th section declares the duty of making and maintaining reasonable and suitable fishways, the 7th section, with an equal solicitude, provides a mode by which the precise manner in which this duty is to be performed, and the fact whether it has been so performed—a mode by which all this shall be authoritatively, and, once for all, determined. This mode is a decision by the county commissioners of Essex, made upon inspection of the premises, and a full hearing of all parties in interest. The 7th section here follows:—

“SECT. 7. The fishways in said dam, and the entrance and exit of said canal, and the moorings and fastenings at the exit, shall be made to the satisfaction of the county commissioners of

the county of Essex, who shall, on application to them by said corporation, after due notice, in such manner as they shall deem reasonable, to all persons interested therein, and a hearing of the parties, prescribe the mode of constructing the same; and any person who shall be dissatisfied with the construction thereof, when the same are completed, may make complaint to said county commissioners, setting forth that the same, or either of them, are not constructed according to the prescription of said commissioners; and said commissioners, after due notice as aforesaid, shall proceed to examine the same, and shall accept the same if they shall be of opinion that they are built and made according to such prescriptions; or if they shall be of opinion that the same are not made according to the prescription, may require the same to be further made and completed, till they shall be satisfied to accept the same; and the expenses of said commissioners, in such examination, shall be paid by the said corporation."

To this mode of determining this matter, your petitioners and the parties interested duly resorted. The county commissioners of Essex, in the course of 1847, were called on to examine the premises, and to determine the kind of fishways to be made. They did examine them, and with full notice to all persons interested in the neighborhood of Merrimack River, and after a hearing of numerous witnesses, more than twenty, who were experts in the matter of river fishing, and in the habits of such fish, they decided upon a plan of passage ways, which seemed to them the most reasonable and suitable. Your petitioners constructed them in all respects accordingly. That they were so constructed, and have been so maintained to this day, has never been denied or doubted by any one within the knowledge of your petitioners.

Your petitioners also, in the course of 1847, and towards the close thereof, completed their dam, at a cost of \$250,000, and—while they believe that as now constructed, and with such additional means of strength and support from time to time, as experience or science shall indicate, it is fully equal to all the trials of its situation—they also believe that it would be in the highest degree unwise, by any means or for any purpose, to do aught to weaken or expose it.

Your petitioners respectfully represent, that under and by force of their Act of incorporation, and upon the facts foregoing, they have done all things touching the providing of ways for the passage of fish, which by law and in justice can be required of them.

They have done all things which the legislature which gave them their charter intended to exact, in the manner in which that legislature intended to exact them. They have performed their whole chartered obligations, and have earned and consummated a complete chartered right to exemption from more. They have contributed to the industry of Massachusetts a costly, perfect and durable instrumentality for the creation of water-power, have made or induced an investment of more than ten millions of dollars, and have called into existence a city with a population of seventeen thousand persons, at a site on which, before their charter, there were not more than one hundred and fifty persons, and less than half a million of property; and they have provided for the passage of fish the exact facilities which the tribunal appointed by the government to prescribe them was pleased to prescribe.

But they have gone further and done more.

In 1848, your petitioners having ascertained that the construction of their dam and its appendages on a scale of suitable strength and solidity, would involve a cost very far beyond their original estimate, applied to the legislature to be permitted to increase their capital stock. On that occasion representations were made, and proofs were offered or attempted, to show that the fishways as aforesaid, constructed according to the judgment of the county commissioners, were insufficient for the passage of fish, and that the proprietors of fish rights above the dam were injured accordingly. Upon this representation, the whole subject was brought directly under the cognizance of the legislature. The exact character and operation of the fishways, as they stood then and now, the construction of the dam, the various experimental modes of making different descriptions of fishways through and around it, their cost and their probable or possible effect to weaken and endanger a structure which—strong as science and art could make it, had yet nothing to spare—all this came directly under their cognizance, and all this was directly acted upon by them. It would have been

within the constitutional power of the government, although your petitioners believe it would have been a harsh and inexpedient exertion of it, to refuse the permission to increase our capital stock until and unless we should release our rights under our charter and under the judgment of the commissioners, and expose the dam by devising a different fishway. That the legislature did not do. They were pleased to prescribe, and on behalf of the Commonwealth to declare and agree, that they would accept, and be content and satisfied with another mode of meeting the public and private complaint, and of reconciling the interests of the community and of individuals in regard to fish, with the interests of the community and the rights of your petitioners in regard to the security of their works.

Accordingly they provided, that instead of requiring another and different fishway, your petitioners should become liable for, and pay to, the proprietors of fish rights above, all damages occasioned by the existing fishway, as the commissioners had prescribed them; and on that condition, and accepting that substitute, they authorized the increase of capital which was sought. That substitute your petitioners complied with. They proceeded to purchase their rights from the proprietors, and they paid therefor an aggregate of more than \$26,000.

Your petitioners might, certainly, well have hoped that, from and after this transaction at least, their right in law and in justice, their right by the constitution, by the faith of charters, by the political morality of all free governments, to hold and maintain their works upon the river exempt from any further exaction, could not be drawn in question.

They are advised and believe, that their original charter conferred on them the right so to hold and maintain them, for the public good and their own interest, perpetually, subject only to such precise burden and charge in regard to the construction of passage ways, as a tribunal designated by the legislature for the purpose, should judicially impose: that when that charge had been imposed and had been completely met, according to its terms and spirit, their right became absolute and unincumbered. Thenceforward their works became and were *a property wholly their own*: liable, of course, to equal and proportional taxation, liable also, of course, to be appropriated by the government, in the exercise of the power of eminent domain, to public

uses, upon full indemnity made according to the constitution ; but as against all other modes of taking, taxing, or impairing, as completely exempt and sacred as the homestead of any other good citizen.

This was their right under and from their charter. And when, beyond this, they had assumed the obligation and had completely performed it, of fully paying and satisfying the proprietors of fish sites above, for all the injury done to them ; after they had bought and paid for the right, to withhold from them any other or freer passage, they may well be permitted to be surprised by, and to protest against, this Act of 1856, and to ask for its repeal.

What that Act may be, legally or illegally, construed to mean, is plain. Instead of leaving your petitioners in the enjoyment of their property thus acquired, according to standing laws, it seems to declare that they shall not hold it at all but upon the condition that they shall become subject to the burden and charge of opening and maintaining still other and different passage ways, to be made and maintained at large expense, indefinite in amount, and which may probably impair the strength of the dam itself ; that they become subject to the burden of opening and maintaining just such passage ways as may, from time to time, be found satisfactory to a jury ; that they shall be furnished with no plan or directions for all this beforehand ; that there shall be no limit and no guide to the cost or the nature of the work, but the mere judgment of such a jury, pronounced after it is done ; so that, if, after they shall have, in good faith and the use of their best skill, devised and opened what they deem suitable and sufficient ways within the Act, yet if that tribunal should happen to find it otherwise, they become punishable by a fine which may amount to \$182,000 in a year, and cannot amount to less, in a year, than \$36,500.

That such an Act is unconstitutional and unjust, your petitioners need not argue to your honorable body. That its passage was caused or influenced by some of those misrepresentations and exaggerations of fact by which, in matters of local and comparatively private concern, the intelligence and equity of government may sometimes be imposed on, they think most probable.

If it is claimed that this is an alteration of the charter, and

therefore within the power reserved to the legislature to alter charters and amend them, your petitioners reply that the Act is not one which the legislature constitutionally can, or morally ought to attempt under and by virtue of that kind of reservation. They submit, that if, with any degree of propriety of language it may be called an alteration of the charter, which they deny, it is not such an alteration as that kind of reservation authorizes or contemplates. By that reservation the legislature never intended to retain the right to make unreasonable changes of the charter; and this change is unreasonable. They never intended to reserve the right to make alterations substantially inconsistent with the original nature and paramount objects of the charter itself; and this alteration is practically and in principle, inconsistent with and subsersive of, that nature and those objects.

It places it within the discretion or caprice of juries to render the dam unfit for the uses of its erection, and thus to put at hazard the whole purpose of the enterprise, or to charge on your petitioners an expense without limit, without reason and without necessity, in order to prevent a consequence so disastrous.

But your petitioners cannot admit that it was an *alteration* at all, as that language and that power are employed and applied throughout our whole legislative vocabulary. It was rather a violation of a part of the charter which remained no longer executory merely, and has passed into the nature, and had acquired the sacredness of property, and was beyond the reach of any alteration properly and legally so called. Essentially, therefore, it is an Act not to alter a charter, *but to take private property for public uses without compensation*. It is the imposition of a tax and the exacting a contribution, severe in absolute amount, and not levied equally and proportionally upon all men and all estates, but exclusively upon your petitioners, and the method of assessment and collection, and the penalties of default, are as harsh and unusual as the exaction itself.

It compels us to doom ourselves, in the first instance, in the amount and in the way we shall contribute, and after we have done so and done our best, if a jury are pleased to think that we have doomed ourselves too low, or worked out our tax unsuitably, we are fined for the error of judgment, from one hundred to five hundred dollars a day, until we can make a luckier experiment or find a better tempered jury.



It is not needful, either, for your petitioners to remind your honorable body that no public exigency can authorize the taking of private property without compensation. No public exigency for the taking, as they submit, exists at all, whatever measure of compensation were provided. When this subject came before the legislature, in 1848, the public interest in the matter of a free passage for fish, was deemed to be represented by the proprietors of rights of fishing above the dam. To provide indemnity for these proprietors, was deemed all which the public good in that behalf required. That indemnity your petitioners provided. They purchased the rights, and paid for them more than \$26,000. With this the legislature might well be satisfied.

If, on the one hand, such actual passage ways were furnished and kept up, as the tribunal appointed by the charter to represent the public necessities in that behalf prescribed, and on the other all proprietors of fish rights injured by any insufficiencies of those ways, were completely indemnified by the corporation therefor, the legislature deemed, and wisely so, that in view of the large and various good which this undertaking had accomplished,—the new and vast power it had created and given to labor,—the capital and the industry it had called into life,—the enhanced value it had given to estates,—the operatives which it employed and paid, and the busy and prosperous city which it had built up,—that in view of these things, no public exigency existed for exacting more.

Such ways your petitioners did furnish and do keep up, and such indemnity they did most amply and satisfactorily provide. No reason of public necessity, then, can be pleaded for this Act; no private rights require it for their protection. Your petitioners have extinguished all such by purchase. They have bought and they have paid more than \$26,000 for the right of hindering or impeding the passage of fish along the sites above, just so far as the actual fishways do impede or hinder it; the owners thereof have received all they asked for their privileges of free passage, and have sold them, and this Act would compel us to restore to them the identical thing which we have bought, and allow them to keep the price which we paid for it into the bargain.

Your petitioners respectfully pray, therefore, that this Act may be repealed. They are instructed and they believe it to

be a violation of their legal rights, and they know that it disappoints the mutual understanding and expectations of those who framed and accepted the charter, and those who framed and accepted the Act of 1848.

They will resist its execution, in justice to themselves, by a resort to the judicial tribunals under the standing laws. Yet from this necessity they respectfully pray to be relieved. To assert their rights by that mode, they will be compelled altogether to disregard the provisions of the Act, and thus to invite indictment for the penalty

It is in the equity and wisdom of your honorable body to determine, whether any good citizen of this Commonwealth ought to be holden to defend an important civil right in such form and manner as this; and especially a right so clear, purchased by so large and valuable considerations, granted and guaranteed by two legislatures, and which, by the simple repeal of an improvident Act, you can yourselves protect promptly and completely, according to the constitution.

And as in duty bound will ever pray.

THE ESSEX COMPANY, By

ANDW. T. HALL, *President.*

J. W. PAIGE,

J. A. LOWELL,

J. WILEY EDMANDS,

JAMES LAWRENCE,

*Directors.*

BOSTON, January 6, 1857.

## AN ACT

To incorporate the Essex Company.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :—*

SECT. 1. Samuel Lawrence, John Nesmith, Daniel Saunders, and Edmund Bartlett, their associates and successors, are hereby made a corporation, by the name of the Essex Company, for the purpose of constructing a dam across Merrimack River, and constructing one or more locks and canals in connection with said dam, to remove obstructions in said river by falls and rapids, from Hunt's Falls to the mouth of Shawsheen River, and to create a water-power to use, or sell, or lease to other persons or corporations, to use for manufacturing or mechanical purposes ; and for these purposes shall have all the powers and privileges, and be subject to all the duties and liabilities and restrictions set forth in the thirty-eighth and forty-fourth chapters of the Revised Statutes.

SECT. 3. The said corporation is hereby authorized and empowered to construct and maintain a dam across said river, either at Deer Jump Falls, or Bodwell's Falls, or some point in said river between said falls, and all such canals and locks as may be necessary for the purposes aforesaid ; and, for the purpose of making said dam, and constructing the main canal for navigation, or transports, may take, occupy and inclose any of the lands adjoining said canals and locks or dam, which may be necessary for building or repairing the same, for towing paths and other necessary purposes, not exceeding twenty feet on each side of said canal or locks, and may blow up and remove any rocks in said river, and dig in any of the lands near to said river, through which it may be necessary to pass said main canal: *provided*, that said corporation shall not obstruct the passage of rafts, masts, or floats of timber down said river earlier than the first day of June, in building said dam, nor keep the same obstructed for a longer time than five months before the opening of said canal for the passage thereof.

SECT. 5. The said corporation shall make and maintain in the dam so built by them across said river, suitable and reasonable fishways, to be kept open at such seasons as are necessary and usual for the passage of fish.

SECT. 7. The fishways in said dam, and the entrance and exit of said canal, and the moorings and fastenings at the exit, shall be made to the satisfaction of the county commissioners of the county of Essex, who shall, on application to them, by said corporation, after due notice, in such manner as they shall deem reasonable, to all persons interested therein, and a hearing of the parties, prescribe the mode of constructing the same: and any person who shall be dissatisfied with the construction thereof, when the same are completed, may make complaint to said county commissioners, setting forth that the same, or either of them, are not constructed according to the prescription of said commissioners; and said commissioners, after due notice as aforesaid, shall proceed to examine the same, and shall accept the same, if they shall be of opinion that they are built and made according to such prescriptions; or, if they shall be of opinion that the same are not made according to the prescription, may require the same to be further made and completed, till they shall be satisfied to accept the same; and the expenses of said commissioners, in such examination, shall be paid by the said corporation.

SECT. 8. Any person who shall be damaged in his property by said corporation in cutting or making canals through his lands, or by flowing the same, or in any other way in carrying into effect the powers hereby granted, unless said corporation shall, within thirty days after request in writing, pay or tender to said person a reasonable satisfaction therefor, shall have the same remedies as are provided by law for persons damaged by railroad corporations, in the thirty-ninth chapter of the Revised Statutes.

APPLICATION OF THE ESSEX COMPANY TO THE COUNTY  
COMMISSIONERS, IN 1847.

*To the honorable, the County Commissioners of the County of Essex :*

The Essex Company, a body legally incorporated by an Act of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, respectfully request your honors, after due notice, to prescribe the mode of constructing the fishways in their dam, according to the seventh section of the Act of their incorporation, passed March 20, 1845.

THE ESSEX COMPANY, By

CHAS. S. STORROW, *Treasurer and Agent.*

LAWRENCE, August 16, 1847.

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ORDER OF NOTICE.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

ESSEX, SS. OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF COUNTY }  
COMMISSIONERS, August 18, A. D. 1847. }

On the Petition aforesaid, *Ordered*, That the petitioners give notice to all persons and corporations interested therein, that said commissioners will meet at the house of Timothy Osgood, in said Lawrence, on Friday, the twenty-fourth day of September next, at ten o'clock A. M., by publishing an attested copy of said Petition and of this Order thereon, in the Newburyport Advertiser, Amesbury Transcript, Haverhill Gazette, Lawrence Courier, and Lowell Courier, three weeks successively, the last publication to be seven days at least before the said twenty-fourth day of September, and also by serving each of the town clerks of Newburyport, Newbury, West Newbury, Salisbury, Amesbury, Bradford, Haverhill, Andover, Methuen and Lawrence, with an attested copy of said Petition and this Order, thirty days at least, and by posting up an attested copy thereof in two public places in each of said towns fourteen days at least before the said twenty-fourth day of September, at which time and place said commissioners will proceed to view the premises, and take such order in relation to the prayer of said Petition, as by law they may be authorized to do.

E. SHILLABER, *Clerk.*

A true copy of Petition and Order thereon.

E. SHILLABER, *Clerk.*

## PRESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS.

78. The Essex Company, a body legally incorporated, request the commissioners, after due notice, to prescribe the mode of constructing the fishway in their dam, according to the seventh section of the Act of their incorporation, passed March 20, 1845.

This petition was entered at July term last, and continued to this term, and now the commissioners make report as follows, viz.: It having been made to appear that all persons and corporations interested therein had been duly notified of the time and place of meeting, we, the county commissioners of said county did, on the 24th day of September, A. D. 1847, proceed to view the premises and hear all parties interested, and having completed said view and heard all parties who desired to be heard upon the subject, we did adjudge the following, as the mode of constructing said fishways, and do now prescribe said mode as follows, according to the plan filed herewith, viz.: The said Essex Company shall erect and maintain a wooden sluiceway or channel not less than thirty feet wide, and not less than fifty feet in length, rising in an inclined plane from the rock which makes the bed of the river near the southerly end of said dam, at an inclination of not more than one foot in four from the lower end of said sluiceway to the upper end thereof, and the floor of which upper end shall be within two feet of the stone crest of the dam—and its centre shall be eighty feet from the wall on the southerly side of the Merrimack River. And said sluiceway shall have sides two feet in height, and its centre shall be gradually deepened toward the lower end. Rests or cross partitions shall also be constructed therein of timber ten inches in depth and spreading from each side across the centre, and the same shall be six feet apart; and said sluiceway shall be kept open at all such seasons as are necessary and usual for the passage of fish; and the flash boards opposite the same shall also at such seasons be kept off the dam; and the whole of said structure shall be completed to the satisfaction of said commissioners.

In testimony whereof, we, the said county commissioners, have hereunto set our hands, this twelfth day of October, A. D. 1847.

ASA W. WILDES,  
BENJ. F. NEWHALL,  
JOHN I. BAKER,  
*County Commissioners.*

A true copy of order of commissioners upon the petition of the Essex Company, concerning the fishways at their dam.

Attest,

A. HUNTINGTON, *Clerk.*

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CERTIFICATE.

We, the undersigned, hereby certify, that having, in our capacity as County Commissioners for the county of Essex, in the year 1847, prescribed the mode of constructing the fishway in the dam of the Essex Company, at Lawrence, as appears by the record and order under our hands, dated October 12, A. D. 1847, we did subsequently visit the said fishway after its construction, and viewed the same, and found it constructed, in all respects, as we had prescribed; and further state, that no complaint has ever been made to us, or either of us, setting forth that our prescription had not been fully complied with.

A. W. WILDES.

BENJ. F. NEWHALL.

JOHN I. BAKER.

August 15, 1856.

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APPLICATION OF THE ESSEX COMPANY TO THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS, IN 1856.

*To the Honorable the County Commissioners of the County of Essex :*

The Essex Company respectfully represent, that in obedience to an order from your Board, dated October 12, A. D. 1847, they constructed the fishway in their dam, at Lawrence, in strict accordance with the prescription therein contained, and as they believe, to the satisfaction of the Board as then constituted. That, subsequently, the said structure was carried away by an extraordinary freshet, and that it has been since rebuilt by the said company, and is again strictly in accordance with the said prescription.

But inasmuch as no complaint has ever been made, as far as they are aware, to your Honorable Body, that your order and prescription have not been fully complied with, so as to call upon you for your official decision upon that point, which the said company are desirous

to obtain, the company respectfully request you to view the premises, so that you may be satisfied from personal inspection, that no part of the duty imposed upon them by you has been neglected.

(Signed.) ESSEX COMPANY, By  
 CHAS. S. STORROW,  
*Treasurer and Agent.*

August 16. 1856.

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COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

ESSEX, ss. COURT OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS, August Term.  
 LAWRENCE, 26th instant, A. D. 1856.

We, the County Commissioners for the county of Essex, having been requested by the Essex Company, to view the fishway constructed in their dam, under the order and prescription made A. D. 1847, by the Board of County Commissioners for said county, the said fishway having been destroyed by a freshet, and since rebuilt. We, the County Commissioners, did, on the 21st day of August, A. D. 1856, proceed to view the premises, and examine the structure, and hereby certify that the said fishway is built and made in accordance with the original prescription of the said Board of County Commissioners, and to our satisfaction and acceptance, and that the said Essex Company, besides complying strictly with the original order of the said Board of County Commissioners, have made some further ameliorations thereto.

Given under our hands, at the Court aforesaid, on the day and date above written.

A. W. WILDES,  
 STEPHENS BAKER,  
 E. B. CURRIER,  
*County Commissioners.*

A true copy—Attest:

A. HUNTINGTON, *Clerk.*



SUBSTANCE OF THE ARGUMENT OF THE HON. RUFUS  
CHOATE, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE IN BEHALF OF  
THE PETITIONERS.

*First.* The charter of the petitioners means to grant a right to keep up their dam for the lifetime of the corporation, subject to such ways as the commissioners shall prescribe, and paying such damages as a jury shall assess.

*Second.* It follows that after such adjudication, building of ways, and payment of damages, the legislature, even independent of the Act of 1848, cannot compel the Essex Company to take down or alter their dam under pretence of altering their charter,—and

*Third.* Certainly they cannot since the Act of 1848.

I. Such is the meaning of the charter. Sections five and seven are to be taken together, and they mean to impose a duty of building such fishways as *the County Commissioners shall decide to be suitable*,—and subject to the obligation of maintaining such ways, they give the right to the maintenance of the dam for the lifetime of the corporation.

To show that the seventh section thus controls the fifth, consider first, That it is a universal principle, that when a statute creates a duty, as here, to construct ways, and provides a tribunal to enforce the duty, define how to do it, and declare whether it is done, the trial by that tribunal is the only remedy, and the decision by that tribunal is conclusive upon every body.

This doctrine is thus stated by the highest authority.

“It is an universal principle, that where power or jurisdiction is delegated to any public officer or tribunal over a subject matter, and its exercise is confided to his or their discretion, the acts so done are binding and valid as to the subject matter: and individual rights will not be disturbed collaterally for any thing done in the exercise of that discretion within the authority and power conferred. The only question which can arise between an individual claiming a right under the acts done, and the public, or any person denying its validity, are, *power in the officer, and fraud in the party*. All other questions are settled by the decision made, or the act done by the tribunal or

officer; whether *executive* (1 Cr. 170, 171)—*legislative* (4 Wh. 423, 2 Peters, 412; 4 Peters, 563)—*judicial*, (11 Mass., 227; 11 S. & R. 429; adopted in 2 Peters, 167, 168)—*or special*, (20 L. R. 739, 740; 2 Dow. P. Cas. 521, &c.) *unless an appeal is provided for, or other revision, by some appellate or supervisory tribunal, is proscribed by law.* 6 Peters, 730.

Of this principle, the illustrations are numerous.

1. Through all our special legislation, authorizing corporations to take or injure property. In such cases, the constitution creates the duty to indemnify the parties injured, the legislature recognizes that duty, and prescribes the tribunal to enforce it, viz.: The commissioners first, and then the jury, specially selected from the adjoining towns. This mode neither party can dissent or appeal from.

Take another illustration. The revenue laws of the United States lay duties on imports according to value. They then provide for appraisers to determine that value. They do not in terms say that such appraisal shall be conclusive, yet such has been the uniform construction, and the doctrine has been thus stated by Mr. Justice Story.

2 Mason, 101.

"I cannot perceive any construction of the act, which does not absolutely require that the appraisement, when rightfully made, shall be conclusive. The more the provision is fenced round and guarded to prevent abuses in the exercise of the power, the more it shews the opinion of the legislature, that the party had no other remedy. Of what practical use would it be to require such formal appraisements, if, after all, they could always be revised and overturned at the will of the importer?"

"It appears to me, that when the legislature has specified a particular mode of estimating the duties in any case, that excludes any other mode of estimating them."

"Upon the whole, I am of opinion that an appraisement regularly made under the act of 1818, is conclusive upon the duty and value of the goods."

"The appraisers may be truly said to be legislative referees."

Other cases recognizing and applying the same principles are these:

3 Met., 381.

23 Pick., 47.

22 Pick., 466.

In this very Act, and the Acts to which it refers, for the assessment of damages, not a word is said as to the verdict being final or conclusive, yet within the general principle before stated, it certainly is so.

2. That the fifth section is controlled by the seventh section we argue, secondly, from the great pains taken therein to establish a tribunal and point out the mode of proceeding before it.

It imputes idle trifling to the legislature to suppose that they prescribe with so much fulness, detail and care the way the commissioners shall perform this duty, the application, the order of notice, the public trial, and yet to say that nobody is to be bound by it, and that every body may disregard it.

3. The nature of the thing to be done by the commissioners, and the terms of the seventh section, show that it controls the fifth section.

The ways are to be made "to their satisfaction,"—that is, their satisfaction is the standard and measure of the work and its perfectness.

They are "*to prescribe the mode*,"—that is, to determine authoritatively the mode,—authoritatively as against every body. No appeal is provided for.

4. It was admitted by counsel of Remonstrants before the Committee, and is certain, that the determination of the commissioners bound the company, and that they could not appeal from it to the determination of a jury.

Now this admits, first, that the 7th section does control the 5th section. For if their duty depends only on the 5th section, they have the right to have that duty interpreted and executed according to the judgment of the court and jury. But, secondly, if it be admitted, and if it is certain that the decision of the commissioners would bind the company, it follows, irresistibly, that it binds every body. Otherwise you have the absurdity, and anomaly, and injustice of a tribunal created with power authoritatively to determine a controversy so as to bind one party and not to bind another party. Such a tribunal may, perhaps, be constituted, but only, if at all, by the plainest and most unequivocal legislative language. And there is not a word here to intimate that both sides are not to be equally bound.

5. We argue this also from the fact, that the convenience of all parties, the corporation and the public, required that this matter should be decided beforehand.

The charter, therefore, bestowing a right to maintain a dam for the

full term of the corporate existence, subject only to the construction of such ways therein as the Commissioners should prescribe, when the dam is built accordingly, and the ways constructed accordingly, the corporation cannot be required to take it down, or alter it, under any pretence of altering the charter.

On this view of the meaning of the charter, it is therefore clear that it works a repeal of the general law prohibiting obstructions to the passage of fish, or rather withdraws this dam from the operation of that general law.

It does so, inasmuch as it expressly authorizes this corporation to maintain a dam at their discretion, for height and general construction, provided only that they shall build and maintain therein such ways as the commissioners shall prescribe. Such ways being built and maintained, their right to maintain the dam is absolute, and the general prohibitory legislation becomes inapplicable.

The cases are perfectly decisive upon this point.—[Titcomb vs. Union Insurance Company, 8 Mass., 326.

The suggestion, that the petitioners cannot avail themselves of this provision in their charter, because the ways were *not formally examined and accepted by the commissioners*, after they were constructed, proceeds upon a gross misapprehension of the charter.

It does not require, it does not provide for such examination or acceptance. The terms of section seven are too plain to admit of doubt.

It is only *upon complaint made* to the commissioners by any party dissatisfied, that they are to proceed to examine the ways. If no complaint is made, then no examination or acceptance need take place.

The conceded fact, however, is, that very soon after the construction of the ways, the commissioners, together or separately, did visit and examine them, and were entirely satisfied that they were constructed according to their prescription.

The foregoing conclusions, as to the effect of the petitioners' charter, and their proceedings under it, would be clear, independently of the Act of 1848, but that Act renders them indisputable.

Let the terms and operation of that Act be carefully considered.

And, first, the legislature, with a knowledge of all the facts, dam, ways, and their practical insufficiency, authorized the company, upon the performance of conditions which they have performed, to enlarge their capital stock. That is to say, they authorized them to sell to individuals, purchasers in good faith and for value, an interest in the dam *as it then stood*. Under this authority, individuals have subscribed, paid, and become purchasers for value.

After this, it is not competent, constitutionally, and it is not just, for the legislature to take down a dam thus carried to market and sold by their authority.

The soliciting and procuring new subscribers is in the nature of an act of sale to the new subscriber, and it is a sale of an interest in the dam, exactly as it then stood and was in use, and as its proprietor was known to claim the right to use.

Such a sale the legislature authorized to be made. They authorized the seller to believe that he conveyed an interest in such a dam to such an extent, and the buyer to believe that he bought such an interest. After this, it is not equitable or constitutionally competent for the legislature to say that the company could not sell and the new subscriber acquire such right,—that there was any flaw or defect in the title of which the government can take advantage. It was a complete and final waiver of all right to take down the dam or impair or change it, on the ground that the ways contemplated by the charter had not been provided.

But there is a second view of the operation of this Act (1848.) It authorizes the corporation to purchase and hold for the life of the corporation, the right to flow out and damage the proprietors of fish rights above, exactly in the manner, and to the extent which the dam as it *then* stood with its *then ways* did flow out and damage them. Under this authority, the company did purchase, and do now hold that right. That right, the law which the corporation seek to have repealed, instantly and totally destroys, without compensation. It destroys the right, reimburses not a dollar of the money paid for it, provides no indemnity in any way.

III. The remaining question is, If this can be done under the Constitution of Massachusetts?

If it can be, at all, it must be on the pretext that it is an alteration of the charter. And this all turns on another question, which is, Is that dam as constructed, *a charter, or is it a property acquired under a charter?*

This question answers itself.

So long as an Act of the legislature operates merely upon a charter, remaining a charter, and nothing else, it may stand upon the power to alter. But if under that charter *a property has been acquired*, and the Act of the legislature touches and impairs *that property*, it is unconstitutional. The reservation in the charter of the corporation under the Bill of Rights, is not of a right to *take property*. The dam possesses every attribute of property, known to any subject of property under our laws.

In so far as any public interest in the passage of fish is affected by the dam with its present ways, the legislature acted on and disposed of it all, when they authorized the corporation to buy and pay for the right to destroy the fishways above.

This Act necessarily affected the public interests to that extent, over which the control of the legislature was absolute, and which they had a perfectly clear constitutional right to dispose of.

The doctrine is thus distinctly and forcibly stated by Ch. J. Shaw, in 2 Gray, R. 34:—

“When such a contract has been made by the legislature, upon considerations of an equivalent public benefit, and where the grantees have advanced their money to the public, upon the faith of it, the State is bound by the plain principles of justice, faithfully to respect all grants and rights thus created and vested by contract. Such a power of regulating public rights is every where recognized as one distinguishable from that of legislation, a power incident and necessary to all well regulated governments, and when rightly exercised, is within the constitutional power of the legislature, and binding upon the government and people.”

To say that the legislature authorized a corporation to acquire the right of destroying the fish rights above, and then to say, after they have acquired and paid for that right, that the legislature did not authorize them to do that injury to the public interests which is necessarily included in, and an inevitable consequence to the other, is to speak absurdly.

It was conceded before the committee, that under the law of 1848 the corporation did certainly acquire and pay for the right as against the proprietors of fish above the dam, to obstruct the ascent of fish, just so far as the dam as now built does obstruct them. It is conceded, and is certain, that this right is a *property* within the meaning of the Constitution.

It has been bought and paid for under the express sanction of the legislature, and is a property in the same sense as a right to air, light, or water.

It is admitted, and is certain, that the Act, the repeal of which is asked for, compelling the destruction of the dam, or a change in its structure, takes away, or substantially destroys this property. If now it is said that the public interest in the fisheries requires this destruction, it is then clearly, the ordinary case of taking private property for public uses, and it is to be paid for. If it be said that the interests of the proprietors below require that this property should be taken, the answer is, first, that this also would be a taking of the corporate

property for public uses, and to be compensated for as such; or else secondly, it would be the more offensive and outrageous act of taking the property of one individual, and bestowing it without compensation and without consent, upon another individual. It would be destroying the dwelling-house of one man, built, owned and paid for by him under the authority of the legislature, that the light may flow to the windows of another man, who is thought to need more. If the legislature has once authorized the corporation to do an act and acquire a property, and they have done it, and paid for it, and it is afterwards supposed to be ascertained that their use and enjoyment of the property or right so acquired works injurious consequences to a third party, before the government can interfere to take the property away, it must first place them *in statu quo* by restoring the money they have been induced to pay for it.

The original charter, looking to every contingency, made full provision for the protection of the rights of the proprietors below the dam. This it did, in the first place, as we have seen, by imposing upon the corporation the duty of constructing and maintaining such ways as the commissioners should prescribe.

Not only so, but as if apprehensive that that safeguard might be inadequate, it contained also a provision, giving, under a reasonable and accustomed limitation, a remedy for the recovery of damages to every person injured in any way, by the dam of the company. (Section 8.)

If persons below the dam did not seasonably avail themselves of these provisions in the original charter for their relief, that certainly cannot justify the government in now taking from the petitioners without compensation, the property, which under its own sanction, by the Act of 1818, they have subsequently bought and paid for.





RULES AND REGULATIONS,

OF THE

SCHOOL COMMITTEE,

OF THE

CITY OF LAWRENCE.

1858.



LAWRENCE

PRINTED AT AMERICAN OFFICE—SARGENT & MERRILL.  
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# RULES AND REGULATIONS.

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## CHAP. I.

### CONSTITUTION OF THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE.

The School Committee is constituted in accordance with an Act of the Legislature, passed in 1857, and adopted by the City of Lawrence, by an Ordinance passed Nov. 18, 1857, and consists of the Mayor, who shall be *ex-officio* Chairman of the Board, and one person from each ward. The Committee thus constituted shall have the care and superintendence of the public schools, and shall appoint from their own number, or otherwise, a Secretary, to be, under the direction and control of said Committee, Superintendent of Schools; and the compensation of such Secretary shall be determined from year to year, by the City Council, on recommendation of the School Committee.

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## CHAP. II.

### ORGANIZATION OF THE BOARD.

1.—The meeting for organization shall be held on the Tuesday following the first Monday in January, at 7½ o'clock. P. M. In case of any failure to meet at that time, the Mayor shall cause a meeting for organization to be called as soon thereafter as practicable.

2.—The first business after the necessary preliminaries, shall be the election, by ballot, of a Secretary, who shall be *ex-officio* Superintendent of Schools.

3.—The Board shall also appoint a Standing Sub-Committee of one from each ward and also a Standing Sub-Committee of three for each of the following schools: the Oliver High School, the Oliver Grammar School, and the South Grammar School.

4.—The presence of four members, of whom the Mayor may be one, shall be necessary to proceed with the organization; and that number shall at any time constitute a quorum.

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## CHAP. III.

### DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

#### SECTION I.—CHAIRMAN.

1.—The Chairman shall perform the usual duties of a presiding officer.

2.—He shall appoint all committees, whose appointment is not especially provided for nor otherwise directed by the Board.

3.—He may also direct the Secretary to call a special meeting whenever he may deem it expedient.

#### SECTION II.—SECRETARY.

1.—The Secretary shall have the charge of the Records, and of all other papers of the Board, and shall keep a full and fair record of all its transactions; all of which shall be open to the inspection of any member of the Board.

2.—He shall notify each stated or special meeting of the Board at least one day previous to such meeting; shall notify the chair-

man of every committee appointed, stating the commission and the names of the members associated with him; shall call extra meetings of the Board, by the direction of its Charman, or at the request of a majority of its members; shall notify instructors elect of their appointment; and give such other notices as the Board may direct.

#### SECTION III.—SUPERINTENDENT.

1.—He shall act under the advice and direction of the Board, and under its direction shall have the supervision of the school lands houses, apparatus and books. It shall be his duty to exercise a personal supervision over all the schools, and to see that the prescribed studies are carefully pursued, and that the best methods of discipline are maintained; for which purpose he may exercise the full power and authority of the Board enforcing and carrying into full effect all its rules, regulations and orders in relation to discipline and instruction. He shall exert his personal influence to secure as general and regular attendance as possible. He shall endeavor to raise the character of every school, keeping himself acquainted, as far as may be, with the general progress of education.

2.—Whenever the principal teacher in any school, except the High School, shall report to the Superintendent that the conduct of a pupil, either in or out of school, is such that his example is injurious to the other pupils, he shall examine the case without delay, and if, in his opinion, the pupil has been duly admonished, and reformation appears hopeless, he may suspend such pupil from the school, subject to an appeal to the Board.

3.—The Superintendent may, for sufficient cause, grant to teachers leave of absence for periods not exceeding two weeks in length, and employ a suitable substitute during such absence; and such substitute shall be paid as is hereinafter provided, in chap iv sec. 19. He shall also temporarily provide a supply for any vacancy that may occur, until action shall be had upon the case by the Board.

4.—It shall be his duty to aid the Board in the examination of all candidates for the office of teacher, as well as the candidates for promotion to the High School.

5.—He may permit a pupil to enter any school, except the High School, which he may be qualified to enter, at any time during a term, and may give permission to a pupil residing in one district to attend school in another, provided it shall not be to the inconvenience of such school.

6.—Whenever a pupil in any school, except the High School, fails to keep pace with his class, the case shall be reported to the Superintendent, who may place such pupil in a class more nearly corresponding to his attainments.

7.—The Superintendent shall, at the close of the Summer Term, make a report in writing to the Board, containing information relating to the condition of the schools, and suggestions for their improvement; and at such other times as the Board may require. A general report shall also be prepared by him at the close of the school year.

8.—All bills for the expenses of the School Department must be presented to the Superintendent, and he shall examine them, and call the attention of the Board to any item that, in his opinion, needs especial notice. Bills for the salary of persons in the regular employ of the Board may be approved by the Superintendent, but all other bills shall be submitted to the Board for examination, and be transmitted, after approval, to the City Clerk to be laid before the Committee on Accounts.

9.—He shall devote such amount of time to his duties, and keep such office hours—of which due notice shall be given—as the Board may deem necessary. The room of the Board shall be his office, and also the general depository of the books and papers of the School Department. He shall furnish to the order of the teachers all necessary blanks, registers, and blank books, and text books for their own use and the use of their indigent pupils. He shall have authority to cause all such repairs to be made as are immediately needed, either for the school houses or furniture.

#### SECTION IV.—STANDING SUB-COMMITTEES.

1.—It shall be the general duty of each standing Sub-Committee to advise with, and assist the Superintendent in the supervision of the schools for which such Committee may have been appointed.



2. It shall be the duty of the Sub-Committees to visit the schools to which they may be appointed, at least once each term, to acquaint themselves with the condition thereof and the methods pursued by the teacher.

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## CHAP. IV.

### TEACHERS.

1.—The teachers shall be elected annually during the last week of the Spring term.

2.—All new teachers shall pass a probation of three months, from the time of entering upon their duties, before their election shall be fully ratified.

3.—It is required that teachers shall be in their rooms fifteen minutes before the time of opening school, and on no account to be tardy on the morning of the first day of the term. During school hours, teachers shall faithfully devote themselves to school duties.

4.—In commencing and dismissing their schools, they shall punctually observe the prescribed hours for so doing; though this shall not be construed to prevent the retention of a pupil for a time after school, in case of unfaithfulness.

5.—The teachers shall, each morning, open their schools with religious services, including at least the reading of a portion of the Scriptures, and simultaneous repetition, by both teachers and pupils, of the Lord's Prayer.

6.—The teachers shall prepare themselves to instruct their several classes faithfully, impartially and effectually; and in all their intercourse with pupils, they are required to strive to impress on them, by precept and example, the great importance of personal application and perseverance in their studies.

7.—The teachers are also required to give prominence to the inculcation of morality and virtue, teaching their pupils to cultivate habits of neatness, cleanliness, and of good order, and to avoid idleness, truancy, falsehood, deceit, and profane and indecent language, conforming their influence to both the letter and the spirit of the words following of the Constitution of the Commonwealth: "It shall be the duty of the President, Professors and Tutors of the University at Cambridge, and of the several Colleges; and of all Preceptors and Teachers of Academies *and all other instructors of youth*, to exert their best endeavors to impress on the minds of children and youth, committed to their care and instruction, the principles of piety, justice, and a sacred regard to truth, love to their country, humanity, and universal benevolence, sobriety, industry, and frugality, chastity, moderation, and temperance, and those other virtues which are the foundation of human society, and the basis upon which a republican constitution is founded; and it shall be the duty of such instructors to endeavor to lead their pupils, as their ages and capacities will admit, into a clear understanding of the tendency of the above mentioned virtues to preserve and perfect a republican constitution, and secure the blessings of liberty, as well as to promote their future happiness, and also to point out to them the evil tendency of the opposite vices"—*Revised Statutes, ch. 23, §7.*

8.—They shall, as far as practicable, avoid corporal punishment, using it only as the last resort; and whenever its infliction becomes necessary, they shall keep a memorandum of the offence, the name and age of the offender, and the kind and degree of the punishment, and shall notice also whether it was inflicted immediately subsequent to the offence.

9.—For violent or gross opposition to authority, a principal teacher may suspend a pupil, but the case must forthwith be reported to the Superintendent, for ultimate decision.

10.—Whenever the conduct of any pupil, in or out of school becomes injurious to the good order of the school, or the morals or subordination of the pupils, it shall be the duty of the teacher of said pupil to report the case to the Superintendent.

11.—It is also required of the teachers to exercise a strict supervision of their school buildings, furniture, books, and premises, to guard them from injury, and at the close of school each day they shall personally see that the doors, windows and gates are

properly fastened; and shall prevent the boys from intruding, through any pretext whatever, upon the premises allotted to the use of the girls.

12.—It shall be the duty of all the teachers to attend to the temperature and ventilation of their school rooms; and such means shall be used at recess, at the close of school, and at other times, both in summer and winter, as shall effectually change the air in the rooms.

13.—The teachers shall immediately give notice to the Superintendent of all repairs and supplies that may be needed, of any depredations that may be committed upon school property, or of additional security necessary to the same, and also of delinquency on the part of the janitors in performing their duties.

14. In case of the sickness of a teacher, or other unavoidable detention from school, such teacher shall give immediate information to the Superintendent, but no absence longer than two weeks, shall be permitted except by action of the whole Board.

15.—No teachers shall admit any pupil from another district, without permission from the Superintendent.

16.—Each principal teacher shall promptly fill all the blanks in the school Register, which shall be kept open for the inspection of visitors; and shall also, on or before the close of each term, furnish the Superintendent with a written statement of the whole number of pupils for the term, the average number belonging, the average attendance, and the per cent, of attendance, together with a statement of the general condition of the school, and of any special characteristics that may exist.

17.—All teachers acting as principals shall keep a Catalogue of the books in their schools belonging to the City, and preserve the same for the use of the Board, and, in connection with the items of attendance, shall report to the Superintendent the number and condition of the same.

18.—Whenever any teacher is absent, and the place is supplied by another, the salary of the absent teacher, shall cease during such absence, unless, upon a presentation of the case to them, the Board shall vote otherwise, and the compensation of the substitute shall be at the rate of five dollars for a school week.

19.—In the schools where there are assistant teachers, no such

assistant shall leave the premises during school hours without the knowledge and permission of the Principal.

20.—It shall be the duty of all the teachers to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the school regulations, and they will be held responsible for any violation of them that comes within the province of their jurisdiction.

20.—Teachers intending to leave their schools, must give a month's notice of such intention to the Superintendent, except in very special cases.

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## CHAP. V.

### JANITORS.

1.—All Janitors shall be appointed by the School Committee, on recommendation of the Superintendent, and shall observe such regulations as may from time to time be prescribed by the School Committee.

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## CHAP. VI.

### GENERAL REGULATIONS.

1.—The school year shall be divided into four terms: the first commencing on the first Monday of September, continuing eleven weeks, and followed by a vacation of two weeks; the second continuing eleven weeks thereafter, followed by a vacation of one

week; the third term continuing eleven weeks, followed by one week's vacation; and the fourth term continuing ten weeks.

2.—The schools shall not be kept on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, Fast Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, Washington's Birth Day, and Christmas, nor on Saturday of the last week of each term; and such teachers as desire actually to be present at the stated meetings of the Essex County Teachers' Association, or any State Teachers' Institute held within the County, shall have leave of absence accordingly.

3.—From March 1st to Nov. 1st, the schools shall begin at 8½ and close at 11½ o'clock, A. M., and shall begin at 2 and close at 5 o'clock, P. M. During the rest of the year, they shall commence at 9 o'clock, A. M., and close at 12, M., and in the P. M., commence at 1½, and close at 4½ o'clock.

4.—In the High, the Grammar and the Middle Schools, the door shall be locked at the appointed hours of opening school, and re-opened at the close of devotional exercises, and all scholars admitted at that time shall be marked tardy.

5.—In all the schools, except the Primary, a written excuse, or personal explanation from a parent or guardian, satisfactory to the teachers, shall be required in all cases of absence and tardiness.

6.—No pupil shall be admitted to any school, without satisfactory evidence of having been successfully vaccinated or otherwise secured against the small pox.

7.—No child from without the boundaries of the city, shall be admitted to the Public Schools, except by a special permit from the School Committee, and if, in any case, such a child be permitted to attend the High School, \$5.00 per quarter shall be paid in advance, or, if permitted to attend a lower school, \$3.00 per quarter in advance.

8.—The pupils shall be under the authority of their teachers at recess, as at any other time; and also going to and from school, so far as concerns any infractions of the school regulations.

9.—No study or text-book shall be introduced into any school without the authority of the Board.

10.—No person shall in any way advertise or introduce in any of the schools, any business not connected with the school.

11.—Whenever any parent or guardian shall feel aggrieved with the conduct of any teacher, the cause of grievance should either be removed by a *private* interview with the teacher, or reported to the Superintendent; but in no case whatever will denunciatory or excited language be allowed toward the teacher in hearing of the school.

12.—The salaries of the teachers and janitors shall be payable quarterly, during the first part of January, April, July and October, except in the case of the janitor of the Oliver House, who may be paid monthly.

13.—The Grammar and Middle School teachers shall issue weekly a card of attendance and merit to each scholar, to be signed and returned by a parent or guardian.

14.—Music may be taught in the High and Grammar Schools, on Wednesday and Saturday forenoons, by a teacher employed especially for that purpose.

15.—No pupil, or any other person, shall cut, deface, defile, or otherwise injure, the school buildings, or furniture thereof, or the fences, trees, shrubbery, or any other property thereto belonging; and any pupil, or other person, guilty of such offence, shall be reported by the teacher to the Superintendent, and shall be held responsible for such injury.

16.—There shall be a recess of fifteen minutes each half day, and no pupil shall be deprived of his recess, though he may, for punishment, not be allowed to take it at the usual time with the rest of the scholars.

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## CHAP. VII.

### GRADATION OF SCHOOLS.

1.—There shall be four grades of schools, viz: Primary, Middle and Grammar Schools, and a High School.

2—If in any instance this classification is found impracticable, the school otherwise constituted shall be termed a Mixed School.

## CHAP. VIII.

### PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

1.—Children over four years of age, who shall present satisfactory evidence of having been vaccinated, may be admitted to a Primary School, and shall receive instruction in Reading, Spelling, and Mental Arithmetic, with exercises in Singing and such moral instruction as is adapted to their age. The Text Books used shall be Sargent's Primer and First Reader, and Walton's First Steps to Section Fourth. Plain sewing may be practiced in the Primary Schools, by the children, if they bring their materials fitted at home and ready for use.

### PRIMARY STUDIES.

The following Books and studies shall be attended to in the several classes.

#### FOURTH CLASS.

*"Sargent's Primer"*

1. Pronouncing words without spelling.
2. Analyzing or spelling by sound, words on pages 4, 5, 6.
3. Alphabet, and counting from 1 to 100.
4. Spelling without book words that have become familiar
5. Drawing on the slate or blackboard, imitating some mark, letter or other object, or copying from a card.

## THIRD CLASS.

1. "*Primer*" continued to page 26.
2. Words analyzed and spelled, as in Fourth Class.
3. Drawing continued.

## SECOND CLASS.

1. "*Primer*" completed as a Reading and Spelling book.
2. Roman numbers from I to X, and combining of numbers so as readily to find any page in the *Primer*.

## FIRST CLASS.

"*Sargent's First Reader*" as a Reading and Spelling book.

Pupils in this class must be able to read fluently and spell correctly all the words in the *First Reader*; must be familiar with all the numerals on page 118 of *Reader*, with first three sections of First Steps in numbers; with the Addition and Subtraction tables from 1 to 10; with the elementary sounds of the language; must know the use of the marks of punctuation, and understand the divisions of time.

No scholars are to be promoted from one class to another, till they are familiar with all the lessons of the class from which they are to be transferred, except for special reasons satisfactory to the Superintendent. And, so far as is necessary, the scholars of each class shall be exercised in reviews of all the preceding classes.— And all the provisions of this and the preceding section, shall apply equally to the Middle schools.

The regular promotions from the Primary to the Middle Schools should be made by the Primary school teachers on the first Monday in each term. All doubtful cases shall be referred to the Superintendent.

## MIDDLE SCHOOLS.

No person shall be admitted to a Middle School who cannot



read fluently in Sargent's First Reader, spell readily ordinary words of two syllables, and is not familiar with the first three sections of Walton's First Steps in Numbers.

#### MIDDLE SCHOOL STUDIES.

The following Books and Studies shall be attended to in the several classes: "Sargent's Second Reader," "Sargent's Speller," "First Steps in Numbers," and "Testament."

The pupils shall be arranged in three classes, unless otherwise ordered by the Superintendent.

#### THIRD CLASS.

1. Reading and Spelling in *Second Reader*, Spelling in *Speller* from page 13 to 23.
2. Geography of Lawrence and vicinity, taught orally.
3. Arithmetic from section iv to viii; Addition and Subtraction tables from 1 to 10, and Multiplication table commenced.
4. Writing upon the slate.

#### SECOND CLASS.

1. Reading and Spelling in *Reader*, and Spelling in *Speller* from page 23 to 29.
2. Geography of Massachusetts, including the Physical features, Boundary, Counties, Chief Towns, &c.
3. Arithmetic from section viii to x; Addition, Subtraction and Multiplication tables continued, and writing of Numbers.  
Writing Spelling lessons upon the slate.

#### FIRST CLASS.

1. *Second Reader*, as a Reading and Spelling book, finished.
2. *Speller* continued to page 42.
3. Geography of New England, with brief outline of the Geography of the Earth.

4. Arithmetic from section x to xiv; Addition and Subtraction tables to 20, and Multiplication table to factors as large as 12.
5. Writing with Pen commenced.

The regular promotions from the Middle to the Grammar Schools shall be made by the Middle School teachers, semi-annually, on the first Monday in the Summer and Winter terms, the Superintendent being consulted in all doubtful cases. But promotions may be made on the first Monday in each term, whenever the Superintendent and the masters of the Grammar Schools may deem it necessary.

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## CHAP. X.

### MIXED SCHOOLS.

Children who may be qualified for the Primary or Middle Schools, may be admitted to the Mixed Schools.

The studies pursued in the Mixed Schools, and the Text Books used, shall be those respectively prescribed for the Primary and Middle Schools.

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## CHAP. XI.

### GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

Candidates for admission to the Grammar Schools must be able to read fluently in Sargent's Second Reader, and to spell all ordinary words correctly. They must be familiar with the first

thirteen sections of Walton's First Steps in Numbers, or an equivalent, and have a thorough knowledge of the Multiplication Table, and of the elementary principles of Geography.

The studies pursued shall be Reading, Spelling, Writing, Geography, Arithmetic, Grammar, History, Composition, Declamation, and Music.

The prescribed Textbooks are Sargent's Third and Fourth Readers, Sargent's Speller, A. R. Danton's System of Writing, Colton & Fitch's Quarto Geography, Greenleaf's and D. P. Colburn's Common School Arithmetic, Mayhew's Book Keeping, Tower's Elements and larger Grammar, Wilson's History of the United States, Quackenbos' First Lessons in Composition, and Webster's Quarto Dictionary.

The Oliver Grammar School is divided into seven Divisions, and has the following arrangement of studies —

#### SEVENTH DIVISION.

Writing—Dantonian Series.

Reading—Sargent's Third Reader.

Spelling—Sargent's Standard Speller to page 36, and all Reading Lessons.

Arithmetic—First Steps to section xv, (omitting section xiv) and Greenleaf's to Subtraction.

Geography—Colton & Fitch's through Middle States.

Grammar—Oral Instruction, Construction of Sentences, Elementary Sounds of the Language.

#### SIXTH DIVISION.

Writing—Third Book.

Reading—Third Reader.

Spelling—Standard Speller to page 61, and Reading Lessons.

Arithmetic—First Steps, xvi and xvii sections, and Greenleaf's to Division.

Geography—Through the Territories.

Grammar—Tower's Elements to page 41.

#### FIFTH DIVISION.

Writing—Fourth Book.

Reading—Third Reader.

Spelling—Speller to page 85, and Reading Lessons.  
 Arithmetic—First Steps. xiv. xvii and xviii lessons. and Greenleaf's Division and the Tables  
 Geography—North America and Review of the United States  
 Grammar—Tower's Elements completed

#### FOURTH DIVISION.

Writing—Fifth Book.  
 Reading—Sargent's Fourth Reader. 1 to 48th lesson  
 Spelling—Speller to page 110, and Reading Lessons.  
 Arithmetic—First Steps completed, and Greenleaf's through Compound Reduction.  
 Geography—South America, and Europe to Great Britain.  
 Grammar—Tower's English Grammar to page 75, with Analysis. Parsing and Composition.

#### THIRD DIVISION.

Writing—Sixth Book.  
 Reading—Fourth Reader. page 48 to 98th.  
 Spelling—Speller to page 135, and Reading Lessons.  
 Arithmetic—Colburn's to vii section, and Greenleaf's through Addition of Fractions.  
 Geography—Europe completed.  
 Grammar—Tower's English Grammar to Sequel, Analysis. Parsing and Composition.

#### SECOND DIVISION

Writing—Seventh Book  
 Reading—98th Lesson to close  
 Spelling—Speller finished, and Reading Lessons.  
 Arithmetic—Colburn's to Part II. and Greenleaf's through Decimal Fractions and Reduction of Currencies  
 Geography—Asia, Africa, and Islands. and review, *particularly* Europe.  
 Grammar—Tower's English Grammar to Punctuation, Analysis, Parsing and Composition.

## FIRST DIVISION.

*1st Term.*

Arithmetic—Analysis and Practice, Colburn's finished.  
 Geography—Review Asia and Africa.  
 History—United States to Massachusetts.  
 Grammar—Quackenbos' First Lessons, Analysis, Parsing, &c.  
 Reading—Vocal Culture.  
 Spelling—Words selected from the Dictionary and all Lessons.  
 Writing—No. 3 Writing Book.  
 Book Keeping—1st Set Mayhew.  
 Composition alternate weeks; Declamation do.

*2d Term.*

Arithmetic—Interest and Partial Payments.  
 Geography—Review Oceanica and Europe.  
 History—To French and Indian War.  
 Grammar—Quackenbos' continued, Analysis and Parsing.  
 Reading—Vocal Culture.  
 Spelling—Same as First Term.  
 Writing—No. 4 Writing Book.  
 Book Keeping—2d Set Mayhew.  
 Composition alternate weeks; Declamation do.

*3d Term.*

Arithmetic—Commission and Brokerage, Insurance, &c., to  
 Square Root.  
 Geography—Review North and South America to U. States.  
 History—French and Indian War, and twenty lessons in Amer-  
 ican Revolution.  
 Grammar—Quackenbos' continued, Analysis and Parsing.  
 Reading—Vocal Culture.  
 Spelling—Same as first Term.  
 Writing—No. 5 Writing Book.  
 Book Keeping—3d Set Mayhew.  
 Composition alternate weeks; Declamation do.

*4th Term.*

Arithmetic—Square and Cube Root and Proportion, with  
 Reviews.

Geography—General Reviews.

History—American Revolution finished.

Grammar—Quackenbos' finished. Analysis and Parsing.

Reading—Vocal Culture.

Spelling—Same as First Term.

Writing—No. 6 Writing Book.

Book Keeping—4th Set Mayhew.

Composition alternate weeks. Declamation do.

REMARKS—Each class is required to review and generalize the work of the preceding grades.

The drawing of maps from memory is required in all the classes.

Declamations are required from all the boys in the 1st, 2d and 3d Divisions.

The promotion of pupils from one Division to another shall be made by the Teacher of the lower Division, at the close of the first and third terms, all doubtful cases being decided by the Principal and Superintendent; but a pupil who, by superior capacity or extra exertion, may prove himself capable of performing the work of a higher Division, may be promoted to it by the Superintendent or Principal at any time.

The South-Side Grammar School, though in only one Division, pursues the same studies, in substantially the same order.

The members of the first classes in the Grammar Schools shall have the privilege of attending the scientific and experimental lectures, given in the High School.

## CHAP. XII.

### HIGH SCHOOL.

1.—An annual examination of candidates shall take place on the first Monday of the summer term. In special cases, however, candidates may be examined at other times, and admitted, provided they are fully qualified to be classified with the regular classes of the school.

2.—All candidates shall present a certificate of good moral character, and of presumed literary qualifications, from the Principal of the school which they last attended, and shall be required to pass a satisfactory examination in all the studies pursued in the Grammar Schools, and no candidate shall be admitted without the sanction of the School Committee.

3.—All pupils admitted after examination, shall pass a probation of one month in actual attendance upon the school before their elections shall be considered fully ratified, and at the end of this time, those pupils whose scholarship and deportment shall have been satisfactory to the master of the school and the Superintendent, shall receive a certificate of matriculation.

4.—Whenever any pupil shall for any considerable period fail to keep pace with his class, it shall be the duty of the Principal to report the case to the Board; and if, upon investigation, there appears little or no probability that such pupil will maintain a proper standing in the class of which he has been a member or in a lower class, he shall be dismissed from the school.

5.—Whenever a pupil shall be absent from the High School, it shall be the duty of the Teacher, before admitting him again, to require a written excuse or personal explanation from the parent or guardian, which shall be accepted by the Teacher; unless the amount of absence shall exceed (sickness excepted) five half days in four consecutive weeks, in which case a permit must be had from the Superintendent.

6.—It shall be the duty of the Principal to keep, or cause to be kept, in a book provided for the purpose, the character of each lesson required of each pupil; also to note in the same, the deportment of each pupil on each day; and also the tardiness or absence of each pupil. It shall also be the duty of the Principal, at the close of every month, to send to the parents or guardians of each pupil, on cards prepared for the purpose, a copy of the record of said pupil, as it shall have been entered on the aforesaid book for the month preceding.

7.—It shall be required of each pupil to return his school card to the Principal, at the session of the school next following that on which it was presented, with the name of his father or that of his guardian duly annexed.

8.—Any pupil who, through neglect or idleness, shall render, in

the course of one month, less than eighty per cent. of perfect lessons upon the whole number of lessons required, shall be reported to the Superintendent, and be made the subject of special action by him.

9.—Any pupil who shall exhibit habitual disobedience to the rules of the school, or who shall be known to be guilty of habitual immoralities, or habitual rudeness and impropriety of manners, may be reported by the Principal to the Superintendent, and be made the subject of special action by him.





## HIGH SCHOOL COURSE OF STUDY.—ENGLISH DEPARTMENT.

Mathematics.	Nat'l Sciences.	Modern Lang's.	Latin.	English Lang. and Lit.	Miscellaneous.
Algebra to § 11.	French Course, 12 lessons with Verbs. 25 Lessons.	First Latin Book, 25 Lessons.	English Grammar, Part 4, chap. 1-10, with Parsing	Reviews of Preparatory Course.	
Algebra to § 27.	Fr. Course, 15 less. Reader to § 29 p. 43	First Latin Book, 30 Lessons.	English Gram., Part 6, chap. 1-8, Scott's Poetry.	Reviews of Preparatory Course	
Algebra to § 45.	Fr. Course, 15 less. Reader to § 48 p. 96.	First Latin Book, 30 Lessons.	Eng. Gram., Part 6, chap. 9 & 10, with punct. Scott's Poetry.	Reviews of Preparatory Course.	
Algebra completed and reviewed.	Natural Philosophy, 4 Chapters.	First Latin Book, completed and rev'd.	English Grammar, Part 7 and Part 8, chap. 1. Scott's Poetry	Reviews of Preparatory Course.	
Geometry, 2 Books.	Natural Philosophy, 5 Chapters.	Fr. Course, 20 less. Napoleon, to p 67.	English Grammar, Part 1, Longfellow, or Bryant.	History.	
Geometry, 2 Books.	Natural Philosophy, 4 Chapters.	Fr. Course, 20 less. Napoleon to p 167.	English Grammar, Part 2, Longfellow, or Bryant.	History.	
Geometry, 3 Books.	Nat. Philosophy completed and reviewed.	Fr. Course completed	English Grammar, Part 3, Longfellow, or Bryant.	History.	
Geometry completed and reviewed.	Chemistry, Part 1.	Fr. Course reviewed, Picciola, F. Comp'n.	Eng. Gram., Part 4, chap. 11. Longfellow, or Bryant.	History.	
Trigonometry, pp. 255-296.	Chemistry completed.	Fr. Course, 15 less. Reader completed.	English Grammar, complete'd. Milton, or Shakspeare.	History.	
Trigonometry, pp. 297-329, 347-370.	Zoology, 12 Chapters.	Fr. Course, 15 less. Reader completed.	English Grammar, reviewed. Milton, or Shakspeare.	History.	
Reviews.	Zoology completed. Geology or Astronomy.	Fr. Course, 15 less. Reader to § 48 p. 96.	Milton, or Shakspeare. Reviews.	History.	
Reviews.	[Physical Geology.]	Fr. Course, 15 less. Reader to § 48 p. 96.	Milton, or Shakspeare. Reviews.	History.	
	Reviews.	Fr. Course, 15 less. Reader to § 48 p. 96.	Milton, or Shakspeare.	Constitution of U. S. Reviews.	

FIRST YEAR.

SECOND YEAR.

THIRD YEAR.

# HIGH SCHOOL COURSE OF STUDY.—CLASSICAL DEPARTMENT.

Mathematics.	Nat'l Sciences	Latin.	Greek	English Lang. and Lit.	Miscellaneous.
Algebra to § 11.		First Latin Book, 25 Lessons.		English Grammar, Part 4, chap. 1-10, with Parsing	Reviews of Preparatory Course.
Algebra to § 27.		First Latin Book, 30 Lessons.		English Gram., Part 6, chap. 1-8. Scott's Poetry	Reviews of Preparatory Course.
Algebra to § 43.		First Latin Book, 31 Lessons.		Eng. Gram., Part 6, chap. 9 & 10, with punct. Scott's Poetry.	Reviews of Preparatory Course.
Algebra completed and reviewed.	Natural Philosophy, 4 Chapters.	First Latin Book, completed		English Grammar, Part 7 and Part 8, chap. 1. Scott's Poetry	Reviews of Preparatory Course.
Geometry, 2 Books.	Natural Philosophy, 5 Chapters.	2d Latin Book, to § 6 p. 23; Etymology.		English Grammar, Part 1. Longfellow, or Bryant.	History.
Geometry, 2 Books.	Natural Philosophy, 4 Chapters.	2d Latin Book, to Pt. 2. Latin Gr.; Syntax.		English Grammar, Part 2. Longfellow, or Bryant.	History.
Geometry, 3 Books.	Nat. Philosophy completed and reviewed.	2d Latin Book, to § 5 p. 55. L. Gr. Syntax.	First Greek Book, 16 Lessons.	English Grammar, Part 3. Longfellow, or Bryant.	History
Geometry completed and reviewed.	Chemistry, Part 1.	2d Latin Book completed. Lat. Gr.; Syntax.	First Greek Book, 19 Lessons.	Eng. Gram. Part 4, chap. 11. Longfellow, or Bryant.	History.
	Chemistry completed and reviewed.	Virg. Æneid, 1 Book. Lat. Gr. and Comp.	First Greek Book, 26 Lessons.	English Grammar, completed. Milton, or Shakespeare.	History.
	Zoology, 12 Chapters.	Virg. Æneid, 2 Books Lat. Gr. and Comp.	First Greek Book, 27 Lessons.	English Grammar, reviewed. Milton, or Shakespeare	History.
	Zoology completed, Geology or Astronomy.	Virg. Æneid, 2 Books Lat. Gr. and Comp.	First Greek Book, completed and rev'd.	Reviews.	History
	[Physical Geology.] Reviews.	Virg. Æneid, 3 Books Lat. Gr. and Comp.	2d Gr. Book; Syntax. Anabasis, 1 Book.	Milton, or Shakespeare.	Constitution of U. S. Reviews.
		Cicero, 2 Orations, at. Gr. and Comp.	Anabasis, 2 Books, 6k. Gr. and Comp.	Reading and Criticism of English Authors	Classical Geography and Antiquities.
		Cicero, 3 Orations. Lat. Gr. and Comp.	Anabasis, 2 Books, 6k. Gr. and Comp.	Reading and Criticism of English Authors.	Classical Geography and Antiquities.
Review of Algebra.		Cicero, 3 Orations. Lat. Gr. and Comp.	Anabasis, 2 Books, 6k. Gr. and Comp.	Reading and Criticism of English Authors.	Classical Geography and Antiquities.
Review of Geometry.		Cicero, 2 Orations. Reviews.	2d Gr. Bk.; Poetry. Reviews.	Reviews.	Reviews.

FIRST YEAR      SECOND YEAR      THIRD YEAR      FOURTH YEAR

## NOTES TO THE COURSE OF STUDY.

English Scholars must take either Latin or the Modern Languages; they may take both, by permission from the Master.

The course in the Modern Languages for the Third Year, will be arranged, each year, by the Master and Superintendent.

There will be exercises in Declamation for the boys, and in Original Composition for the whole School, in connection with the Course in the English Language and Literature.

Classical Scholars may take the Course in the Modern Languages, by permission from the Master; also, the Mathematics of the Third Year, and the Course in the Natural Sciences.

English Scholars who wish to remain in School a fourth year, may take the whole, or a part, of the Studies of the last year in the Classical Department, by permission from the Master.

## TEXT BOOKS IN HIGH SCHOOL COURSE.

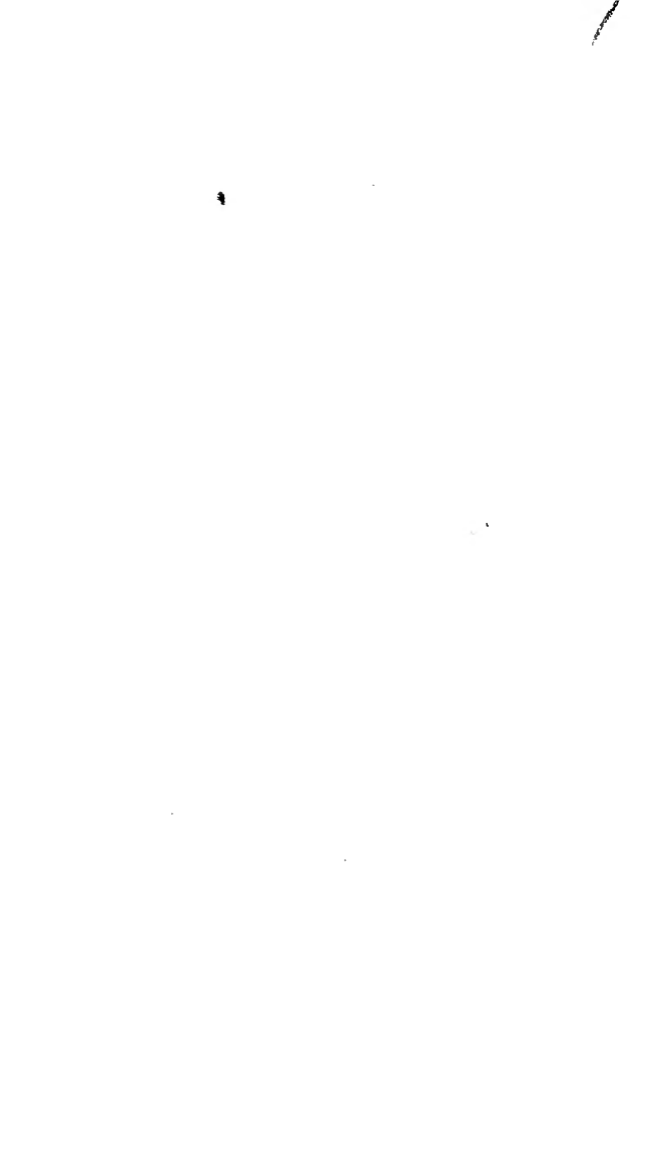
*Mathematics*.—Sherwin's Algebra, Davies' Legendre. *Natural Sciences*.—Wells's Natural Philosophy, Youman's Chemistry, Agassiz and Gould's Zoology, Loomis's Geology, Smith's Astronomy, Guyot's Earth and Man. *Modern Languages*.—Fasquelle's French Series, Picciola, Collot's Dramatic French Reader, Woodbury's German Series. *Latin and Greek*.—McClinton's First and Second Latin Books, Moore's Virgil, Johnson's Cicero, Andrews and Stoddard's Latin Grammar, McClintock's First and Second Greek Books, Boise's Anabasis, Crosby's Greek Grammar, Baird's Classical Manual. *English Language and Literature*.—Fowler's English Grammar, Scott's Poems, Goldsmith's do., Bryant's do., Longfellow's do., Milton, Shakspeare, and other standard Authors. *History*.—Willson's Outlines of History.

## EXAMINATIONS.

The Committee shall, by Sub-Committees, during the months of March and November, make a thorough examination of all the the Schools, and each Sub-Committee shall make a Report to the whole Board, in writing, of the condition of the Schools by them respectively examined. There shall be an Annual Exhibition of the High and Grammar Schools during the last week of the Spring Term, and the hours for the exhibitions of these Schools shall be arranged by the Board.













change in the accounts of the Company is the reduction of the debt, of March, 1858, to \$142,500 on the 31st of March, 1859: a diminu-

is of the Company upon Notes Receivable discounted have also been paid) within the year.

Money and notes (exclusive of Mill Leases) amount to \$186,993.59: 29.

Wh last year showed a payment of \$8,078.66 more than we received, \$140.99 more than we have paid.

The Company have been less than in any previous year of its existence.

The Mack River has been thoroughly re-constructed, and no pains or care are its durability as well as its strength. The cost of both masonry and iron work of which \$7,914.97 was charged to Profit and Loss, and \$6,545.43 to the bridge, which now stands at \$26,000. This is less than it would have cost in its place, and less than the cost of other bridges across the same river, account, exclusive of this charge of \$7,914.97, would have shown a saving of \$10,000.

Real estate has been sold at a satisfactory price, and also some of our buildings, and machinery, and reducing the other, by about \$12,000; the sale in both cases within a few dollars of it.

Our land sold in the year was \$18,253.08, of which \$12,200 was paid in cash or notes. The taxes on land have been charged to the account.

The business is now decidedly reviving from its great depression, and this has a beneficial effect in improving the value of our property: which, as the land is unproductive, depends mainly upon the general prosperity of the manufacturing industry for whose purposes it has been reserved.

CHARLES S. STORROW,

*Treasurer of Essex Company.*

The most prominent  
from \$266,661.19 on the 31st  
tion of \$124,161.19.

The contingent liability  
largely reduced (about one-th

The personal assets in  
exceeding the debt by \$44,49

The interest account, v  
shows this year a receipt of \$

The general expenses c

The Bridge over Mer  
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and wood work was \$14,460.4  
added to the valuation of the  
cost to build another in the sa  
river. The Profit and Loss  
gain of about five thousand d

The Steam Mills have  
extinguishing the former ac  
cases being at our valuation, c

The amount received  
in our own stock, and \$6,0:  
Profit and Loss.

The business of Lawr  
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the region where it lies, and  
prepared.

LAWRENCE, MAY 9, 1859.

Donny Muller

May 1, 1989

AN  
AUTHENTIC HISTORY  
OF THE  
LAWRENCE CALAMITY

EMBRACING A

DESCRIPTION OF THE PEMBERTON MILL,  
A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE CATASTROPHE,  
A CHAPTER OF THRILLING INCIDENTS,

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE RELIEF FUND, NAMES OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED,

ABSTRACTS OF SERMONS ON THE SUBJECT,

REPORT OF THE CORONER'S INQUEST, &c.

BOSTON:  
JOHN J. DYER & CO., 35 SCHOOL STREET,  
1860.

GEO. C. RAND & AVERY, PRINTERS, BOSTON.

**MEN'S AND BOYS'**  
**CLOTHING**  
AND  
**FURNISHING GOODS**

**OF EVERY DESCRIPTION,**  
**WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.**

Orders for CLOTHING, promptly executed in the CUSTOM DEPARTMENT,  
and all garments warranted to suit.

**GEO. W. SIMMONS, PIPER & CO.,**  
**OAK HALL,**  
32 & 34 North St., Boston, Mass.

**MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE.**

**THE NEW ENGLAND MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE CO.**  
No. 39 STATE STREET, BOSTON,  
INSURES LIVES ON THE MUTUAL PRINCIPLE.

Net Accumulation exceeding \$1,350,000, and increasing, for benefit of members,  
present and future — the whole safely and advantageously invested.

The business conducted exclusively for the benefit of the persons insured.

The greatest risk taken on a life — \$15,000.

Surplus distributed among the members every fifth year, from December 1,  
1843 — settled in cash, or by addition to policy.

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AN

AUTHENTIC HISTORY

OF THE

LAWRENCE CALAMITY

EMBRACING A

DESCRIPTION OF THE PEMBERTON MILL,

A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE CATASTROPHE,

A CHAPTER OF THRILLING INCIDENTS,

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE RELIEF FUND, NAMES OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED,

ABSTRACTS OF SERMONS ON THE SUBJECT,

REPORT OF THE CORONER'S INQUEST, &c.

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BOSTON:

JOHN J. DYER & CO., 35 SCHOOL STREET,  
1860.

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1860, by  
JOHN J. DYER & CO.,  
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the District of Massachusetts.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE destruction of the Pemberton Mills at Lawrence, with its attendant appalling loss of life, and injury, to the living, is an event calamitous beyond precedent in the list of American casualties, and has stirred the public heart to its swiftest pulsations of sympathy and grief. The memorable scenes of that terrible night at Lawrence, can never be effaced from the minds of those who witnessed them, while the thrilling records of the events given to the world have met and bedewed the eyes of millions. In view of the magnitude of the event and of the public interest in all that relates to it, more especially in the result of the investigation into the cause or causes of the calamity, the editors of this work have brought together a full history of the affair, with its scenes and incidents, and have affixed thereto a report of the investigation of the coroner's jury. In preparing this history, the editors have been involved in the arduous and almost incessant duties of daily newspaper life, and they rely more upon the interest taken by the public in all that relates to the disaster, than upon any merit of style. In fact, it is but a plain narrative of the tragical event, some connected history of which has been demanded by the public. The work is in a measure a compilation from those newspapers of the day, to the files of which we have had free access. We have carefully excluded all those incidents which have not been well authenticated. Arriving early on the ground, and remaining through the dreadful scenes of the succeeding fortnight, we believe that we have been enabled to select the true from the merely probable, and to give the reader a straightforward and reliable history.



# THE LAWRENCE CALAMITY.

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## THE PEMBERTON MILL.

THE PEMBERTON MILL, the fall of which was attended with immense loss of life, and incidents more thrilling than the productions of the most imaginative writer,—a history of which is given in the following pages,—was one of the finest mills in the enterprising city of Lawrence. The structure was built, in 1853, by the Essex Land and Water Company for the Pemberton Mill Company, of which Mr. J. P. Putnam was managing director and financial agent. The mill was built from plans by Capt. Charles H. Bigelow, an engineer of undoubted reputation in his profession, and he gave his personal attention to the work upon it, assisted by Mr. Benjamin Coolidge, a gentleman of experience and integrity. The work of building was commenced about the first of January, 1853. The excavation was made by Mr. William Sullivan; the foundation was laid by B. D. Gowan, subcontractor under Mr. Isaac Fletcher, who took the contract from the Essex Company. The brick work was done by Messrs. J. B. Tuttle & Co., under the following contract, which shows the construction of the walls:—

“LAWRENCE, Feb. 14, 1853.

“It is hereby agreed between J. B. Tuttle & Co., of Lowell, Mass., brick masons, and the Essex Company, by Charles H. Bigelow, their engineer, that the said Tuttle & Co. shall build the brick work of Mr. Putnam’s mill, and other buildings appurtenant thereto, in Lawrence, not including boarding-houses, on the following terms, viz.: Said Tuttle & Co. are to furnish all materials and labor for laying the bricks, for the sum of three dollars and thirty-seven and a half cents per thousand. The mortar is to be of such proportions of lime and sand as shall be satisfactory to the engineer of the Company, and the joints are to be filled in perfectly solid with mortar. If any portion of the brick work is required to be laid with a portion of cement in the mortar, it is to be done without any extra charge to the Company, provided the cement used in the work is furnished by the Company to the contractors. The walls are to be laid with a hollow space, four inches wide, for the circulation of air throughout, except when banding walls are necessary to connect the inner and outer sections of the wall together, and to form piers for the support of the beams of the floors. The general form and dimensions of the building are shown in the plan exhibited in the Essex office in Lawrence. The underpinning is to be set by the said Tuttle & Co., if they are required so to do; and the setting is to be paid for at the rate of six cents per square foot of underpinning seen.

The stone caps and sills of the doors are also to be laid by the said Tuttle & Co., as far as they are required so to do, and the setting is to be paid for at the rate of six cents per square foot, stone cutter's measure. The number of bricks to be paid for to Messrs. Tuttle & Co. is intended to be the actual number laid in the work, including the bulk of the stone caps and sills of the windows, for the setting of which no other charge is to be made, and making no deduction for the holes for the beams. The bricks will be delivered to the said Tuttle & Co., on the cars, near the head of the canal in Lawrence, whence they are to be taken, and the cars returned without unnecessary delay. A satisfactory count of bricks received shall be kept by the said Tuttle & Co., sufficient to show that the whole number intended to be delivered is received. The whole of the brick work is to be executed in a thorough and workman-like manner, and to the satisfaction of the engineer of the Company.

"The work of the main mill building is to be executed with a view to its completion by the middle of July, 1853.

"Payment shall be made for the above work from time to time, during its progress, so that the whole amount paid shall at no time exceed three-fourths of the whole sum due, until the work is completed satisfactorily, when the remainder shall be paid.

"Signed,

J. B. TUTTLE & CO.,

"CHARLES H. BIGELOW,

"Engineer, Essex Co."

The carpentering was done by Messrs. Dodge & Knowles, of Lowell, men of great experience in buildings of this character.

Fuller particulars of the construction of the building will be found in the report of the coroner's inquest, appended to this work.

The mill was heavily loaded with first-class machinery, and commenced operations in the fall of 1853. Work was continued without material change in the class of manufactures or in ownership until the disastrous season of 1857.

At that time manufacturing was depressed to an extent not known before for years. The owners became involved and the property was offered at auction, work having for some time been suspended, and it was purchased by Messrs. George Howe and Edward Nevins, two gentlemen of great experience in manufacturing.

The mill was started again under the corporate name of the Pemberton Manufacturing Company. The purchase was made on the 8th day of February, and the machinery, which had long stood idle and silent, was again sending forth the hum of industry early in March. With the return of prosperity, and under the energetic management of the new proprietors, the mill was driven with a full force until the day of the accident, January 10, 1860, when at once were destroyed the lives of nearly a hundred human beings, a much larger number were wounded, and the prosperity of the owners was seriously checked, while it awakened a feeling in the country seldom equalled, and cast a deep gloom over the land.

The following is an accurate description of the mills with its stock of machinery, and the work it turned out at the time of the catastrophe:—

The main building was five stories in height, two hundred and eighty feet long, and eighty-four feet wide. There were besides—

An ell six stories in height, sixty feet by thirty-seven;

A weaving shed, one story high, one hundred feet long, and thirty-six feet wide;

A dye-house and picker building, four stories high, and one hundred and forty feet long, and sixty feet wide;

A cotton-house, two stories high, one hundred feet long, and forty-eight feet wide ;

A repair shop, two and a half stories high, fifty feet long, and twenty-five feet wide.

The last three buildings were not injured by the fall or by the succeeding conflagration, being detached from the main mill. The ell and the weaving shed remained without damage until the fire broke out, which communicated with them from the ruins of the main building, with which they were connected.

The second story of the dyehouse was used for weaving, and contained sixty looms. The second story of the cotton-house was also used for weaving and contained one hundred looms. Eighty-four looms were accommodated in the weaving shed.

Of the main building, the different stories were occupied as follows :—

The first story was used for weaving. The number of looms in operation here at the time of the ruin of the mill was about four hundred, making the whole number of looms in the mill about six hundred and fifty.

The second story was devoted entirely to carding machinery, of which there were in operation in this room as follows: One hundred and seventy-six cards; twenty-eight railway heads; sixteen drawing frames; eight slubbers; fourteen fly frames; four card grinders.

In the third story were machines for spinning and twisting, as follows: Seventy ring spinning frames, one hundred and sixty spindles each; fourteen ring twisters, one hundred and sixty spindles each; and two Mason mules, six hundred and eight spindles each.

In the fourth story were carding, spinning, and drawing-in machines, as follows: Forty cards; three reeling heads; four drawing frames; two slubbers; nine fly frames; fourteen Sharp & Roberts' mules, six hundred and seventy-two spindles each; twenty drawing-in frames.

In the fifth story were machines for dressing, warping, spooling, winding, quilling, and reeling, as follows: Twenty dressers; twenty-five warpers; nineteen skein winders; eight spoolers; two quillers; twenty-two reels (in the ell, in connection with the machinery in the main building).

The first story of the ell was used for packing; the counting-room was in the second story; the third, fourth, and fifth stories were occupied as finishing and cloth rooms; and the sixth story was used for reeling.

Whole number of looms in the mill, six hundred and fifty.

Whole number of spindles, including those for twisting, twenty-nine thousand.

The goods manufactured were fancy cottonades, ticks, stripes, denims, and flannels.

The average consumption of cotton, when the mill was in full operation, was sixty thousand pounds per week.

The average production of goods was about one hundred and fifteen thousand yards per week.

The machinery of the mill was driven by three turbine wheels, two hundred horse power each. The wheels, the main gearing, and the pen-stock were not injured. The mill was heated by steam, generated in a large boiler which occupied a building by itself, between the main building and the cotton-house. From this arose a chimney, one hundred and forty-two feet in height which withstood the violence of the crash.

The mill was situated south of all the other cotton factories, extending with its connected outbuildings from the canal to the river.

The mill and property connected with it cost in the neighborhood of \$800,000. The present owners bought it at auction for \$325,000.

The property was insured as follows:—

Boston Manufacturers' Mutual.....	\$40,000
American, of Boston.....	20,000
National, ".....	20,000
Boylston, ".....	15,000
Neptune, ".....	15,000
Prescott, ".....	10,000
Eliot, ".....	10,000
City, ".....	10,000
Home, of New York.....	15,000
N. American, ".....	10,000
Manhattan, ".....	10,000
Metropolitan, ".....	10,000
Humboldt, ".....	10,000
Fulton, ".....	10,000
Lamar, ".....	10,000
People's, ".....	10,000
N. Y. Fire and Marine, of New York.....	10,000
Continental, of New York.....	10,000
Rhode Island Mutual, of Providence.....	17,500
Firemen's, ".....	17,500
Manufacturer's Mutual, ".....	17,500
Providence Washington, ".....	15,000
Commercial, ".....	15,000
Merchants', ".....	15,000
American, ".....	10,000
Gaspee, ".....	10,000
Hartford, of Hartford, Conn.....	15,000
Royal, of London.....	12,500
Springfield Fire and Marine, of Springfield.....	10,000
Mechanics' Mutual, of Worcester.....	15,000
	<hr/>
	\$415,000

The building was well protected against fire. The floors were of heavy planks, and the beams and rafters were exposed and painted. Perforated iron pipes ran at right angles through each room. Suspended from the floor beams, steam pipes ran in the same manner. The water pipes connected with the hydrants of the city water works, and with five force pumps, were located in the picker-house, which was just in the rear of the main building. There was a stationary hose and fire apparatus in each room.

Nearly a thousand operatives were employed in the mill. The temporary suspension caused by the involved condition of the first company had caused destitution and suffering among a large population dependent upon it for support. Its suspension then having an effect so wide-spread, its fall without warning, when in full blast of successful operation, spread terror, anguish, and distress, through the same circle. Some six hundred operatives were at work in the main building at the time of the catastrophe. The life of every one was attacked with imminent peril, and the escape of five-sixths of them from instant death now seems almost a miracle. The history will show something of the thrilling incidents connected with the disaster, and the suffering which it occasioned, happily relieved, where human aid could relieve, by the bounteous streams of charity, never so thoroughly awakened. But the disfigured corpses of the dead, and the anguish of the heart-broken and desolate, are results which charity could not obliterate, and kindness could not drive away.

#### THE C A T A S T R O P H E.

THE most heart-rending calamity of the age will forever distinguish the Tenth Day of January, 1860. On that day, at thirteen minutes before five o'clock, in the afternoon, the Pemberton Mill, in Lawrence, Mass., fell to the ground without a moment's warning, and buried a large number of operatives in the ruins. The destruction of the whole of the main building was complete, and the succeeding calamity of fire burned and destroyed all that the crash had left.

The following announcement of the catastrophe was sent from Lawrence to the Associated Press. The first details given that evening were hastily written in the midst of great excitement, and were subsequently proved to be full of errors:—

“LAWRENCE, MASS., Jan. 10, 6 P.M.

“One of the most terrible catastrophes on record occurred in this city this afternoon. The Pemberton Mills fell, with a sudden crash, about five o'clock, while some six hundred or seven hundred operatives were at work. The mills are a complete wreck, and some two hundred or three hundred are still supposed to be buried in the ruins. At present it is impossible to give any thing like a correct account of the loss of life, but, from the best authority, it is believed that at least two hundred are dead in the ruins.

“*Midnight.*

“Within the past ten minutes the whole mass of ruins has become one sheet of flame! The screams and moans of the poor, buried, burning, and suffocating creatures can be distinctly heard, but no power on earth can save them.

“*Half-past one o'clock.*

“The Pemberton Mills are now a flat, smoking mass. Brick, mortar, and human bones are promiscuously mingled. Probably not less than two hundred human beings perished in the flames! The fire made quick work, burning not only the main buildings, as they lay flat, but spreading to the material that had in kindness been removed.”

The writers of this proceeded by the last train to Reading, at nine o'clock, on the evening of the disaster, and from thence took a team to Lawrence. The excitement and horror which had filled the city spread far around in the neighboring country. Approaching within five or six miles of the city, between twelve and one o'clock, people were found riding and walking to or from the scene of disaster. Every house was lighted up, and knots of people stood by the roadside, eagerly listening to the latest news. At that distance, a bright light was seen reflected in the sky, and it was afterwards found that the devouring element had seized upon the pile of fragments, obliterating all hopes of saving any of those who had not been reached, and ending all the lingering misery with a misery more intense, though happily shortened. As the city was neared, the appearances of excitement increased. The whole community seemed to be abroad, and a wild throng gathered about the ruins, which were still fiercely burning. The whole building was completely demolished, and the fire had eaten its way to the bottom of the rubbish. A tall column on the south side, and a similar one opposite and near the canal, with a small portion of one end of the building, alone were standing. Engines were about the ruins, throwing water into the smoking and burning mass, and thousands of people were crowding the vicinity. The canal had been bridged with rafts of boards thrown on the cracking ice.

We arrived at one o'clock, and even at that hour found a large part of the population around the scene of disaster. Many houses had had sufferers returned to them, and there was anxious watching. The City Hall was made a temporary hospital and dead-house, and thousands flocked there, in the sad hope of discovering friends and relatives among the dead and wounded; for those whose bodies had not been found were known to have suffered a more horrible fate. Many who had escaped the bruising blows of the falling mass were reserved only for the more terrible death by fire.

Witnesses of the ruins, when those inside were crying for aid, describe the scene as appalling. Some of those lacerated by the falling machinery, with no hope of escape,

were excited to desperation. One who was early on the spot says that from the top and sides of the pile of walls and timbers, the operatives worked their way out, some unhurt, but a large number bearing serious bruises. Many more were wedged in by the timbers and machinery in such a manner that they were unable to assist themselves. The alarm spread through the town like wildfire, and the citizens forsook their places of business, and rushed to the spot. Women and children deserted their houses leaving the doors wide open, and thinking of nothing but the dreadful alarm. Such a panic never seized the inhabitants of a town in the land. Those who could work plied hands and tools briskly, all with heavy hearts, and spirits saddened by the frantic cries of some for help, the groans of the dying, and the disfigured corpses of those who had been killed. As the bodies of the wounded, dead, and dying were taken out, those which were recognized were delivered to their friends, and such as were not recognized were taken to the City Hall. In this way, as many as could find room upon the pile labored unremittingly.

From five o'clock until eleven the work continued with great energy; and, although many were taken out dead, and many more terribly wounded, there was an active hope that others yet might be saved. With steady blows the work proceeded, and barrier after barrier was removed as the laborers worked their way into the inner part of the ruins. Every advance exposed the dead and the wounded and the imprisoned, and they were borne away. After the panic of the alarm, which lasted for a few minutes, the men fell into companies, as they could work most advantageously, and labored with perfect discipline. Every moment some sufferer was released. Meanwhile, the relatives and friends of those employed in the mill were running about from place to place, where a new voice was heard wailing and moaning. Ever and anon, a glad cry arose above the lamentations, which told of some lost one found. Everybody taken to the City Hall was followed by a throng of mourners or inquirers. Those who were rescued alive, and slightly injured, were clasped to the arms of fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and friends, with cries of joy so vehement and wild, that they could not be distinguished from the shrieks of despair which indicated the discovery of the dead. Then followed a scene which can no more be described than the terrors of an earthquake or a battle-field.

When the workmen heard appeals for rescue, and saw those inside of the massive timbers, who could be relieved with continued effort, when even some were seen alive and apparently unhurt, to whom were extended words of hope and assurance, the dreadful cry of "Fire!" was heard, which spread dismay over the assembly, and covered the faces of the workmen with a despair that they had not before known. Almost superhuman exertions were made when this new horror developed itself; but the flames spread rapidly over the whole mass, and many of those who had escaped the dangers of the crash were literally roasted alive. In another part of this history we give some thrilling incidents, but no words can describe the anguish of this terrible moment. Those who were present will have the scene burned with fire upon their hearts so long as they mingle with or remember the eventful things of life. Then a more agonizing cry of despair arose, and the shrieks of those imprisoned mingled with the piercing screams of those outside, who foresaw the end of their only hopes in an awful death.

The fire spread with fearful rapidity. The water works connected with the mill were rendered useless by the destruction of the building; still there was a large amount of water poured upon the fire from various sources. Eleven streams were obtained from the hydrants of the Washington Mills, the fire department of Lawrence was prompt and indefatigable in its labors, and a steam fire-engine from Manchester, arriving at a late hour after the fire broke out, did efficient service. The ruins were



deluged with water, but still the presence of cotton waste, saturated with oil, the floors rendered combustible by the dripping of oil from the machinery, and above all the depth at which the fire originated and burned, rendered it difficult to extinguish.

Many of the operatives found shelter under the several floors, which, being very strongly constructed, did not fall entirely to pieces. But what was to them a protection from the crushing effects of the fall of the building, proved their final destruction. When the fire broke out, these floors shed the water like roofs, leaving the flames to rage beneath them, and the unfortunates were beyond the hope of rescue. Their groans and shrieks were heart-rending, and the greatest exertions were made to save them, but in vain. The work of removing heavy machinery, immense timbers, large masses of brick work, and other *debris* of the factory, was necessarily slow, and the fire, which had been dreaded from the first, when it had once commenced, was uncontrollable.

And so work continued through the night, the firemen remaining at their stations, and every voluntary laborer doing his utmost.

At the first dawn of the morning the people collected again at the scene of desolation and death. Many had not thought of retiring to rest, and many more had not closed their eyes in sleep. Faces heavy with watching were clouded with a tenfold gloom. The morning bells, which had before betokened a returning prosperity, rang out like solemn death knells.

As an evidence of the solemnity of feeling which reigned through the night, it was interesting to hear the firemen lightening their labors at the brakes, and cheering each other to renewed exertions, not with idle songs and gay tunes, but with revival melodies and old-fashioned psalms.

Thus this terrible night passed away; in our chapter of soul-stirring incidents will be found much to add to the picture to which our whole narrative cannot do justice. The excitement was not confined to Lawrence. It not only extended into the suburbs, and brought forth nearly the whole population, but in Boston, and all the manufacturing towns of New England an intense feeling stirred the people. A feeling so universal and all pervading has had no equal in the age. In another part of this history will be given the results of the catastrophe, which will stand a mark for reference for ages to come.

The fall of the mill was so sudden that no time was allowed to those inside to examine the cause of it. From the evidence we have, it seems that it first commenced to fall near the centre of the south end in the fourth story, and that the whole structure was pulled in by the weight of the machinery and the strong connection of the walls. Those outside who saw the fall noticed first the top giving way, near the south end, and describe it as falling in towards the north end, as fast as a person could run. The floors seem to have descended without breaking apart, and this accounted for the large number saved, while it shows that many more would have been rescued but for the fire, which put an end to the labors of the workmen, and destroyed the hopes of those who were looking anxiously for friends and relatives. Many of the persons who were rescued from the ruins alive, owed their escape from instant death to the arches of the looms, which resisted the immense weight of timbers and machinery, and left a space between the floors in which the sufferers could move about.

No opinion in regard to the cause of the disaster need be given here; the best evidence on this head will be found in the report of the coroner's inquest in another part of this work, where the statements of eye-witnesses are given, from which the opinion of the public will be made.

The crowd of visitors at the scene of the calamity on that evening was continued through several days; even for a week after the disaster the city was crowded with an

unusual number of people whose curiosity led them to view the scene where such a tragedy had been enacted. Thousands upon thousands of people thronged the town by every means of conveyance, and filled the streets with an active multitude, such as they had never before seen.

#### AT THE CITY HALL.

As the wounded and bodies of the dead were taken from the ruins, such as had homes, and were recognized by friends, were immediately taken away by them, but the larger portion were carried directly to the City Hall, which had immediately been fixed upon as the most convenient building in the city, to be used as a hospital for the injured and a receptacle for the bodies of the dead. Men at once commenced conveying them thither, the wounded upon litters, and the dead upon biers. And as these little corteges proceeded along the streets, in quick succession, the men marched with rapid but careful step, and with almost sinking hearts. Each was followed and surrounded by a crowd of excited persons, ministering to the comfort of those not already dead, or filling the air with cries, as they saw the death-stamp fixed unmistakably on the features of friends and relatives. At the door of the building, an immense number congregated, and the lower floor was so full of people that access to the second story was very difficult. They even thronged the stairs, and pressed close to the door of the hall, where policemen were stationed as a guard. On the arrival of each body the surging crowd divided, and it was conveyed within.

#### The Temporary Hospital.

The main hall was converted into a temporary hospital, and to this were immediately sent mattresses, blankets, and sheets, bandages, cordials, and medicines, from every direction. The ladies of the vicinity promptly contributed beds and blankets, and druggists liberal supplies from the contents of their stores. The settees were cleared from the floor, and piled in tiers along the walls. Next to these were placed rows of mattresses, arranged in close proximity on three sides of the hall, and upon them the wounded were carefully laid as they were brought in. The platform at the head of the hall was used as a dispensary. At half an hour past midnight, scarcely a mattress was untenanted, and the groans of fifty-four wounded persons were mingling with the heart-rending cries of relatives and friends. But few, except those whose presence was necessary to the suffering and dying, were admitted to the room. A large number of physicians were in attendance on the wounded, while others, exhausted with continual watching, working, and waiting, over broken limbs and bruised bodies, reclined on a vacant mattress for a brief rest. Many whom years of practice might have excused from sensitiveness to the sufferings of others, performed their offices with tearful eyes, and all worked with compassionate countenances, and the gentleness of sympathetic natures. Some of the sufferers were groaning in agony, some were wild with delirium in the last moment; others quietly breathed their last, or bore their suffering in silence. Everywhere was blood, bruises, and broken limbs. Nearly every one of the wounded here had a leg or an arm broken. To one unacquainted with the scenes of the dead-house or the hospital the spectacle was loathsome, sickening, horrible. But the painful cries of the wounded were overshadowed by the dreadful mental anguish of their heart-stricken friends. Nearly every couch was the centre of a little circle of weeping ones; and where the approach of the Angel of Death was denoted by the pallid countenance, the glassy eye, and the shortened breath, those who had assuaged

their grief by performing kind offices for the dying, now that they were no longer necessary, gave themselves up to paroxysms of grief. And after the eye was closed in death, and the pulse which had beat with uncertain motion was still, and the voice silent forever, when the awful sense of their bereavement came upon them, their cries seemed frantic, and the intensity of their grief so overpowering, that others were urged to restrain by force the violent demonstrations of their wild despair. In passing around the hall, gleaning from the most calm and collected, the first details of the dreadful catastrophe, scenes which were enough to move the heart of the most impassive, were constantly meeting the eye.

On one pallet lay a little girl, with a beautiful pale countenance, knit with the suffering she could not conceal, yet un murmuring. She was watched over by her weeping father, and all hearts thrilled in sympathy with his, as the physician announced his hope that she might recover. Frail hope! An hour later, she was heard gasping for breath, and bidding adieu, in whispering accents, to those about her, for, as death approached, her consciousness was unimpaired, and her heart-broken father could treasure up as his only consolation, that she died in his arms, and was not afraid of death. Her angelic countenance as she breathed her last will be a living picture in the memories of those who stood about her, and will soften with its serenity the recollections of that night of death.

On another was a young woman, at times unconscious, and again crying for that assistance which nothing but death could render. She had several broken bones, a fractured skull, and severe internal injuries. She could not move without intense pain, and her sufferings drew tears from the eyes of all who saw her face, and the agony depicted upon it. Half a dozen disconsolate friends were about her weeping, for the physicians said she must die, and their prayers ascended that her misery might be shortened, and relief from pain be given, even in the end of life. Their petitions were not long unanswered.

On one side of the hall, with their couches near each other, lay three young girls, all dying. Their pain had ceased, and two were sleeping, while the third gazed about her as if unconscious of the reality, and trying to fathom the mystery of the scene. An hour later and her spirit had fled, while one of her companions was also quiet in her last sleep.

But the most affecting sight of all was that of a poor German, who was dreadfully injured. No mother's hand smoothed his pillow, no brother nor sister nor friend was near, to cheer him in his hour of pain and trouble. He was insensible to what was passing around him but not unconscious of suffering, and his incoherent ravings touched the hearts of all. His fate was uncertain, for the crisis had not come. At a later hour a little German lad found him, and with his young heart affected by the desolate condition of his countryman, nursed him with a devotion which spoke volumes for his love of fatherland, and his tenderness for others' sufferings.

Many were there whose homes were far away, and whose relatives had not been apprised of their condition. But they found true friends in that hour of need. Young women and matrons, like ministering angels, hovered around them, cheered them with hopeful words, and assisted the labors of the physicians with all of woman's gentleness and skill. Through that night they watched and labored, closing the eyes of the dying, and aiding those who lived.

Soon after the building fell, and the great number of the wounded became apparent, despatches were sent to neighboring towns and cities for medical aid, and, generally, liberal response was made immediately. Twenty-two physicians came from Lowell, ten from Haverhill, six from Manchester, two from Bradford, and two from Methuen, and one

from Derry, N. H., and one from Brooklyn, N. Y., who were passing in the cars, stopped and volunteered their services. Every member of the medical profession in Lawrence, also went to the aid of the sufferers. During the succeeding forenoon several physicians arrived from Boston, and many others from surrounding towns. Some of these took the places of those who had been earlier on the ground, and whose presence was required by patients at home. When the condition of all the wounded had been made comparatively comfortable, and it had been ascertained that such as remained in the ruins were dead, and not before, they were left to the attentions of the Lawrence physicians.

The agonizing scenes of the following forenoon cannot be described to the reader, — only those who viewed them can comprehend them. During the early part of the day, all of the wounded, and nearly all of the dead, were removed to the places where they had boarded. The recognition of friends, or the failure to find them, caused the most violent outpourings of grief. The corridors and stairways were crowded all the day. Men and women pushed each other in frantic excitement, and the shrill cries of the women mingled with the deep groans and sobs of sturdy men. Perhaps the most painful of all was the emotion of fine-looking New England matrons, from the distant country towns, who had sons or daughters in the fated mill. Coming to the City Hall, they found the wounded removed. All of the officers who had charge of the room were busy, and were flying in every direction. "Where are those who were wounded?" was the continual question. They were scattered to their various boarding-places, and there they were sought. Too often kind and loving fathers and mothers were denied the sad consolation of finding their beloved ones among the wounded, or even among the dead. A fate still worse had been suffered by many of these; and then the flood of grief was terrible indeed. Every chance of hope was eagerly seized upon, until the inquirers found those they sought in the list of the wounded or dead, or failed to find them at all, and the number of those whose investigations ended only in despair, was large enough to excite the minds of all with pitying sorrow.

#### The Dead-Room.

A large room on one corner of the hall had been set apart as a principal depository for the bodies of the dead not identified, and this was literally covered with mangled corpses. Men and women, old and young, lay there, a ghastly sight to behold. Twenty-seven bodies had been carried there, and nearly all presented a spectacle of frightful wounds and bruises, and showed signs of painful death. A few only of the faces were calm and placid. They lay as they had been recovered from the ruins, some nearly naked and covered with blood, or blackened with the dirt and smoke. The faces of many were so disfigured, that humanity demanded they should not be exposed. Another room below, when this was filled, was used as an additional receptacle.

The scenes at these rooms were dreadful, as people congregated in large numbers to recognize their friends. Many fainted at the sad discoveries they made, and many others seemed heart-broken; from the upper room to the crowd below, came one continual wail. At frequent intervals, conversation was hushed as the lamentations of bereaved mothers, widows, and sisters, broke upon the ear.

During the day succeeding the disaster, the bodies were removed from the upper room to the one on the lower floor, where were taken for identification all those which were subsequently recovered, and here were continued for several days all those scenes of anguish which were consequent upon the recognition of bodies. As fast as the dead were recognized, they were removed by friends, or taken to the receiving vault at the cemetery.

## THRILLING INCIDENTS.

In connection with the Lawrence calamity, more thrilling incidents are told than of any thing in New England, since the Revolution. These in part will fill out our narrative of the fate of the mill and its dreadful consequences, and as they pertain to the scenes at the ruins and at the City Hall, we give them a place here. The awful grandeur of the scene of the catastrophe, the suffering of the wounded, and the anguish of their friends, will best appear in these detailed incidents, most of which have been printed in the Boston papers, and are principally from the *Journal* and *Traveller*. Only those are given which have been authenticated, as we believe there is no necessity of drawing upon the imagination where the fact is so much that is thrilling and tragical.

A rumor was spread through the town at noon, on the Thursday succeeding the accident, that, an hour before, a man had been rescued from the ruins, alive and comparatively unhurt, so that he walked away joyfully to his abode. Several men of undoubted integrity circulated the story with a degree of candor and earnestness which commanded respect and fed the great spirit of wonder. The affair was talked all over the town. The story changed, and the rescued one was a woman. After the most patient investigation, there could be found no semblance of truth in the story, or any thing for its foundation. Those who started it must have made up their judgment from a distant point of view, or else they were imposed upon. Another rumor reigned for a while that a hand was seen waving from a hole in a standing chimney, and that a man was subsequently rescued therefrom, having entered the chimney through a flue, and climbed an iron ladder on the inside. These reports doubtless arose from imaginations laboring under a high degree of excitement.

Thus many rumors arose from the excitement of the people, founded neither on fact nor probability; such as we can vouch for, we have collected here.

## Attempted Suicide of an Overseer.

Among the sufferers in the ruins at the time the fire commenced was Maurice Palmer, of Rochester, N. H., an overseer. He was much beloved by his friends, and while the digging was going on his voice was recognized. He was nearly reached when the flames broke out. He implored his friends to save him quickly, or he should die. They struggled to reach him, but the flames swept around them. He was confined and could not resist them. As the heat of the fire began to be felt, his horrible death seemed inevitable. He was able to move one hand and drew his knife, saying he should commit suicide rather than burn to death. His rescuers pressed on, but his hope of aid gave out, and he drew his knife across his throat. Soon after, they succeeded in removing him, and his self-inflicted wound was found not to be dangerous, but he had suffered severe internal injuries which rendered his recovery impossible. He was taken to the City Hall, but expired shortly after from the effects of the wounds received by his fall, and his sufferings while immured within the fallen walls.

## Coolness in Danger.

Some exhibitions of heroism and presence of mind accompanied the spectacle of the excited multitude. Miss Olive Bridges, of Calais, Me., who worked in the fifth story, seized the hoisting chain of the elevator, and went safely down five stories to the ground, and escaped from the building without injury. Through the whole night she was at the City Hall, passing like an angel of mercy among the couches of the sufferers, anticipat-

ing every want, relieving pain, and breathing words of comfort and consolation to the wounded and dying. Several others saved themselves by the same means, performing feats which for coolness in danger did them infinite credit.

#### Thrilling Experience.

Henry Nice, a brother of Thomas Nice, whose wife was killed in the ruins, relates an interesting narrative of his experience. He was employed in the boiler-house, and at the moment of the disaster was engaged in putting a wick into a lamp. He heard a noise which he cannot describe, and stood up for an instant, when he was struck on the shoulder by a heavy article. He thrust himself head foremost against a door opening outwards, and fell into the porch, the door and the space about him being instantly filled with brick, and his body confined to the most uncomfortable limits. A cloud of steam and dust penetrated the *debris* and nearly suffocated him, but by almost superhuman efforts he succeeded in digging a passage through the ruin and reaching a place of security. Instead of fleeing from the scene of the disaster, he turned back to rescue those still living. Upon the floor of the card-room he found a girl, who boarded at No. 5 Pemberton Corporation, who subsequently informed her rescuer that she was alone in his country, but had a mother in Ireland. A piece of shafting lay across her neck, her knee was seriously lacerated, and the rim of a "roping can" was pressing into her back. Nice obtained a saw, and cutting away the boards and timbers from under her, had the satisfaction of seeing her borne away to a place of safety. He then continued the work of rescuing his unfortunate companions. Darius Nash, the third hand in the spinning-room, fell with the factory. Nice heard him scream for help, and creeping on his hands and knees amid the tangled ruins, he found Nash and a young girl lying close together. The latter was cheerful, and urged Nice to remove her companion first, as he was lying on her leg, being confined there by a spinning frame which rested on his side. Nice thrust a strip of board through a hole above him, which attracted the notice of others, who cut a hole in the floor, through which Nash was drawn, badly hurt. Every effort was made to remove the machinery which imprisoned the heroic girl, without avail; and the fire sweeping over the spot, her young life went out amid the scorching heat.

#### Miraculous Escape of a Little Girl.

On Tuesday evening, before the fire broke out, while two thousand men were exerting every energy in rescuing the survivors from their living sepulchres, and the dead from the rubbish which buried them, a party came upon the body of a little girl. She lay apparently crushed beneath a ponderous block of iron, weighing over a thousand pounds, and which covered her body to her chin; her back was pressed against a huge timber, one of her arms was thrust to the elbow through a ring in a piece of machinery, and she was completely wedged in by heavy iron gearing. Intent only on preserving her features and form as little disfigured as possible, the men labored carefully to remove the block of iron without crushing her still further. Four of them tugged upon it, but could not stir it. After they had made several ineffectual attempts, a stalwart and athletic man, in passing, caught hold of it, and with marvellous power, aided by the excitement which the scene produced upon him, he succeeded in loosening it. The other rubbish was then removed, and the body taken out, when, what was the surprise and joy of the men to find that they had rescued a living girl instead of a corpse, and more, that her injuries were not fatal, but comparatively trifling. The heavy iron had met with some more powerful obstruction than her body, and her life was spared as if by a miracle. Had the pressure upon her body been but slightly increased, or had the

least carelessness been allowed in extricating her, she would have been another added to the list of victims.

#### Singular Recovery of a Woman.

In another spot near by, and at about the same time, the body of a woman was extricated from the ruins by some of her relatives and friends. The bricks and iron had buried her so tightly that no hopes were entertained of her life, and when the body was at last drawn out, the little circle of friends found their worst fears confirmed. Her husband took her carefully in his arms, and, with a heart throbbing with grief, bore her towards his home. A number of relatives were there awaiting her, and, when they saw her lifeless form, cried out in sorrow. Suddenly, the woman revived, and throwing up her hand, cried out, "*I'm safe — I'm safe!*" She was received as one risen from the dead.

#### A Husband finds his Wife.

Thomas Nice recognized the body of his wife by a ring she wore on her finger. He had searched anxiously for her body, as her name was in the list of missing. A charred and mangled mass brought into the room of the dead he examined, as he examined all. Upon a bone in the clasped skeleton of the hand he found a ring; upon it was engraved his own name. It had been presented by him to his wife on their happy bridal-day. When he found this sure token, his sad consolation triumphed for a moment over his burning sorrow. He waved his hands aloft, and cried for joy. Looking again upon the blackened corpse, his loss fell, as it seemed, with a deadening weight upon his soul, and all was changed. He fell upon his attendants, venting the wildest grief; nothing could command his attention beside, and he was borne from the room raving wild as a maniac, exhibiting a feeling as strong as could be pictured by the most extravagant imagination.

#### A Mother finds her Daughter.

Mrs. Barrett, wife of James Barrett, of Lawrence, had lost a child. She, too, was a frequent visitor at the dead-house. Saturday afternoon she came, accompanied by a younger daughter, bringing a miniature likeness of the lost. The miniature represented the features of a young lady of unusual personal attractions. A lively beauty danced in her youthful, fresh, and rosy face; an expression of a nature almost angelic beamed in her eyes. With this, the mother and sister came seeking the original among the dead. The lost one was found, but the fair face was burned away, the lithe and graceful form was now a shapeless trunk, which was recognized only by the fabric of the dress she wore, a small part of which was not destroyed. The mother threw herself on the remains; she aroused herself and gazed upon the miniature, and from that her eyes again wandered to the remains of her child. She fainted, and was borne away. Those present turned away heart-sick. Those who had stood firm through all until now, melted until their sympathy gushed out in tears that fell like summer rain.

#### A Sister finds her Brother.

Among the missing first reported was James Hart. He came from New York nearly a year before the accident, accompanied by his only sister — his only relative in America. They had long lived for each other alone. His form below the head was found to be perfect in death, only the flesh was literally roasted by the fierce heat. His body was recognized by a key and portemonnaie in his pocket; added to this evidence, his boot was pulled off, and upon his stocking was found his initial letter, which had been

carefully threaded there by his dear sister, who now sought him, and thus found him in her despair. The trunk of the deceased was taken to the City Hall, and the key found in his pocket fitted the lock. To add to the grief of the sister, while it proved again that the vilest depravity can exist among the most awful scenes, the trunk was broken open by some villain while it remained at the City Hall, and all that was practically valuable, as well as all that was highly prized as sacred mementos, was stolen from it.

#### Mourning Mothers.

For several days after the accident, a body had laid in the dead-room for identification. It was at last placed in a coffin, and a little after, Mrs. Burke, a woman about forty years of age, begged to see the body. She had long been inquiring for a missing daughter, named Mary Burke, seventeen years of age. She had a piece of the dress her daughter wore into the mill on the day of the accident. It was compared with the fragments of the dress brought in with the remains, but the latter was so faded that, though a resemblance was fancied, it was not deemed positive proof of identity. The woman then brought in her husband, Andrew Burke, and this time a comparison of the fragments proved the identity beyond a doubt. As soon as this was established, the poor woman uttered a cry, half of anguish and half of joy, and falling at once on her knees, implored "the blessing of God on the kind, good gentlemen" who had been so good to the "Christians," and that they might "have the gates of Paradise opened to them." Then she fell on her knees before the blackened pile, mourning in the wildest agony. "O my Mary, my Mary!" she cried; "I have murdered you—I have murdered you! O God, forgive me for ever coming to America! Oh, forgive me, my darling daughter!" Her wild paroxysms of grief had long continued in this strain, and the increasing crowd was urgent that the mother should be removed. Then she bent upon her knees before the keeper of the room, and begged him to handle carefully the remains of her daughter, and to send them to her in a coffin. The keeper promised again and again, and the anguish-stricken mother was taken from the room, moaning in that low, despairing tone which comes only from a soul fearfully racked by grief. She subsequently returned and seated herself despairingly by the side of her daughter's coffin, refusing to be comforted.

#### Female Firemen.

The women of Lawrence, heroines in every sphere during the fearful scenes of the hour, won laurels in the fire department, also. When, after hours of extreme exertion, the firemen, worn down and quite exhausted, called for help, a bevy of ladies who were standing on the sidewalk in Canal Street, flew over to the engines, and, "manning" the brakes, worked the machine amid the cheers of the firemen.

#### Roasted Alive.

One of the engineers of the fire department related the following: When the fire was beginning to rage, and before it had stifled the cries and groans of those in the ruins, he, with others, forced his way against the smoke and flame, to try and rescue some of those whose voices he could hear. Suddenly, he caught a glimpse of three persons, imprisoned by a crumbled partition—two men and a woman. He even seized one of the men by the hand, and hoped to draw him out, but the crackling of the flames around him, and the warning voice of an officer, impelled him reluctantly to desist, and by a timely retreat to save his own life. Neither of the three persons appeared injured at all, and they must have literally roasted alive.



#### A Child's Heroism.

On the night of the accident, a little daughter of James Bannon, ten years old, was in the ruins, and the flames were coming. She was pinned fast by the ruins, and could not be rescued. She took her pay bill from her pocket and handed it to another girl near her, and said: "You will be saved, I shall not; give this to my poor father and bid him good-by for me."

#### Rescue of Two Girls.

Among the ruins, an opening in a portion of the floor was shown which is a witness to the noble conduct of Mr. Fox, of the Washington Corporation, and another gentleman; while the fire was spreading from the place where it caught, they were actively engaged in the labor of rescuing persons, and trying to extinguish the flames, when they heard cries issuing from the basement story, near the centre of the south side of the building. On proceeding there, they found that two girls, in the basement, entirely uninjured, had been blocked in by the ruins about them. They tried in vain to gain access to the place where they were confined, and as the flames were rapidly approaching, a death of torture seemed before the poor unfortunates, whose piteous cries greeted their ears. Finally, they procured a saw, and after persevering labor succeeded in cutting a hole through the solid floor, and extricating them from it.

#### A Missionary in the Ruins.

The following paragraph describes the heroic calmness of a young lady in the ruins, which deserves especial mention:—

She is a girl of more than ordinary capacity, and the most unassuming piety. She worked in the mill, and her mother worked with her. On the day of the accident the mother left the mill in the afternoon, as her work had given out, regretting her loss of time. A short time after, she heard the terrible alarm. She ran to the mill filled with anxiety for her daughter. No heart beat more wildly in the conflict of hope and despair. After a half-hour, which seemed an age, the daughter was found, taken from the ruins, and restored to her mother, almost uninjured. The joy of the meeting relieved the prolonged anxiety of the mother. Her strength, which had been nerved by excitement, sank when she found her daughter safe. On receiving and returning the wild embrace of her mother, the girl exclaimed, with sparkling eyes and an expression almost angelic, "O mother, I have been so happy!" She had looked forward to death without fear, even with a joy she had never known. A second hand and several others were in the ruins near her. They had fallen from the fifth story, and were penned in by the machinery and timbers, expecting every moment that the roof would settle upon and crush them. Quite a number were near her, many of them wounded, and some of them in the agonies of death. Yet after this shock and its terrifying effect, while death seemed near and certain, the young girl was self-possessed and calm. She exhorted those around her to prepare for death, losing no time and lacking no earnestness, when time and persuasion were so precious. She continued in this way, forgetting all thoughts of life, and preaching repentance until she was discovered by those who were searching among the ruins, and borne away. These facts, which the Christian heroine was too modest to tell, are well authenticated by those who were near her when she was in the ruins, and when she met her mother.

#### A Brother finds his Sister.

A brother of Lucinda Gilson, one of the operatives buried in the ruins, having missed

his sister, brought to the keeper in charge of the dead-room, a fragment of the skirt which she had on when last seen alive. The keeper compared the sample with a scorched patch of clothing found upon a body recently deposited in the dead-room. It was found to correspond, and upon the strength of this evidence, the sorrowing brother claimed the distorted and charred remains of one whom he had so lately seen in the full vigor of health.

#### Saved by Mutilation.

One girl who was at work in the second story, had two fingers caught in the machinery. In an agony of despair she literally tore them off, and crawled out through an opening in the ruins, stripping her clothes completely from her body. Her hip was badly injured. Her companion, who escaped through the same opening, was dreadfully bruised and scorched. A few days after, the fingers were found by the workmen and transmitted to the girl who had spared them for her life.

#### A Boy's Assistance.

A "filling" boy named John Shaw, was at work in the lower weave-room when the mill fell. He soon extricated himself from the ruins, and looking back, he saw the hand of Amanda Neal thrust through an aperture. He succeeded in rescuing her, with only her stockings on her feet. She complained that she could not walk upon the snow; whereupon, he told her she should be thankful that she had her feet left to walk upon. Shaw saved two other girls, sisters, named Thompson, cousins of Miss Neal, who informed him of their peril.

#### Presentiments of Danger.

That a fear of the insecurity of the mill and its impending ruin had existed in the minds of some of the operatives, appears from a conversation which occurred on Thursday prior to the accident in the weaving-room over the cotton-house. On that day, the weather being stormy, Miss Maria S. Yeaton inquired anxiously of Mr. Albert Moses, one of the overseers, if he thought there would be a freshet. "Why do you ask?" said Mr. Moses. "Because," replied the lady, "we are always afraid of the big mill (meaning the main building), when the water is high."

A girl named Mary Desney, from Anderson, Scotland, at the urgent solicitation of a Mrs. Kendrick, visited the Pemberton Mill on the day of the disaster, in quest of employment. The overseer whom they were desirous to see, was not to be found, and Miss Desney, struck with a fearful presentiment of impending danger, hastened from the building, leaving it about ten minutes before the disaster.

#### A Girl's Experience.

A girl named Hannah Fannasey, thirteen years of age, daughter of a widow living at No. 87 Valley Street, was at work in the spinning-room, "dofing," as it is called. She went down with the ruins, and was not rescued until nine o'clock in the evening. She relates that nine men were about her when the fire approached the spot where she lay. All but three of the men were driven back by the furious flames. These men, Americans, stood by her, and at the risk of their own lives saved her from a fearful end. She had a brother, nineteen years old, who worked in the weaving-room. When the crash came, he ran to the window. The walls fell upon and buried him, though he cleared away the bricks and mortar, and jumped clear from the ruins. But in attempting to

avoid death by fire he had nearly perished by water. Running across the railroad track he stumbled into the canal, from which he finally emerged in safety. Impressed with the fate of his sister, he went back to the ruins, wet and shivering as he was, but could not find her. He then went home, sat down, and wept. His sister was among those who were saved and conveyed to the City Hall. She sustained a fracture of the femur, and suffered much at first, but finally recovered.

#### Hope and Despair.

One man found two young women in a comparatively comfortable position, and handed them coffee, with the cheering assurance that in fifteen minutes they would be rescued. But alas for the delusion of hope! The fire approached, and as it gradually neared the two sufferers, their entreaties to be saved were enough to make the stoutest heart quail. Men redoubled their exertions, but in vain; the flames enveloped the poor creatures, who perished before the eyes of their would-be deliverers.

#### A Grief-stricken Group.

The following paragraph is taken from a daily paper soon after the accident: At the foot of the stairs leading to the upper City Hall, sat all day four mourners, all females, awaiting the arrival of bodies from the ruins. Two had lost a daughter each, one a sister, and the fourth a cousin; and all that has been discovered of the latter were the shoes, which were recognized by a young man who recently put heels upon them. Together they sat, hour after hour, pictures of despair. Upon the arrival of a body they arose, joined the eager procession that marched into the dead-room, but finding no semblance of their lost ones, they returned to their post at the foot of the stairs to wait and mourn for days.

#### The Last One Rescued.

Mr. Ira D. Locke of Deering, N. H., who worked in the weaving-room, was the last person rescued alive from the ruins; he was not taken out until twelve o'clock. He was already scorched by the fire, and it was raging so fiercely about him that he directed his rescuers not to risk their own lives for his safety. His resignation prompted to new efforts. He lost his reason soon after he was rescued, and remained for several days in a critical condition, being badly burned.

#### Incident of Self-sacrifice.

When the accident occurred, Durins Nash and Lizzie Flint were at work near each other in the third story. The former looking up and seeing the mill at the southern end falling, exclaimed: "For God's sake, let us go to the lower end!" They took two steps in that direction, when he was struck on the shoulder by a counter shaft, and the two went down together. Miss Flint lay upon the floor, with the shoulder of Mr. Nash, borne down by the shaft, upon her leg with such force as to break it. His head rested in her lap; and in this position they both lay for several hours. She untied his handkerchief and loosened his collar. She complained of the numbness of her leg, and said she could get out if he would move his shoulder, which was impossible, the pressure upon it being so great as to burst the flesh upon the ball of his hand, in two places. She uttered no complaint, but when help arrived, she directed them where to work, saying to Nash, "They'll have to get you out first." While the men were at work, she fainted, and after her companion was rescued, other victims in the vicinity cried for assistance,

which probably misled them from the spot where she lay, and over which the remorseless flames soon after swept. Miss Flint belonged in East Pittsfield, Me. A brother came to Lawrence the day after the catastrophe, and sought in vain for his lost sister.

#### Escape of the Agent and Treasurer.

John E. Chase, agent of the Company, and S. G. Howe, the treasurer, were passing through the mill when the crash was heard. They rushed into the wing of the building, which remained standing. In passing out through the door, Mr. Howe fell, and was trampled on by several behind him before he could rise. He escaped, however, without injury.

#### Statement of James Tatterson.

A statement was procured from James Tatterson in regard to the fall of the building. He was a brother of Mr. Tatterson, who was overseer of the weaving-room, and was employed in that room, where he had been about a fortnight. He was standing near the south end of the building, on the lower floor, and was talking with Mr. Adams, the second hand in that department, when the first crash was heard. He looked up and cried, "What's that?" The floors from above came down, but the one he stood on seemed to remain firm. He jumped for the door at the south end, but was unable to open it, owing to its having been jammed in by the fall. He remembers the rest faintly, but he cut himself out in about twenty minutes. He was slightly bruised about the head. He thinks the lower floor was unmoved, because two little girls near him threw themselves under the looms and were saved. Mr. Adams, with whom he was talking, was sawed out of the wreck somewhat more severely injured. This man, after getting out, went the length of the building to the north end, and there found his brother getting out of the ruins.

#### Statement of John Ward.

John Ward, one of the operatives in the carding-room, in the second story, was miraculously saved, with his wife, who worked near him in the same room. We give his description of the accident and escape in his own words: "I was in the carding-room with the second overseer, lighting up. It was five or ten minutes before five o'clock, and we had got but few burners lighted. Suddenly, I heard a noise — it sounded like a loud, thundering crash over my head, and looking up, I saw the shafting coming down upon us, all over the room. I could not account for it, and was terrified. I stood nailed to the spot, and did not seem to have power to move, although I knew the building was coming on me. Then I heard the overseer shout, and I tried to jump out of the rubbish, but something struck me, and I was thrown senseless. I did not remain so long, but when I came to, I found myself buried in the rubbish, and did not expect to get out alive. I was all covered over with blood, from wounds on my face. I finally crawled up, and got to the top, and found a lot of ruins hanging over me, which like to have taken my life. But I succeeded in getting out. I passed by a dead girl on my way, and two other mangled bodies before I got out. When I was first knocked down, I fell beneath a large grinding stone, which was too heavy to give way to the weight above, and this saved my life. When I fell under there, I saw the walls over me all falling, and the floor giving way all around me."

#### Statement of Rosanna Kenney.

Miss Rosanna Kenney, residing with her parents at 114 Common Street, at the time

of the accident was at work in the drawing-in-room, in the fourth story. Her left arm and elbow were severely burned by the steam pipe, and her right shoulder injured. She is twenty-one years of age, is a girl of much intelligence, and speaks very clearly with regard to the calamity.

She says she has worked in the mill since it started, with the exception of last summer, when she was treated by Dr. Gay, at the Massachusetts General Hospital, for a tumor. On the day before the disaster she noticed an unusual rocking in her part of the mill, but as she had heard that some stones of the foundation wall had moved some time ago, she attributed the rocking to the thaw, and thought little of it. At the time of the accident, she was sitting at her frame, drawing in; she heard a crash, but thought it was caused by the falling of a beam of yarn; but presently, hearing a second crash, she knew the mill was falling; looking towards the walls she saw they were still erect; turning toward a thin partition, it appeared to be "coming down like waves of the sea;" she was struck by a rack of harnesses, and felled to the floor, with her arms and part of her head confined under it.

The portion of the floor, being in the south-west corner near the wall, did not fall through, but hung upon an inclined plane. For over an hour the poor girl lay in this critical condition — at first perfectly tranquil, being sure of relief, but afterwards in desperation, joining the loud chorus of "help! help!" Succor at length came, but in the excitement, against Rosa's remonstrance, her right arm was pulled violently from beneath the frame, wringing it in a very painful manner. She was finally released, and was soon in a comfortable condition.

#### Statement of Elbert S. Moses, an Overseer.

Elbert S. Moses had charge of one hundred looms in the weaving-room over the cotton-house. The first thing that he discovered, was a swaying of the cotton-house, which did not fall. This was instantly succeeded by the stopping of all the works. The gas-lights were extinguished, and a volume of steam and dust rushed into the room. The girls in this department all ran screaming for the windows overlooking the river, three stories high. Lights were discernible only above and at the southern side of the room. Mr. Moses, thinking that the boilers had exploded, told them the danger was all over. A man from without entered the room, but gave no alarm, and with one of the weavers ascended to the window in the roof. Mr. Moses followed, and then for the first time discovered the nature and extent of the disaster. The only safe deliverance for the girls in the weaving-room being through a window into the dry house of the Washington, he sprang for that, and by the aid of the "second hand," tore off the screen and broke the window. Thirty-one girls were safely passed through this aperture. As one by one they looked back into the shattered vortex below, they cried out in anguish for friends who were buried there. Some fainted, and had to be supported. Many of them had friends there, but all were rescued. Mr. Moses returned to the roof of the weaving-room, where he saw three little girls near the chimney, crouching beneath the cross-beams, and screaming for deliverance. A ladder was obtained, and the poor creatures rescued from their perilous position. Mr. Moses rescued a woman from beside a beam in the spinning-room, in a space five or six feet long by two feet high, and a foot and a half wide, over which, in ten minutes, the flames swept in ruthless fury.

#### Recovery of the Body of Lafayette F. Branch.

The body of Lafayette F. Branch was found on the Sunday after the accident, out-

side of the wall, on the south-east corner of the building. It was easily identified, there being few bruises upon the head. The fingers were somewhat mutilated, and one leg was broken. The body was found lying face upwards, in a straight and natural position. His watch was in his pocket, the crystal unbroken; it was stopped at thirteen minutes of five o'clock, which was supposed to be the exact time of the crash. By the position of the body, it is believed that he jumped from the window, but was overtaken by the falling walls before he could get away. Mr. Branch was a member of the city government of 1859, and he was universally respected in the community. He was foreman of the dressing-room in the fourth story, where he was at the time of the accident.

#### Recovery of the Body of Catharine Clark.

About three o'clock Monday afternoon, January 16, the workmen engaged in removing the ruined wall of the weaving shed, near the canal, discovered the body of Mrs. Catharine Clark, who was employed in the room attached to the main building. The body was lying on the ground, face upwards, and parallel with the wall. It was not burned, but horribly mutilated, and in an advanced state of decomposition. It was conveyed to the City Hall, where it was identified by means of a dress, by a fellow-boarder. The deceased was a widow, and boarded at No. 86 Congress Street. She leaves a family of five orphan children in Suncook, N. H., to which place intelligence of the discovery of her remains was immediately telegraphed. The body was enclosed in a coffin and deposited in the receiving tomb.

#### A Touching Narrative.

The following letter was published a few days after the calamity, which disclosed the sad circumstances attending the death of one who perished:—

“ ROCHESTER, Jan. 18th. 1860.

“ *To the Public* :—Maurice Palmer, an overseer in the Pemberton Mills, whose death was occasioned by the recent grievous calamity, was the sole hope of his aged parents. A younger sister of the deceased had been using her utmost exertions to relieve her father's house of a heavy mortgage, and thus give her parents a home in their declining years, but consumption caused her death less than three months since. And now their son, Maurice, their *last* surviving hope, is cruelly taken away from them, leaving his unfortunate parents, and his three promising children (the oldest but nine years old) in poverty. I write these lines to call the attention of the liberal and benevolent to the facts herein contained, and to request of the kind and generous wherever this may go, that this unfortunate family may be remembered in their sore affliction. Means should be freely contributed to save to them their home, which will soon pass into other hands, unless the generous-minded assist them in their distress. They are worthy of whatever may be contributed; the father is rising seventy years of age, and an excellent man, being highly respected by all who know him. Those forwarding contributions to Wm. Jackson, our postmaster, may rest assured that they will be placed at the disposal of the family. Wishing all to give according to the extent of their means, and thus assist a suffering and destitute family, whose only chance of support has gone in the person of their worthy and excellent son,

“ I remain very respectfully yours,

JOHN H. FULLER.

“ The above facts are strictly correct.

WM. JACKSON, Postmaster.  
“ J. D. EVANS, Town-clerk.”

## Miraculous Escapes.

One young girl was buried ten feet under rubbish, but her screams being heard, parties set to work to extricate her. After toiling long and hard, they succeeded in removing the complicated mass, when, to their astonishment, the girl jumped nimbly up, and ran skipping away, greatly pleased at her liberation, and not in the least hurt.

An entire family of five persons, all employed in the mill, was providentially saved, and the poor mother, gathering her children about her, amid the surrounding darkness, her heart bursting with gratitude for their deliverance, offered up a fervent prayer to Heaven.

Miss Solina Weeks, of Dover, N. H., worked in the spool-room, in the sixth story. She went down with the building, and when she recovered from the shock, she was standing upon the floor of the spool-room, her body half concealed amid the ruins. She escaped unhurt.

Damon Wyhom, an overseer in charge of the looms in the basement and first story, was buried beneath twelve feet of ruin. By almost superhuman exertion, and after repeatedly sinking back in despair, he succeeded in clearing a passage to where he could be reached by those outside, and was saved.

A boy at work in one of the upper rooms, hearing the crash, had the presence of mind to jump into a waste box, which, with its occupant, was buried several feet beneath the ruins. When the rescuers raised the pile of rubbish from the box, the young hero sprang from his narrow prison, and walked away as coolly as if nothing had happened.

Another boy, who had acquired the use of the "dudeen," on being extricated from beneath a mass of machinery, walked away, took a pipe from his pocket and went to smoking.

Three women were in the privy when the mill fell, and were all saved, as that portion of the building remained standing until the succeeding evening.

Three young women, members of a family of seven, named Luck, were all in the mill at the time of the fall, all of whom escaped without serious injury. One of them, Jane Luck, after being buried five hours beneath the ruins, was rescued without receiving so much as a scratch. Anna, one of the oldest sisters, was standing near her loom when the crash came. She instantly threw herself under the loom, and called to Elizabeth Fish and Phelia Barnes to follow her example. They did so, and were all three saved. The Luck sisters had one uncle killed and another fatally injured. All these girls were near the windows.

Miss Ann Lugden of Lowell, was at work in the fifth story, and was buried in the ruins; after lying senseless for an hour she made her escape with several others near her, and returned to Lowell to prevent her mother from suffering anxiety and suspense.

Mr. Thomas A. Watson, who worked in the fifth story, had three ribs broken, his lower jaw broken in three places, and several severe flesh wounds and bruises. Yet he was not aware of any injury or pain until after his rescue. Watson's wife worked in the Pemberton Mill and had not been away from there a day for six months until that afternoon. Her husband intended to start for California on the following Monday, and she remained at home to do some washing and prepare for his outfit. By this cause she was saved from running the great personal risk which endangered the life of her husband.

Mr. Adams, second hand in the weaving-room on the first floor, was buried deeply in the ruins, and extricated himself with a saw and an axe which were handed to him through a crevice.

**Touching Incidents.**

A young girl was released just before the flames burst forth, and in answer to a question, stated that she was unhurt. It afterwards appeared that her right arm was badly broken near the wrist, but in the excitement of the moment, and the joy of deliverance from a dreadful death, she had not noticed the hurt.

A little boy, whose only friend on earth was his mother, and that mother employed in the mill, wandered about among the crowd, sobbing as if his little heart would break, and begging the bystanders to save his mother. The prayers of the little fellow were answered: his mother was saved, and clasping her son in her arms, his joy knew no bounds — one extreme succeeding another.

The fire had made considerable progress, and was approaching the spot where a man was surrounded by timbers, yet had room to move about. A stream of water was directed upon him, and every exertion made to save him, but in vain. He and three others, in nearly the same position, were left to perish.

A young man, the only son of his mother, and she a widow, who, through his exertions, had been brought from Ireland, only a week before the calamity, was among the killed.

Among the numerous cases reported to His Honor the Mayor, is that of a family of six children, who have lost both parents by the calamity.

At one point, when a rope had been fixed to a projecting timber, a call was made to the crowd to take hold and pull with a will, but for a few minutes, such was the danger of the attempt — for the beam in falling might engulf all near it — the call was unheeded. Men shuddered and drew back; they would risk much to aid those below, but life was sweet and the danger great. At this critical juncture a woman rushed from among the crowd and daring the spectators to follow, seized the rope and attempted to mount the pile of smouldering ruins, to clear away with her hands. The example was enough; not a word was said, but strong hands at once drew the female back, and then there was no lack of hands to the rope, the beam was drawn out, and at least two sufferers released from the opening thus made.

One poor girl, alive and fully conscious, was dragged from the east end of the fallen mass, with her left arm torn from the socket, and her body and legs awfully mangled. She was taken by her friends, but did not survive long. In one place the bodies of three girls were found locked in each other's arms, but quite dead. They could not be removed without mangling them, and being abandoned for a time, the flames broke out before another attempt was made.

A young and beautiful girl employed in one of the upper stories of the mill, when the crash came, was thrown prostrate upon the floor by a piece of shafting which fell across her neck, preventing her rising. The coupling which connected the shaft kept the latter from strangling her; and in her comparative ease, and confident of a speedy delivery, she calmly watched the efforts made by the rescuers to extricate her. She would have been saved had the fire been stayed but for a few minutes. But the flames swept over the spot, claiming and obtaining its victim.

Among the painful incidents of the dead-room, was that described by a gentleman who was assisting a poor Irish woman in a search for a relative — the only one of her kin who was not separated from her by an ocean. A blue scarf and a cross-pin were the means by which she hoped to recognize him. They stepped over some bodies, and inspected the countenances of all, without finding the one they were searching for. The gentleman, on raising the cloth which covered the face of one, was shocked to see that the under jaw was entirely gone, apparently broken and then driven into the neck by



the force of a heavy blow from some large piece of machinery, and still more to see on the neck the blue scarf, and the pin glistening upon it, which were to identify the lost one. The grief of the woman was great, but she seemed to have been prepared for the result of her search, and retired from the room to prepare for the funeral of her friend.

A little lad, named Henry Hale, had his legs and the lower part of his body palsied by means of a beam which fell across his bowels, but he was cheerful and lively in the midst of his sufferings.

#### THE SEARCH FOR THE DEAD.

The flames, which had capped the climax of the disaster, raged through that night, and on the morning of the eleventh the breaking of day disclosed the ruin they had left, and the smoke and half-smothered fire still rising from that funeral pyre. Towards daylight, most of the crowd who had been laboring unceasingly in battling with the devouring element, dispersed, some to seek for the lost, others to attend the wounded, and a few to seek that temporary rest which they so much needed. Some still lingered about the scene of devastation, and their number was soon augmented by people flocking from the City Hall and from the surrounding towns. Each arriving train brought crowds of visitors, who gathered to gaze on the disaster, till the bridge, the ice-bound canal, and the street which overlooked it, were thronged. They pressed as close to the ruin as the heat of the still-smoking pile would allow. The firemen, many of them, were still at work, and some of the spectators were manly enough to relieve them at the brakes. The water hissed as it fell upon the charred masses of timbers and the heated machinery. Gradually the ruins became cool enough to allow workmen to resume the search for dead bodies, and energetically they plied themselves to the task, not with the moderation of hirelings, but spurred on by intense anxiety and despair, tempered with the hope of finding at least the remains of those they were seeking. With but little success was the work continued through the day and succeeding night, for the masses of stone and metal retained an overpowering heat.

In the evening the Pemberton Company took charge of the ruins, but many of the common laborers had friends among the dead and wounded, while nearly all who took an interest in the search for the missing were worn out with fatigue. During the night the drizzling rain had changed to snow, and but few remained about the spot. At ten o'clock on Thursday forenoon the smoke was still curling up from fires in the caverns of the ruins to which the water and snow had not penetrated. Three streams from hydrants were playing upon them, and the water was gradually congealing upon and encrusting the mass of brick and machinery, which filled and rose above the cellars of the mills. At the same time the rapidly falling snow was weaving a winding sheet over the dead as it sifted through the crevices of the ruins. Two or three hundred people stood sadly gazing upon the smouldering fragments, and a few men and women wandered over the vast funeral pyre and gazed into the dreadful depths with the vain hope of discovering some intimation of life, or relic of the dead. But little labor was done at excavation during that day, but on Friday a hundred men were at work, and the overhauling and removal of the rubbish progressed rapidly. Derrieks were raised over the parts of the ruins where the most weighty masses were, and long trenches in the complicated masses of machinery, filled with men at work with hands and tools, indicated the progress of the labors. From this time until near the close of the succeeding week bodies were almost hourly recovered and conveyed to the dead-room at the City Hall. Some were found in nearly a perfect state, and were easily recognized; others were horribly mutilated or disfigured, and could only be identified by fragments of clothing.

On one occasion, while two or three men were digging in the ruins, a man proposed to them to dig at a place where he saw a young woman buried. He said she was struck by the shafting, her legs doubled under her, so that she could not move, and that just before the fire he heard her cries. Her name was Kate Cooney, recently from Ireland, and without friends in Lawrence. The men dug as requested, and soon came to her body; it was horribly mutilated by the fire around the head and shoulders, but below that the flames had not extended, and her dress and apron were not scorched. Her arms were burned off to the elbows, and above them the bones had been broken in several places. Near her head was an ear-jewel. The body of John Hughes, a muscular man, who had escaped from the building but was overtaken and buried by the falling rubbish, was found in the Duck Mill yard. The face had been pressed out of shape by some heavy weight, but no other injuries were manifest.

On Saturday, thirteen bodies were exhumed; like all recovered after the fire, these were more or less disfigured. In some cases nothing remained of the forms so recently animate, but fragments of charred limbs and portions of the vitals, so effectual was the work of the devouring element.

The work, which had actively progressed all day, was postponed Saturday evening at dark. The workmen had progressed to that part of the ruins where it was supposed a large number of the bodies would be found; and the work was stayed by the fear that these bodies might be unnecessarily mutilated if the workmen should proceed to exhumate them in the night. On Friday night the bonfires burned but dimly, and the work went on amid a solemn gloom, relieved only by a fitful glare. The progress of the labor was the subject of an intense and universal anxiety, but the cessation was caused only by a feeling of humanity. It was resumed Sunday morning by a force of a hundred and fifty men, commencing inside of the walls.

The last of the bodies recovered were almost entirely destroyed. By Friday, January 20, every part of the ruins had been examined, and it was believed that no bodies remained unrecovered, except such as had been completely burned.

The mayor was daily in receipt of intelligence from many of the surviving operatives, who, until the knowledge of their safety was gained, were supposed to have been buried in the ruins. Many were heard from at Methuen, Andover, and Lowell.

The crowds at the ruins continued immense for several days, and almost every person bore away some relic from the scene of the disaster. A gentleman from St. Louis procured a large bundle, taking not only burned fragments of clothing found upon the victims, spindles and yarn from the general mass of ruins, but even a part of a brick, and the mortar which came from its surface. Several gentlemen from New York were also laden with relics. Spindles which were found bright and polished were favorite relics; but any part which could be conveniently carried found a customer. The passion grew to such an extent that orders were given against allowing further acts of the kind, and only a favored few could enter the lines which surrounded the ruins.

After the ruins had been thoroughly examined for bodies, the workmen were directed to remove such portions of floors and rubbish as were considered dangerous. Then they were occupied in removing the bricks and machinery from the pile, and in taking from it the burned cloth and other property which could be saved, a long and difficult work. As soon as the expectation of finding bodies no longer prompted haste, the gangs of workmen who had been hired in other towns and cities were dismissed to give an opportunity for work to such as had been thrown out of employment by the accident.

## RELIEF OF THE SUFFERERS.

Turning from the revolting pictures which other events and duties have indelibly impressed upon the memory, from the shocking realities of violent death and the agonizing grief of surviving kindred and friends, it is a relief to revise the evidences of unselfish sympathy, of pure and disinterested benevolence, which have arisen from every quarter. From sources widely separated in interest from the victims of the calamity, came generous donations of material comforts, evidences of the wide-spread sympathy which the catastrophe had awakened. Scarcely had the electricity flashed the news of the disaster over the country, when the answering tide of benevolence came rolling back, and on the day after the accident, before the citizens of Lawrence had had time to perfect their plans for aiding the sufferers, the following paragraph was read in the Boston evening papers:—

“A meeting of twenty gentlemen was held at the rooms of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company at half-past one o'clock, in reference to rendering assistance to the sufferers by the recent catastrophe at Lawrence. Hon. David Sears presided. Mr. T. Jefferson Coolidge was chosen Secretary. It was decided, without discussion, that a subscription be opened, and that the sum obtained be paid over to the New England Society for the Promotion of Manufactures and Mechanic Arts for distribution. Those present put down their names for \$2,000, and the meeting dissolved, leaving the paper in the hands of Mr. A. A. Lawrence for further contributions.”

This came like a ray of encouragement on the dark scene of poverty, which had met the eyes of the benevolent.

The next day an announcement appeared that a subscription paper had been opened at 46 State Street, Boston, and of a meeting of the Committee of Relief, Amos A. Lawrence presiding, at which it was voted to despatch at once the sum of \$5,000, by a special messenger, to assist in relieving the suffering so prevalent in Lawrence. At this meeting committees were appointed to solicit aid.

These sums were the foundation for a large fund of contributions, which flowed in from all parts of New England, from New York, Philadelphia (where the movement was initiated by a contribution of \$500 from the Corn Exchange), and elsewhere.

A committee of the “New England Society for the Promotion of Manufactures and the Mechanic Arts,” had charge of most of the larger contributions in Boston and vicinity. The following touching appeal was received by the chairman of this committee from Mayor Saunders, on the Saturday after the disaster:—

“CITY OF LAWRENCE, Mayor's Office, Jan. 13.

“MY DEAR SIR:—We as yet know but little of the heart-rending agony that is crushing our people. Instances are hourly brought to my notice, which make me long for a time to weep. I have steeled my nerves, yet they almost break.

“There are many cases which call for speedy aid and sympathy. Nine hundred people upon whom at least three thousand were dependent for support, are out of employment. Young children have lost their parents; brothers and sisters, dependent upon each other, are separated; aged and infirm parents, dependent upon their children, are now childless.

“One terrible case came under my personal observation. A little girl about fifteen years of age, who supported her younger orphan brothers and sisters, was buried in the ruins, but not injured. We had nearly extricated her; ten minutes more and she would

have been safe — but the flames came. You must imagine the rest. I can't write it. Oh! how fervently our prayers joined with hers to God.

“There are many very sad cases. I can't write—it unmans me.

“Yours truly,

“D. SAUNDERS, Jr., Mayor.”

Such appeals as this moved the hearts of all, and subscriptions were swelled till there seemed no longer any danger from poverty.

A board of trustees for the management of the Relief Fund was promptly organized, and consisted of the following gentlemen: Daniel Saunders, Jr., Charles S. Storrow, Henry K. Oliver, John C. Hoadley, and William C. Chapin.

The city was immediately divided into districts, in one of which each physician paid frequent visits to all the wounded, and another division into wards was made with reference to the labors of a committee for the distribution of supplies to the needy.

The committee was constituted as follows: Ward 1, S. A. Furbush; Ward 2, J. Q. A. Batchelder; Ward 3, W. D. Joslyn; Ward 4, Henry Withington; Ward 5, Elbridge Weston; Ward 6, Daniel Saunders. The latter gentleman is the father of His Honor, Mayor Saunders. Mr. Pardon Armstrong was appointed clerk. These committees and physicians at first found much suffering and much destitution among a large class of the operatives, and particularly among those families some members of which had been injured or killed.

A gentleman among the most active in relieving the distresses of the injured and poor related that on one of his visits he found a small tenement occupied by two families, numbering about eight persons. There was but one stove in the tenement, and but one bed. Those of the two families who could not be accommodated on this, had been accustomed to sleep upon the floor. Out of those eight or nine persons, two were wounded, not dangerously, but still severely enough to require careful attention. The families had emigrated there within a few weeks from Nova Scotia, and had but few friends in the vicinity. Their poverty was found to correspond to their limited household equipments, and they were promptly relieved.

A young lady, one of those whose angel visits (not few, however, nor far between) added to the comforts and relieved the distresses of the unfortunate sufferers, found in one of her tours a poor widow with five children, none of them old enough for hard labor. One, a daughter, had been almost the sole dependence of the rest, and she was injured badly by the accident. The wounded girl lacked not only the luxuries, but the necessities, of a sick-room, and might have died but for the accidental discovery of her needy condition. The other children were hungry and half clothed. The wounded daughter was made comfortable and the case promptly reported, when a medical attendant and the almoners of the city missionary enterprise rendered the whole family happy.

In one of her visits among the wounded, another young lady found a poor widow, whose daughter, her main dependence, had been killed, and whose two little boys were sick. She had mourned her daughter's tragic end with that grief which refuses tears, till her mind had become unstrung, and when found she was almost a maniac, while her little boys, frightened at their mother's ravings, were suffering for food and clothing, and bewildered at the new phase of sorrow.

But the most trying scenes came under the notice of the physicians, as they made their accustomed rounds. The notes of a reporter who accompanied one of the physicians on a tour among the wounded, will serve as a specimen of the nature of their injuries:—

“Mary McAlcar at No. 15 Short Street, jumped from one of the upper stories of the

mill. Received fracture of forearm, injury to right hip, and a general shock to her system. She rallied at first, but is now in a dying condition. Catharine Carrigan, at No. 18 Common Street, had thigh and arm fractured, and received injury on head. She is in a critical condition, but may recover. Mary Lawton, at the same place, sustained a severe injury to her head, and a fracture of one arm. Her case is considered critical. Celia Stevens, at No. 17 Orchard Street, has a concussion of spine, and severe injuries on head and on hand. She is in a critical condition, and will probably die. Mary Callahan, at No. 31 Common Street, sustained a severe contusion of lower limbs, one leg crushed below the knee, rendering amputation necessary. Ellen Mahoney, boards near the Washington House, had leg broken and thigh crushed, together with a severe laceration of the thigh. Augusta Sampson, boarding at No. 3 Pemberton Corporation, sustained a severe injury of the spine, and cannot survive. Ira D. Locke, of Deering, N. H., boards at No. 3 Washington Street, was dangerously injured internally, and is in a critical condition. Mary Kelley, in Valley Street, and George Kodolf, in Mechanic Street, had each a thigh fractured. Joanna Kearney, at No. 239 Oak Street, had an arm fractured and one leg badly lacerated. She will probably recover. Catharine O'Brien, No. 62 Chestnut Street, fracture of arm, contusion of head, and laceration of lower limbs. She is a great sufferer. Ellen McKay, No. 257 Elm Street, whose shoulder was fractured and spine injured, is doing well; and Mrs. Kelley, at the same place, who sustained injury to head and spine, is also in a comfortable condition. Thomas H. Watson, at No. 26 Bay State Corporation, lies in an extremely critical condition. His jaw and several ribs were fractured, and his chest crushed, rendering his recovery doubtful. Ann Manning, at No. 84 Common Street, received fracture of jaw and contusion of face, but is doing well. Mary Lavemay, at same place, had one of her feet crushed, but is in a comfortable condition. Henry Peekham, No. 1 Common Street, had one thigh fractured, but is doing well. Robert Hayes, No. 30 Chestnut Street, had an arm fractured and sustained severe contusions in various parts of his body. He is likely to recover. Margaret Ryan will probably recover from a fracture of the clavicle. Michael Wren, No. 77 Chestnut Street, had several ribs and the clavicle fractured, and sustained severe contusions of the head, together with internal injuries, which render his case a severe and critical one. Catharine McKay, Oak Street, severe fracture of one thigh and a serious contusion of the other limb, below the knee. A critical case. Thomas Conner, on the Pemberton Corporation, sustained a fracture of the pelvis, and his recovery is doubtful. Miss Watson, No. 9 Pemberton Corporation, received serious contusion of one arm and a rupture of the muscle. The physician hopes to save the limb. William Childs sustained a compound fracture of the forearm, but is in a comfortable condition. Miss Maria Hall, No. 77 Orchard Street, is in a pitiful condition from a severe injury to the spine. This is one of the most serious cases. Henry Hall Chestnut Street, received injuries in the bowels which render his recovery extremely doubtful. Mary Callahan lies at No. 31 Common Street, in a feeble condition, from a frightful laceration of the leg, extending from the foot to above the knee. Amputation is necessary, and will be performed if she is capable of surviving the operation. Kate Harrahee, No. 17 Commerce Street, has her arms and one thigh fractured. She is sixteen years old, and is attended by her brother, from Brighton, and a sister who worked by her side in the mill, but escaped uninjured. Mary Ann Hickey, No. 142 Common Street, has a fractured collar-bone, a severe contusion of the chest and elbow, hand crushed, serious injury at top of spinal column, and also suffers from a lung difficulty. This case is considered doubtful. Samuel Martin, No. 73 Chestnut Street, had his eye crushed out so that it hung down on his nose; the bone of the socket was broken. The eye was replaced, but he will lose it, without doubt. His left arm is

badly bruised, and he also suffers from two severe scalp wounds. Henry Koehler, No. 107 Summer Street, who was injured in the head, remained unconscious for five or six days, but yesterday his senses were returning. He will recover. Owen Horn had his foot badly burned by a steam pipe. Bridget Patten had her scalp removed from one side and laid over; her head is also badly injured. Hannah Finney suffers from a fracture of the femur, and has a mutilated hand and arm. Mary Crosby, who had a sister killed, had a severe wound on the head, with one ear nearly cut off; this has been sutured. She now suffers greatly from prostration. The case of James Davis, No. 115 Oak Street, is a severe one, and his recovery is extremely doubtful. He had both jaws fractured, one shoulder injured, and received a severe confusion of the chest."

Some of these were first found lying on miserable beds, in poor apartments, badly ventilated, and with none of the comforts about them which should relieve the tedium of the sick-room. But the benevolent people of Lawrence, and the efficient committee who visited the destitute, searched out each individual case of suffering from poverty, and gave prompt relief. There were many streets in the outskirts of the city, which contained scarcely a house but had its victim of the calamity. All that medical skill could do was done to alleviate the sufferings of the wounded.

Among the sufferers mentioned above was Mary Callahan, and her case was rendered the more lamentable from the obstinate refusal of her friends to submit to the only process, in the opinion of the physicians, which could save her life. They decided, after consultation, that her leg should be amputated. The girl was disposed to submit to the advice of her medical attendant, but the most urgent appeals of the physician and the priest to the mother, failed to induce her to comply with their request. Her only reason for refusing was, the superstitious one that her daughter's condition in heaven would not be so happy if she were maimed. The mayor used every effort to induce her friends to have her sent to the hospital at Boston, but they persistently refused, and there seemed no hope that the poor girl's life could be saved. Both mother and daughter had worked in the middle of the card-room, and it seemed sad to devote as a sacrifice to dark superstition a life that had been spared in the perils of the falling building.

During the week after the disaster, the want of accommodations for some of the wounded, suggested to several benevolent gentlemen of Boston the establishment of a hospital, and the result was the appropriation of the house at No. 10 Pemberton Corporation to that purpose. The corporation gave the use of the building, the city government of Lawrence furnished it in a comfortable manner, and Mr. J. M. Barnard of Boston provided for it a corps of nurses, assuming the general superintendence himself. A corps of physicians from the Massachusetts Medical Hospital volunteered their services to relieve the Lawrence physicians giving their personal attention to patients sent there. The project was started in the true spirit of charity, and was at once placed under the direction of the Relief Committee of Lawrence, those physicians and nurses who came from Boston only desiring to assist the overworked and suffering people of the town. To this place were removed eight of the most destitute of the wounded—all who could be induced to leave their homes. The benevolent projectors of the enterprise found a formidable and unlooked-for obstacle to the establishment of their plans, in the selfishness which was manifested by the friends of a few of the wounded. They had found their sick relatives productive of a rich revenue of family supplies, contributed by benevolent visitors, and they were not willing to have them removed to the hospital, since their absence would deprive them of their means of living without work.

A room at the City Hall was occupied by Mr. George P. Wilson, the City Missionary.

It was made a depot for all the medicines, bandages, and articles of food and clothing which were sent in for the sufferers, and a rendezvous for those engaged in distributing them, and otherwise employed under his direction. The services of several assistants were required in the room, which was at times thronged by applicants for aid. The contributions of articles required to relieve those suffering from poverty or wounds, were quite generous, and such necessary articles as were not contributed were supplied from the funds raised. The missionary himself was untiring in his labors. From morning till night he passed from house to house, personally inspecting the condition of the needy, and dispensing comfort to all. At the distribution-room he was assisted by two young ladies and a young man, whose continual attention was required. All of the contributions and the purchases brought were there arranged for distribution. All applicants, in the absence of the missionary, were referred to the ward committees, and no articles were delivered except upon their order. Hundreds have been aided by the missionary and his assistants, and much suffering has been prevented, and much trouble alleviated by this means.

The mayor gave his careful personal supervision to such cases as came under his observation, and with the general Relief Committee, co-operated most successfully with the almoners of the missionary department.

Mayor Saunders, for days after the accident, was constantly receiving letters, of which the following is a specimen:—

“NEW YORK, Jan. 13.

“To Hon. Daniel Saunders, Jr., Mayor of Lawrence:

“Having seen, in this morning’s edition of the *Herald* that a girl named Isabella Martin has been wounded in the late lamentable occurrence at Lawrence, and having a sister of that name working somewhere in Massachusetts, I am apprehensive it might be her. I will feel forever thankful if you will ascertain, and let me know, by inquiring from her brother whether she is my sister or not. You can easily do so by asking her if she is from Mullingar, Westmeath County, Ireland.

“Your obedient servant,

EUGENE MARTYN.

“P.S.—I will feel thankful if you will let me know the extent of her injuries, and if they are fatal.  
E. M.”

It was a heavy, and very frequently a sorrowful, duty to answer all these letters. Applications for aid were constantly received from those who were wounded, and such as had funeral expenses to pay for their friends who were killed. These letters, after proper investigation, if found to be genuine subjects for relief, were answered as soon as practicable, and material aid forwarded.

The clergymen of Lawrence deserve much praise. They were omnipresent from the time of the accident. Their labors were incessant, and they proved themselves indefatigable. Though sermons for the Sunday following, and appropriate to the calamity, were called for and furnished, and numerous funerals were attended, they still found time to render material aid, working upon the ruins, and at the brakes of the engines, and breathing words of consolation and encouragement at the bedside of the sufferers. Their labor was without money and without price, and their aid was found invaluable.

Among those who are deserving of especial mention here, as having most successfully improved the opportunity afforded them for displaying their humanity, was Mr. Samuel Morey, who first volunteered to act as keeper in the dead-room. He filled his painful office to its termination, with great ability, and then devoted himself to the wounded at the hospital. His associate, Mr. Daniel L. Plumer, also deserves notice. On the night of the accident he walked to Lawrence from North Andover, and did efficient service

through that terrible night. He offered his services at the dead-room as long as they might be needed, and would receive no pay. As he is a man in humble circumstances, his self-sacrificing exertions won for him the golden opinions of all. His acts will weigh heavier than the liberal contributions of the favored sons of fortune.

Some of the earlier and larger contributions to the Relief Fund have already been given. The following letters and incidents of a peculiar nature will be read with interest.

"NEW HAVEN, CONN., Jan., 14, 1860.

"Hon. D. Saunders, Jr., Mayor of Lawrence, Mass.:

"DEAR SIR:— Enclosed you will please find a check on the "Suffolk Bank," of Boston, for \$310.54, which we are requested by the young women and others in our employ to forward to you, to be applied to the relief of the sufferers by the late accident in your city, in such manner as will be productive of the greatest amount of good. They also desire us, through you, to convey to the bereaved friends of the deceased, and to the still-suffering victims of this terrible calamity, their deep and heart-felt sympathy with them.

"Permit us also to join in these sentiments of sorrow and sympathy, and to express the hope that the lessons taught to all by the circumstances of this accident may be productive of great future good, at least in some degree commensurate with the magnitude of the evil.

"In imitation of the example set us above, we have the pleasure of enclosing an additional check, as our mite towards the same object.

"Very respectfully yours,

WINCHESTER & DAVIES."

The "additional check" was for \$100.

"MAYOR SAUNDERS, — *Kind Sir*:— Enclosed please find a draft for \$13, a sum which the members of my school (Springfield English and Classical Institute), some fifty-six in number, choose to offer as their mite to the sufferers of your city, in preference to taking a sleigh-ride, which they have contemplated.

"Respectfully,

LAURA W. STEBBINS."

*January 20, 1860.*

"Hon. Daniel Saunders, Mayor of Lawrence:

"SIR:— Enclosed is ten cents, in postage stamps, the contribution of two little girls, who feel for the sufferers in your recent calamity. Respectfully,

"Jan. 17th.

"C. L. C."

A lady sent three sheets, with the following note:—

"These three old sheets, for bandages, were manufactured in India, and cost seventy-five cents a yard, years ago. They were bought before sham factories were built in this country. Although they are worn, they are soft. Like the widow's mite, they may be acceptable."

Among other articles received, were one hundred and twenty-five linen sheets, with a supply of lint, from the owners of the steamer Menemon Sanford.

The Italians worshipping at St. John's (Moon Street) Catholic Church, near North Square, Boston, who earn their support by *street music*, on the Sunday succeeding the disaster contributed the sum of twenty-five dollars in aid of the sufferers.

A day or two before the accident, arrangements had been made to have collections



taken up in all the churches of Lawrence, in aid of the poor. These were accordingly taken up on the Sabbath succeeding the catastrophe. The Episcopal Church raised about one thousand dollars, and others contributed liberally.

One of the most useful of the donations was that from Chelsea, collected under the auspices of a benevolent and accomplished lady, who, actuated by a Christian sympathy for the unfortunate of her sex, sufferers by the great calamity, and acting under the adage, "The better the day, the better the deed," went forth among her acquaintances on Sunday morning, and solicited contributions of clothing for the destitute. Her appeals were, with one exception, promptly answered with generous donations. The import of her mission once known, others followed her example; and in the afternoon, the charitably disposed in all parts of the city were informed of the movement. Clergymen announced from their pulpits the place where contributions would be received; and by ten o'clock at night, the heart of the lady philanthropist was gladdened by the sight of hundreds of parcels of bedding, under garments, sheets, and other useful articles. The parlor and dining-room were piled with acceptable packages. Several gentlemen volunteered their services to pack the goods, and a teamster was found who conveyed the cases and barrels containing them to the railroad depot.

In nearly all the churches of Lawrence the Ladies' Sewing Circles for a week after the accident were actively engaged in plying their needles for the benefit of the sufferers. In some, where no such organization existed, temporary ones were formed for the purpose. At the Lawrence Street Congregational Church (Rev. C. E. Fisher's), some fifteen or twenty ladies met for several days, in the vestry, and manufactured in that time over *one thousand* yards of unbleached cloth into sheets, shirts, and every article which the fabric was suitable to be made up into, for the relief of the destitute. They deserve much praise for their co-operation in the relief of the suffering.

Among the contributions was one of \$81 from the operatives of No. 5, Amoskeag Mills, Manchester. The letter containing the sum was written by one of the operatives, and was one of the most impressive received. It breathed a spirit of condolence and sympathy commendable to the writer and contributors and most welcome to the suffering.

The Moro Lodge of Sons of Malta of Lawrence, held a meeting and raised a collection of \$105 for the sufferers, which was subsequently swelled to \$150 and more.

On Tuesday, Jan. 24th, the following address was published by the Relief Committee:—

" CITY OF LAWRENCE, Jan. 23, 1860. }  
" Office of the Committee of Relief. }

" *To the Public* :—The undersigned, Mayor of Lawrence and Chairman of the Committee of Relief and the several members thereof, having in charge the distribution of funds contributed for the aid of the Pemberton Mill sufferers, in behalf not only of those who have been directly the recipients of the charity called out by the recent calamity but of every citizen of Lawrence, tender to a generous public, gratitude and thanks, the fulness of which overflows every heart.

" No calamity in the history of the country so startled the community nor carried so intense sorrow and desolation into so many homes; and no misfortune has ever elicited so intense sympathy. Our cry was no sooner heard than charity bearing upon its pinions comfort and consolation, hovered at our doors. From every point came hope, aid, and tender-hearted kindness, cheering and encouraging us in our labors, and lightening the burden oppressing us. Substantial and timely contributions of money and clothing were hurried forward from all quarters. The old and the young, little children and aged men and women, associations of various names, the church and the theatre, acquaintances

and strangers, the Christian and the Jew, those near us and those remote, all vied with each other in acts of generous charity, and in deeds of love and of mercy. The widow's mite and the rich man's full purse were alike extended to us.

"When all have done so much, it might seem invidious to particularize, yet we cannot forbear to bring into more prominent notice the spirit that prompted the "New England Society for the Promotion of Manufactures," to render so effectual and so ample assistance. This association was the first, though none were far behind, in bringing forward material aid, and has already subscribed nearly twenty thousand dollars for the relief of the operatives who were so suddenly stricken down at the scene of their labors. Nor can we omit to mention in terms of high praise, the self-sacrificing spirit which on the terrible night of the 10th inst., brought to our assistance so many and so brave friends from every city and town within a score of miles—physicians, firemen, mechanics, laborers, yea, men of every station in life—men with strong muscle, and women with tender hearts and willing hands.

"So generous have been the contributions in money and clothing from every quarter, we are most happy in believing that what has been already sent, with what is now pledged and already subscribed, or now in the hands of persons who have kindly solicited subscriptions, will be sufficient for the wants of those really needy, and those to be provided for in continuance. If not, the liberality of our own citizens will not permit any family or individual to want the aid and comfort which their necessities may require.

"By no means would we by any undue prominence of our own suffering and needs, great as has been our calamity, divert from other worthy objects of charity, for such there are in every community, the outpourings of that philanthropy which has been so effectually awakened in our behalf, and has been so thoroughly manifested towards us.

"DANIEL SAUNDERS, JR.,

Mayor and Chairman

"CHARLES S. STORROW, }  
 "HENRY K. OLIVER, } Committee."  
 "WILLIAM C. CHAPIN, }  
 "JOHN C. HOADLEY, }

Daniel Saunders, Jr., the chairman of this committee and the mayor of Lawrence, deserves the gratitude and respect of all concerned. His labors were incessant from the time of the accident until the dead were buried, the wounded cared for, and a liberal charity dispensed. He heard every one who applied for aid, and performed all the duties of his office kindly yet discreetly. As long as the great calamity is remembered the efficient service of Mayor Saunders will be a credit to the city and an honor added to his name.

The following is a list of the money contributions received by Mayor Saunders, up to Wednesday, January 24th:—

#### LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

New England Society, by L. Elmands,	\$2000 00	Unknown,	1 00
" " " by J. D. W. Joy,	360 00	Winchester & Davies, New Haven,	100 00
Suffolk Club, Boston,	2000 00	Employees of Winchester & Davies, New Haven,	310 54
Whittemore Belcher & Co.,	4 00	Davis & Furber, North Andover,	100 00
Naumkeag Encampment, I. O. of O. F.,	25 00	F. W. Cheat, Beverly, Mass.,	20 00
Joseph Jewett, N. Y.,	300 00	I. M. Ide, Jr., Taunton,	10 00
Edward Harris, Woonsocket,	2 00	E. J. Woolsey, Astoria, Long Island, N. Y.,	250 00
W. S. M. Camp, Middleton, Conn.,	100 00	S. W. Winchester, N. Y.,	30 00
Wm. Gray, Boston,	10 00	Occupants of Washington Market, N. Y.,	303 00
Shaeze & Tappan, Boston,	1000 00	Church of the Unity, Boston,	200 00
F. Hall & Co., Commercial Advertiser, N. Y.,	20 00	Evangelical Church, Framingham,	57 00
Boston Corn Exchange and its Members,	10 00	G. G. Evans, Philadelphia,	1000 00
Doremus & Nixon and others, N. Y.,	650 00	Rev. Mr. Haskins, St. Johns Church, Boston,	100 00
Elbert Clemens, Danville, N. J.,	778 00	George Lawton, Waltham, Mass.,	100 00
	3 00	Moses Tenney, Boston,	25 00

John P. Peabody, Salem, Mass.,	10 00	E. B. S., Troy, N. Y.,	3 00
Rev. M. P. Dougherty, Cambridge, Charity, Boston,	450 00	Wm. H. Taylor, New Bedford,	100 00
Chickering & Sons, Boston,	5 00	Naumkeag Steam Cotton Mill, Salem,	1000 00
C. H. Adams & Co., Boston,	200 00	A. D., U. S. Pensioner, 1812, N. Y.,	5 00
Henry Bemis & Co., N. Y.,	100 00	Mass. Division Sons of Temperance, Boston,	100 00
Wm. G. Billings, Boston,	10 00	Citizens of Groveland,	50 00
New England Roofing and Manfr. Co., Boston,	50 00	B. Saunders, Nashua,	50 00
Dobson & Jordan, Insurance Company,	50 00	Jackson Manfr. Co. Operatives, Nashua,	186 57
Proprietors and Employees of Andover Publish- ing and Printing House,	250 00	Citizens of Amesbury and Salisbury, Mill Village, J. G. Whitten,	207 25
Wm. Curtis Noyes, N. Y.,	30 00	Operatives of Amoskeag Mill, No. 3, Manchester,	175 00
F. G. Littlefield and friends, Boston,	50 00	" " " " " " " " " " " "	181 00
John L. Stephenson, Boston,	25 00	Operatives of Weaving-Rooms, No. 1, 2, and 3, Manchester Print Works,	58 15
Lyman Mills Employees, Holyoke,	10 00	Powwow River Lodge, No. 90, I. O. of O. F., Ames- bury,	25 00
Peter Smith, Andover,	225 00	Boston Encampment Knights Templar,	100 00
Forest River Lead Company, Salem,	30 00	G. F. Archibald, Boston,	5 00
Mrs. Theodor Chase,	50 00	A Lookkeeper,	10 00
John W. Harding, Long Meadow, Whitten, Hopkins, & Co., Boston,	1 00	Edward A. Raymond, Boston,	50 00
Theodore Bliss, Philadelphia,	25 00	P. B. Turner, Quincy,	3 00
F. Gordon, Plymouth, Mass.,	50 00	A Laborer, Holyoke,	5 00
E. E. S., East Hartford,	10 00	Anonymous,	1 00
Northfield, Mass.,	5 00	Scholars of Springfield English and Classical In- stitute,	13 00
C. E. Aldrich & Co., Boston,	50 00	A Jew,	10 00
J. A. Friuk, Cincinnati,	1 00	Occupants of Fanenil Hall Market, (additional),	30 00
Orphans and Family of De Vaux College, Suspens- ion Bridge, N. Y.,	10 00	Manchester Cornet Band, Manchester, N. H.,	340 50
Sands & Byus, Andover,	10 00	Hilbert Universal Benevolent Society, Dover,	50 00
E. B. Converse, Boston,	5 00	Eureka Lodge, F. A. A. M., New Bedford,	25 00
Employees of Gas Metre Factory of Messrs. Cade, Hopper & Gratz, Philadelphia,	115 00	Warren Street Synagogue, B. Nelson President,	50 00
Operatives of Marland Manfr. Co., Andover,	100 00	Operatives of Phoenix Mill, Shirley,	30 00
Harnden & Co. Express contributed by various individuals,	45 50	C. W. E. Boston,	5 00
Operatives of New Market Manufacturing Co.,	263 90	Angs Warkelager, N. Y.,	1 00
Second Universalist Society, Manchester,	5 00	Ashtenfield, Boston,	5 00
Mrs. Benj. Saunders, Nashua,	5 00	Operatives New England Glass Factory, E. Cam- bridge,	200 20
Capt. Percival, U. S. Navy,	35 00	Mrs. King, Cambridge,	5 00
Waltham Social Club,	100 00	Express Companies of Boston,	800 00
Rhode Island Engine Co., Pawtucket,	100 00	Lowell Irish Benevolent Society,	160 00
Occupants of Fanenil Hall Market, Boston,	500 00	Ladies of Cambridge, forwarded by Emory Wash- burn,	58 00
S. Cohen & Co., Boston,	15 00	Francis Draper, East Cambridge,	50 00
Wm. Sutton, Salem,	37 00	Edward G. Parker and Lady,	20 00
Cypress Camp, I. O. S. M., Newburyport,	50 00	P. R. Amundown, Boston,	5 00
Employees Eagle Mills, West Chelmsford, Italians of Boston,	81 00	Chandler & Co., Boston,	75 00
J. B. McMahon, Boston,	39 00	Members of N. Y. Stock Exchange, N. Y.,	455 00
Beals, Green, & Co., Boston Post,	100 00	Operatives of Sutton's Mills and Reed Shop,	100 00
Operatives of Lake Mills, Lake Village,	50 00	Cornell, Hall & Co., N. Y.,	100 00
Members Boston Corn Exchange, additional,	77 00	Citizens of Providence by Jay Knight, (Mayor),	1000 00
H. F. Morgan, N. Y.,	100 00	Geo. C. Ballou & Son, Woonsocket, R. I.,	100 00
C. S. Faulkner, Keene, N. H.,	25 00	Anonymous, Boston,	3 00
Messrs. English & Moran, Proprietors of the National Theatre, Boston,	25 00	Rev. O'Conovan, his private subscription, Operatives of No. 1 and 2 Mills and Dychouse, Amoskeag New Mills,	50 60
Rev. Moses Patten,	2 00	Male Operatives, Stark Mills, Manchester,	134 00
Peter Lawson, Lowell,	10 00	E. G. Friend, Gloucester,	5 00
W. F. Freeman, Boston,	75 00	W. Wyman, Lowell,	5 00
Sympathizer with misery,	10 00	Charles Newcomb, Quincy,	15 00
Doremus & Nixon, N. Y., additional,	165 00	Citizens of Swampscott,	40 00
Solomon Piper, Boston,	20 00	Employees of Amoskeag New Mills, cloth room,	12 25
Tremont Lodge, No. 15, I. O. of O. F.,	30 00	First Parish of Lexington,	67 00
Citizens of Providence, forwarded by Jabez Knight,	1000 00	Globe Steam Mills, Newburyport,	210 00
Townsend, Mallard, & Cowing,	25 00	S & J. Myers, Boston,	20 00
James P. Tanner, Pittsburgh,	25 00	Dispatch Hose Co., No. 2, Boston,	20 00
Persons connected with Neponset Cotton Factory, Canton,	82 00	United Presbyterian Society, Oak Street, Law- rence,	11 24
Andrew Carver, Boston,	200 00	Walter S. Hunter, Washington, D. C., (proceeds of a lecture),	38 50
Pittsburgh Club, Pittsburgh,	300 00	American Boat Company of Lowell,	50 00
Mutual Relief Lodge, No. 83, I. O. of O. F., Haverhill,	25 00	Committee of Arrangements for a complimen- tary dinner to Baylie Peyton, Philadelphia,	212 72
Joseph Leavitt, Salem,	10 00	A widow's mite,	5 00
Samuel Day, Salem,	5 00	Adams' Express Company, N. Y., (additional),	1000 00
Employees in Mule Spinning-Room, Mill No. 2, Manchester Corporation, Manchester, N. H.,	40 00	Mount Hope Lodge, F. A. A. M., Fall River,	50 00
A Lady, Concord, N. H.,	5 00	Operatives of Brookdale Mills, South Danvers,	25 00
Henry W. Dutton & Son, Transcript Office, Bos- ton,	100 00	Raincoat Engine Co. No. 11 of Boston, Commercial Advertiser, N. Y.,	40 00
Mrs. Francis Rupp, Roxbury,	100 00	Howard Lodge, I. O. of O. F., Charlestown,	50 00
Corn Exchange Association, Philadelphia,	600 00	Mun-haha Club, Amesbury and Salisbury vil- lage,	108 00
Citizens of Quincy, by J. Alba Davis,	100 50	Kinsley's & Co.'s Express, Philadelphia,	450 00
Q. N., Boston,	20 00	Employees of Norway Iron Works, Boston,	81 00
C. F., Boston,	1 00	Universalist Church, Middleton, Conn.,	30 00
A. R. Nye, Boston,	5 00	D. N., Boston,	5 00
G. R., Boston,	3 00	A Workingman, Boston,	2 00

H. A. W., Fitchburg,	5 00	Rev. Dr. Albro's Church, Cambridge,	160 85
Baptist Church, Old Cambridge,	51 68	Coughlan, Langley & Co., N. Y.,	25 00
C. W. S., Boston,	3 00	Crew of schooner Flying Dart, lying at Swamp-	
Officers and Employees of Western Railroad,	675 65	scott,	10 00
Citizens of Brookline,	150 00	William D. C. Ellis, North Andover,	13 25
Theodore Leonard, Greenfield, Mass.,	9 00	Dr. Lewis Williams, Pomfret, Conu.,	12 00
S. A. F., Boston,	3 00	M. L. E., Manchester, N. H.,	3 00
Wm. H. Hinchey, Lynchburg, Va.,	5 00	Mrs. Ann G. Morrill, Concord,	15 00
First Parish, Portland, Me.,	204 25	Printer's Union, Boston,	100 00
Employees of Pepperell Mill, Biddeford,	255 00		

## OBSERVANCE OF THE EVENT.

The great calamity was the theme of the citizens as they met in the street, and of the pulpit and the forum. Wherever the voice of the orator was heard, its horrors were rehearsed and its lessons enforced. In Lawrence, on the succeeding Sabbath, every preacher but one delivered a discourse especially adapted to the occasion. These sermons, which were listened to by crowded congregations, ascribed various causes while they appointed similar lessons for the calamity. It is worthy of remark that in five of the discourses the same passage of Scripture served as a text.

## The Voice of the Pulpit.

In the following pages we give a kaleidoscopic view of the theology of Lawrence in connection with the event. It is made up of carefully prepared abstracts of the sermons preached that day:—

## REV. HENRY F. LANE, AT THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH.

*Text*:—"Of those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem? I tell you, Nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish."—Luke 13: 4, 5.

Mr. Lane began by saying that if Jesus in his own person were the preacher of to-day, he would read his text as follows: "Think ye that those upon whom the walls of the Pemberton fell and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Lawrence? I tell you Nay; but except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish." When the tower of Siloam fell, we may well suppose that inquiries were raised essentially the same as those that have been on every tongue and in every heart in our city for the past few days. Some of these inquiries have reference to the relations of the present life and the responsibilities and sympathies of men toward their fellows. Others have reference to the relations of the future life of the soul, of the accountability of man to his Maker, and the disposition of God toward men. The former class are already under the consideration of those who will seek, as far as men are able, the solution of the secondary causes that have resulted in such deplorable misery. The latter class of inquirers belong to this place and this day, and answers must be sought for in the principles of the religion, for the support of which this house has been dedicated, in connection with the Divine attribute. By the light of the text we may interpret the afflicting providence as being permitted by the will of God to serve as a warning for the living. It is in reality a type of what all will deserve and what all will meet. Many of those who have not been involved in the calamity are worse sinners than some who have fallen. The calamity is therefore no proof that those who have suffered were sinners above others. They were indeed sinners, and no injustice has been done those who have fallen by the permissive will of a righteous God. The penitent and impenitent were involved in the same temporal death, and all the living, sooner or later, will experience essentially the same. The penitent have been saved from the perdition of soul. They, as some indeed sang, have "gone home to glory," but the impenitent have per-

ished, soul and body, in accordance with the Divine decree, "The soul that sinneth, it shall surely die." Look, then, on this dread calamity as a type, not only of what all deserve, but what all will meet. All of us must experience the death of body for all have sinned, and all the impenitent will suffer the perdition of the soul. "Repent, for except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish."

REV. DANL. TENNEY, AT THE CENTRAL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

*Text*:—"Ye shall know that I have not done without cause all that I have done, saith the Lord God."—Ezekiel, 14: 23.

As a thunderbolt descending from the midst of an unclouded sky, said he, has the great event of the last week fallen upon our bewildered, awe-stricken spirits. Was its only design (for it came not without a design, the shaft was not aimless.)—was its only design to startle and shock and paralyze? And shall its sequel be that, in the reaction, the pulse shall beat all the more feverishly, and our race after earthly bubbles be only the more eager and insane? Can it be so? Yes, it can be, and so strange are our natures, it will be, if we seek not light from heaven to fall on this awful judgment and reveal to us its aim. One thing we do know, for God has told us so, that he does nothing as a mere exercise of arbitrary power. He does not sport with infinite resources, nor scatter thunderbolts at random. He is wise as he is powerful and gracious. He does not afflict willingly.

One design of God, in sending terrible judgments upon his creatures, is doubtless to impress them with his *own irresistible power and their impotence*, and this is a gracious design. When the omnipotent One lays his finger upon man, he feels—*he is obliged to feel*—that he has no power to contend with the Almighty. His plans are all laid for worldly gain—his machinery is all in motion—hundreds are doing his bidding, and pouring wealth into his coffers. In an instant, in the twinkling of an eye, by the permission of the Being whose will he may not have thought of consulting, every wheel stops, every hand is stilled, and his treasures are buried in one undistinguishable mass. Then the amazed and disappointed man looks on with palsied tongue, but from the depth of his spirit comes a voice, "God is powerful—man is vanity." Ten thousand men had gathered round yonder scene of ruin. With strong hands and manly hearts they rush to rescue the sufferers, whose cries for help rouse them to almost superhuman exertions. "We *will* save you!" they confidentially promise, and press to their work. But what can ten thousand men do to resist the decree of the Almighty? The flames are kindled, and the throng fall back and stand and gaze as powerless as an army of insects. "God is mighty and man is weak," was the thought that thrilled and awed the multitude as they thus stood.

Secondly, God's judgments do not usually come in a miraculous and independent way, but in fulfilment of an invisible law. Their design is to teach us that the laws of God cannot be broken with impunity. God governs by law. If a man thrusts his hand into the flame he will be burned. If the joints of a ship are made insecure the storm will overwhelm it, be the cargo ever so valuable or the lives ever so precious. If the foundations of a factory are not laid deep and broad and its walls are not prepared for their designed pressure, they will fall.

Thirdly, God's judgments teach us that all hopes of happiness built on an earthly base, are *rain*. "Vanity of vanities—all is vanity!" the disappointed man cries out, as his plans are thwarted and his hopes dashed. But God's design is a gracious one in this. It is not to harden the heart to all joy, and paralyze all his hopes, but it is to lead men to build on an immortal base, and then his joys are as secure as the throne of the Eternal. Is it cruel in God to make us see this? In nothing is he so kind. If

this severe blow, that has almost stunned this community, may only lead them to lay up a treasure in heaven, to make the only God their friend and portion, then will it prove our chiefest blessing.

In concluding this discourse our thoughts again run back over the events of the week, and as they do so we tremble. What may be before us we dare not prophesy, since changes so fearful could come so suddenly. What was there on the afternoon of Tuesday last to forebode this ill that was just at hand? The population of this busy city were all at work. The wheels of these immense manufactories were all in motion—the air was filled with the whirl of machinery and the hum of voices. Yonder sepulchre was the theatre of industry, of gayety, of profanity, of projects for the increase of gain, of high hopes. Those nine hundred operatives saw no handwriting on the wall—they felt no trembling beneath. In the hundreds of dwellings from which those men and women went forth at noon, with no farewells of unusual tenderness, all was peace. The children had begun to prepare for their fathers' return—the ovens were filled with bread for the weary laborers. Many a mother and wife was hailing the decline of the sun, that brought nearer the return of the absent ones, when suddenly, as if an earthquake had shaken us, a crash is heard—those high walls creak and tumble and are hid low! It was the work of an instant. Who that gazed on that scene of horror—who that heard those agonizing shrieks for help—who that pressed on with those gathering thousands, can ever cease to shudder at the recollection of that day?

Those mangled forms—those bleeding faces—those glazed eyes—that eager clutch of the half-stiffened hand as it seized on yours, still haunt your dreams, and make you stop and hold your breath in the midst of your waking cares: those crackling flames that mingled with the cries of despair—that we all felt, as we were driven back from the work of rescue—that strange song of Christian triumph, that some of us heard, which the huge pile of ruins could not smother, "I'm going home, I'm going home"—that kneeling form, which some of us saw, with clasped hands, which death had stiffened, in the posture of prayer—all—all of those mysterious scenes still burn on the leaves of memory, and it will take many a day and many a year to extinguish them.

REV. C. E. FISHER, AT THE LAWRENCE STREET CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

Mr. Fisher postponed this discourse on the Sabbath till the following Tuesday, appointed by the mayor as a fast, at which time it was delivered.

*Text:*—"For when thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness."—Isaiah 26: 9.

He alluded to the recent event as a judgment of God. In view of it, we should strive to learn what tribute we can render unto him, and what lessons he teaches us, and how we may best improve them in our future lives. He then gave a graphic description of the accident, the burning ruins, the sufferings, the exciting scenes, the joyful meetings, the search for the lost, the dreadful suspense, the wailing of the wounded, and the universal sorrow which it had caused. He also gave some statistics of the number of dead, wounded, and missing, showing the gratifying fact that of the whole number in the mill, over one-half escaped uninjured. By what means were they so wonderfully preserved? By the protecting and delivering hand of God, without whose notice not a sparrow falls to the ground. Most men believe that this answer is true, while other men deny that the calamity comes within the range of God's providential government of the world. But if God providentially succored those who were saved, how does it appear that this destructive calamity overtook others without his consent or permission? This leads to the inquiry, does God's providential government extend to the calamities of the world, and does it extend to this calamity? The speaker maintained that it did, most assur-

edly. It would be useless and even impossible to separate God and his providential government from the occurrences of life. He then proceeded to prove the truth of the last proposition, and narrated several facts as illustrations. One was substantially as follows: In 1844, on the 18th of October, he was travelling near Lake Erie, when a storm arose, which in severity and fury was almost unprecedented. The water was raised to a flood at Buffalo. Two hours before he arrived, thirty-two steamers had left to cross the lake. On one of them, among the passengers, was a sceptic, who, a few hours before, had boasted that there was no God, no Providential government, and that all the ideas of the Christian religion were false. The boat had not proceeded twenty miles, when the terrible storm overtook it, and threatened all on board with its fury. Among the first to fall on his knees and implore protection and mercy from that God whose very existence he had denied, was this sceptic. Even the heathen would believe in the providence of God, and manifest it by the wearing of charms, in which they trust and rely as a means of procuring divine favor and preserving them from harm. The Jews, brought up under God's special guidance, believed in his providence, as is proved by the inquiries of those who stood by the tomb of Lazarus, and asked, "Could not this man, who opened the eyes of the blind, have caused that even this man should not have died?" God's providential government extends to every person and event, and if men take their place in the divine plan, all will work for their good. A great calamity is no exception; it is a part of God's plan, which involves alike great events and those of less importance. He then proceeded to consider the lessons we are to learn from calamities, and especially from this calamity. The following were spoken of as the most important: 1. That God carries out his providential plan according to his own good pleasure. 2. Men are dependent, and, if they would be blessed of God, they must conform to his divine plan, as set forth by his laws and in the conditions of the Gospel. 3. The uncertainty of life. 4. The value of the soul. 5. The guilt of impenitence. 6. The gratitude we owe to God for his delivering mercy. 7. The duty we owe to the suffering and afflicted. He closed by showing that God designs to teach us the importance of living, not for this world, but for the future, and of the importance of living in conformity to his commandments, so as to be prepared for whatever his providence may develop.

REV. E. M. TAPPAN, AT THE FREEWILL BAPTIST CHURCH.

*Text*:—"Those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem? I tell you, Nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish."—Luke 13: 4, 5.

After describing the accident in a thrilling manner, he proceeded to speak of the lessons to be drawn from the event. 1. The first lesson to be learned was, To beware of the inordinate love of money, for it will result, sooner or later, in our injury. From the testimony before the coroner, now holding an inquest, it appears that the Pemberton Mill was not substantially built; the walls were too thin—much thinner and weaker than those of other mills; the pillars were not strong enough. From these causes, undoubtedly, it fell. It could not have been from settling previously, for the doors and machinery would have given immediate notice of that. True, some testify that it was well constructed; but are they practical men? They state just as they believe. But men who have been engaged in erecting buildings for more than twenty years, who worked on this, declare to us most solemnly that they did not consider it safe; and we must believe them. A civil engineer, or an architect, to be reliable, should be one whose own hands have handled brick and mortar. A plan may look well on paper, which is entirely impracticable. But we blame no one, for we know not whom to

blame. The falling of the mill is all the evidence we want that it was not substantially built. That cannot be gainsaid by theories or opinions of men. Why did it fall? We are told by some that this disaster is a judgment of God upon this city for its wickedness. Well, if I should leap from the bridge into the river, and lose my life, that might just as well be called a judgment of God, because he did not suspend the law of gravitation in my behalf. This mill was built in violation of physical laws, and it fell just as such buildings always must fall. But why was it thus built? Because it would *cost more* to build it substantially. The *inordinate love of money* is the cause of this sad disaster. Those persons did not lose their lives because they were worse than others; that mill did not fall because its owners were worse men than the owners of the other mills in our city; our city does not suffer this calamity because it is worse than all other cities; but because, to save expense, the mill was not properly built. And if there is not a change, other and similar accidents will still occur. There is too much haste to be rich; hardly any one can be trusted. Almost every paper brings intelligence of defaulting clerks and officials, and men absconding with the property of others. An honest man can hardly accumulate now a fortune in a fair manner. He must overreach, or discover some way whereby he can get the advantage of others. Now, unless there is a change in this respect, we may expect scenes like those just witnessed. If a mill is to be built, it must be done a little cheaper than others, so as to have the advantage. Our State should appoint Building Commissioners to look to these public buildings. I would not add to the feeling; it is deep enough. I hear that some are leaving other mills in our city, through fear of their falling. The other mills are no more likely to fall because this one has fallen.

2. The second lesson I would suggest we should learn is, To set the affections supremely on things spiritual, that we may be prepared to meet our God whenever he may call for us to leave this present state of existence. I do not mean that we are not to love our friends, that we are not to love this beautiful world, that we are not to love this present life and enjoy its good things, or that we are not to engage in business here with earnestness and zeal; but that while we love these, there should be affection in the heart above them all for God, for his law, for purity of heart, for heaven. These temporal things pass away. Last Tuesday morning the owners of the Pemberton Mill thought they had property there worth more than half a million of dollars. When the sun went down on that day, where was it? If they had loved this supremely, how wretched they must be to-day. So we see, however successful we may be in accumulating, in a single hour may be lost the reward of years of anxiety and toil, and perhaps the price of purity, of honesty, of health, of the soul. Why, then, love these things supremely? They will leave us, or we shall them. I cannot say one word against the tender relation of husband and wife, of parents and children, of brother and sister. We should love these fervently, but love God supremely, for from him there will then be no separation.

3. Another lesson we should learn from this appalling calamity is, *Trust in God*. I would not have man lose sight of his own responsibility, or have him forget that God works by means in accordance with laws, or that he must do his duty, and not rely presumptuously on God. But recognizing this, and conscious that he is doing his part faithfully, I would have him then trust confidently in his Father above, and feel sure that all things shall work together for his best good, whether we live or die. We need such a trust as this. Those who were at work in the Pemberton, did all they could to extricate themselves from the ruins, and I believe God helped them. I do not see how otherwise it could be possible for so many to escape.

4. Once more: By this sad calamity we should be taught the *importance of being diligent in our labors as Christians*. Prepared or unprepared, those killed in the Pemberton Mill are now in the spirit world, where they are beyond



our efforts to benefit them. Perhaps some of us know of some of them over whom we might have exerted an influence for good which we did not. It is now too late. Perhaps, too, there were among them some who neglected their Christian duties, saying, to-morrow shall be as this day and more abundant. But to them to-morrow did not bring the privileges of that day; they were ushered into eternity. Now they did not sin above all others in this respect — perhaps not above us; and if we are not more faithful laborers in our Father's vineyard, our day, too, will soon be over, and life's work here all unperformed. He closed by urging reliance upon God, and a spirit of thankfulness rather than repining.

REV. GEORGE PACKARD, D.D., AT GRACE (EPISCOPAL) CHURCH.

*Text:* — “Or those eighteen upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem? I tell you Nay.”— Luke 13: 4, 5.

The preacher first remarked upon the appalling event which had caused so great sadness and sorrow in the community, and had awakened the deepest commiseration and sympathy in Christian hearts all over our land. What a special meaning had been given to that sentence in the Burial Service—“In the midst of life we are in death.” What emphasis of meaning to such passages from God's word as “Boast not thyself of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth;” “There is but a step between me and death.” Always true, but how much of truth they are now seen to contain. In the recent disaster, which has filled so many hearts with sorrow, and from which so many escaped as by a miracle, we cannot say why one was taken and another left, why this family are mourning in bitterness of sorrow on account of the loss of one or more of their number, and other families were all preserved, and upon that memorable evening were permitted to unite their voices or hearts in thanksgiving to God for his gracious interposition for their rescue. Our duty is to note, not to explain, the events which are occurring on the earth; not to assign the reasons which actuated the Divine Mind in their accomplishment. The wisest and the best of men have been confounded by the providence of God. The prophets acknowledged that the most signal dealings of Providence were involved in inscrutable mystery. The prophet Jeremiah says, “Righteous art thou, O Lord, yet let me talk with thee of thy judgments; wherefore do the wicked prosper?” The wherefores have perplexed the closest students of the operations of the divine government; and yet the wherefores men rashly, presumptuously assign, interpreting God's dealings as if they were as easily comprehended as the commonest transactions among men. The preacher specially remarked upon that proneness in the human heart, to make providential events determine the character of men. Job's friends acting upon the false principle, that this life is one of retribution, charged inquiry upon him, because of the calamities that overwhelmed him. The Saviour condemned this same erroneous judgment among his contemporaries. There is a vast difference, said the preacher, between holding the doctrine of a Providence that is equally involved in the fall of a sparrow and a nation, and presumptuously daring to assign the special reasons which influenced the actings of God in the particular events of his providence. It is one thing to acknowledge the hand of God in such events as clearly manifest his special agency, and quite another to pronounce upon the character and purposes of such events. Well is it for us, said he, that this is not a world of retribution. Should God be strict to mark our iniquities as a community or as individuals, and should mercies be withheld or judgments be inflicted according to our true deservings, we might well tremble at the changed condition which a righteous retribution would award. Our prayer is, and should be, “O Father, for the glory of thy name, turn from us all those

evils we most justly deserve." The appalling catastrophe of the past week has moved the sympathies and called forth the earnest prayers of many Christian hearts all over our land. The prayer has been offered in many assemblies of God's people, which have been convened in our larger cities and towns during the past week of special prayer, that God would make this awful event the means of blessing to very many in this community. In this prayer, surely, we should unite, not with our lips merely, but with our hearts. In our united service, and as we bow before the God of all grace and consolation, we can, we should pray for the many almost miraculously preserved, that their hearts may be duly impressed with God's merciful goodness, and that they may devote the residue of their days to an humble, holy, and obedient walking before him; we can, we should pray for the many who are passing days of distress and nights of anguish, that they may be prepared for God's will, whether it be life or death; we can, we should pray for the many who mourn the loss of some one or more dear to them, that, deprived of earthly friends and supports, they may go to Him, who, when truly sought, is found, and will prove an unfailing friend, an unyielding support; we can, we should pray for the many among us who need to be aroused from their moral stupidity and indifference, that God would so bless to them this startling event, that they may be awakened to a sense of their danger and their duty, and be led to give their attention to those things which belong to their everlasting peace. He closed by urging benevolence as an accompaniment to prayers, and a preparation for death.

REV. H. H. HARTWELL, AT THE GARDEN STREET METHODIST CHURCH.

*Text:*—"Who among you will give ear to this? who will hearken, and hear for the time to come? Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the robbers? did not the LORD, he against whom we have sinned? for they would not walk in his ways, neither were they obedient unto his law. Therefore he hath poured upon him the fury of his anger, and the strength of battle: and it hath set him on fire round about, yet he knew not; and it burned him, yet he laid it not to heart.—Isaiah 42: 23, 25.

In his exordium, Mr. Hartwell explained the connection of his text with a history of God's ancient people Israel, their transgression and consequent misery. They gave themselves up to the destructive vices of a false religion, and refused obedience to the commands of the living God. God called, entreated, and wept over them by his servants, but they would not hear. He then resorted to more severe means and visited them with awful judgments. But in all his judgments God is not vindictive or revengeful, but only sympathetic. He pities, while he strikes, but he must be obeyed. But the allictive developments of Divine Providence are designed for our good. They show us our dependence on God; they warn us against sin; they lead us to repentance, and to the love and worship of the true God.

But the text is not only historically descriptive of the ancient Israelites, but is a prophetic declaration of the state of the people under the Gospel dispensation, referring to Israel as an example. In the application of this subject, in view of the recent calamity, the speaker made some fitting remarks on each of the following points: 1. We are a people highly favored of heaven. 2. We are a people deeply guilty. 3. God has borne long with us. 4. He has warned us often of our sinfulness. 5. The awful stroke has come. In his remarks on the fourth proposition, he alluded to the great fire of last August, which resulted in the death of three men; to the sudden death of several young men recently; and last of all to the event of the past week. This catastrophe was no surprise to him; and in this connection he referred to a sermon preached by him on the first Sabbath of the year, in which he expressed an impression that the present was to be an eventful year, and one fraught with great and unforeseen occurrences to the

people here ; and also to some remarks made by Mr. Seaver, a young man who is numbered among the injured, last Sabbath, in which he referred to the great fire, and said he believed it was to be followed by other calamities. In speaking on the last point he said God was seen in this event. We may talk about natural causes, but the hand of God was clearly seen. He, however, in this part of his discourse, as previously, disclaimed any belief that this was in punishment of any specific wickedness.

He next alluded to the effect which this would produce — it would either harden or soften us. Who will give ear? Who will reform? Who will lay this to heart? Think of the dead and wounded! Repent, seek God, and prepare for any event. "This year shalt thou die."

He then spoke of our duty and of the gratitude which is due from those who escaped, and thankfulness for the safety of friends. And our sympathy was due to the mourners, the wounded, and the strangers who were seeking the lost; and our praise to those who had tendered generous assistance. He here spoke in complimentary terms of the firemen, of those in Boston and elsewhere who had furnished kindly aid, of the people of Lawrence generally, and of the City Government. He also expressed his abhorrence of the actions of some, instancing the selling of liquor, profanity, stealing, etc., which had prevailed to some extent. He narrated some interesting but mournful facts in regard to the deaths of several members of the church and congregation. Among these were William Metcalf, Augusta A. Ashworth, and John C. Dearborn. After alluding to the wounded and graphically describing some of the scenes of the catastrophe, he closed by saying, May God revive the work of religion more in our midst, and may we all finally meet, where we shall be safe amid the crush of worlds and wreck of matter, is the honest and earnest prayer of your humble servant and pastor.

REV. J. H. M'CARTY AT THE FIRST M. E. CHURCH.

*Text*:—"Of those eighteen upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men, that dwelt in Jerusalem? I tell you, Nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.—Luke 13: 4, 5."

In commencing, the speaker said that the recent calamity, with the arduous labors and loss of rest which it had occasioned, had wellnigh disqualified him for the duties of the day. He would gladly lie down and rest, did not duty call him to his post. For my part, said he, when God was sounding a trumpet from heaven, to awaken into spiritual life the thousands around us who are at ease in their sins — sins which are paralyzing and corroding the soul, I dare not think of being silent, for if ever the truth was preached from the desk, or in the pulpits of this city, certainly it ought to be now.

The Saviour does not discountenance that view which regards many calamities, such as is referred to by himself, as judicial inflictions of Divine Providence for flagrant violations of God's law. The Scriptures in many places endorse such a sentiment—the reply of our Lord in this very place does, as is seen in the words, "Unless ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." He aims only at correcting the *abuse* of such a sentiment, in attributing every such accident to a special and direct visitation of the Almighty in punishment of unparalleled crime — an opinion exceedingly uncharitable, which was prevalent among the Jewish people respecting such calamities. He furthermore endorses the idea that God would visit sin with signal punishment, irrespective of who is the greatest sinner. But how loud the call to contrition before God, by all, in view of the fearful providence that seems to hang over this city. What a fearful display of the omnipotence of Jehovah! How all human skill and power are set aside!

The casualty of the 10th inst. is without a parallel in the annals of our country. It is to be hoped such a scene may never be witnessed again anywhere. That terrible

cry, rung through our streets by a thousand voices, "The Pemberton Mills have fallen in, and seven hundred persons are killed!" Then the universal panic that seized the whole population; the wide-spread consternation that paralyzed many, and excited to frenzy others; the multitudes that rushed with bleeding hearts, mourning and sobbing aloud, that reminded one of Egypt when her first born were slain, rushing to the scene of ruin only to be tortured with the shrieks of the wounded and the sight of the dead. "Rachels weeping for their children, and would not be comforted because they were not." Children calling in vain for parents buried in worse than ocean grave. Sisters mourning over lost brothers, and brothers over perished sisters. Those curling flames bursting from caverns of fire within, and lighting up the very heavens, while scores of dead ones were doomed to feed the insatiable element, and add to those fires that sent a thrill of unutterable anguish to every heart. To call your minds back to such scenes gives your spirits pain, but the recollection is vivid though painful. Heaven intends we should feel; we forget too easy. Mystery hangs over this affair. We call it an inscrutable Providence. Such I will at least call it until we have the verdict of the jury, and even then would not dare to call it by any other name. There is a wide difference, however, between human carelessness and love of money, and Divine Providence. If a man hangs himself, or drinks himself to death, it ought not to be charged upon the Almighty. Humanity is here responsible, though God may overrule for good the errors of man, and cause his wrath to praise him. Upon this phase of the subject it becomes us not now to speak at length. Accidents occur that no human sagacity could foresee. This may or may not now be the case. We shall get the truth, doubtless, in reference to this matter. The moral of the question is uppermost in the speaker's heart. We place ourselves in danger in a thousand ways, and ever and anon the destroying angel touches the elements around us, and under the withered bough, or falling building, the raging flame, or walking pestilence, or the furious thunderbolt, men are smitten unto death, and ushered, prepared or unprepared, into an eternity that knows no end. But even if men are to blame for owning and using unsafe property, thus putting in jeopardy hundreds of lives, which for the honor of the race I hope is not the case, still we have a warning in the event which a wise and holy God permits—which can be, and it is to be hoped will be, blessed to the good of the whole land. The question in every heart should be, "What would my condition now be, had it been my lot to have met death in the ruins of the Pemberton Mills?" We should return to him our grateful acknowledgments that so many escaped, bruised and mangled though they are. We should gather our families—who have them—around us, and offer to him the homage of our hearts for saving them from such a terrible doom. We should implore him with deep penitence of heart to visit us no more with such a fearful judgment. The whole city should mourn. We should open our hands and freely dispense whatever we have to relieve the sufferings of the unfortunate; and we should not cease to hear them in our prayers to a throne of sovereign mercy. We should receive this as a stroke of the Almighty to make us feel that God is above and ruleth in the heavens. As Christians, we should be more faithful, and as sinners, we should repent of our sins. If we heed not such a dispensation, then what shall we heed? If these judgments bring us not to our thoughts and feelings, God will either send others, severer, or say: "Ephraim is joined to his idols; let him alone!" if so, fearful must be our doom.

The speaker closed with a direct appeal to his congregation in regard to their religious interests, urging repentance and faith; basing his plea on their intelligence, their consciousness of what is right and what is wrong, what they ought not to do and what they ought to do to insure their own salvation.

REV. WM. L. JENKINS, AT THE UNITARIAN CHURCH.

*Text*: — Bless the Lord, O my soul: and all that is within me, bless his holy name. — Psalms 103 : 1.

In commencing, the speaker said that after the awful crisis just passed through, he felt at a loss of words, and needed time and rest to collect his troubled thoughts. But he would speak heart to heart as to brothers, and turn their minds from the dark veil over the providence of God, to the cause for thanksgiving and gratitude — the sun above the cloud.

God has indeed been near us, said he, and pressed to our hearts as perhaps never before, disclosing how thin is the veil between the two worlds. Still we can look up more than ever before in gratitude and praise. The imagination hardly conceives of, and history hardly records, such a miraculous preservation of life. Who, that sees that blackened desolation now, could think one had escaped? The Pemberton Mills fell through wholly natural causes. The great physical laws of God were violated in the erection of that building. God does not choose now to work miracles or suspend the laws of gravitation, to save us from our weakness or ignorance. 'Tis the blackest blasphemy, and argues a hard theology, that dries up the warm juices of the heart, and debases the imperial reason to drivelling superstition, to say that this calamity is God's visitation upon us, or his judgment, or his wrath — that its cause was not physical but moral — that the Irish are so drunken and licentious as to draw down God's wrath — or that the Sabbath was so violated here, or the community so wicked. If so, God would have killed a higher and richer class than those poor, ignorant Irish. The building fell from some error in construction, and the whole world demands that the cause be searched out, that every mill be thoroughly tested from foundation to cap-stone, and another such catastrophe made impossible. Better sink the capital of the whole country than run the risk of such a scene! I blame no man, nor body of men, but the laws of God were broken by man. The salvation of so many hundreds was through the infinite love of God. With this thought we have come here for thanksgiving. When we felt the utter despair that made the warm life blood die away, it was at the thought that all those seven hundred or eight hundred people were lost in the ruins. Now, see God's mercy. As we go over the list of those of this society, every one of whom we supposed buried up, very many, but not all, are safe. When the very heavens seemed falling, the dead weight of despair was lifted. Are we grateful enough? He alluded to the almost miraculous escape of the agent of the mills, the fervent friend of the society, and of the leader of their choir, and for the salvation of their lives he thanked the goodness of God. Then there was another dear friend, beloved and respected by all, saved to his wife and child; then, one of the trustees of the church, father and son, devoted with their families to the interest of the church; then five others, overseers, recovered from most perilous positions. I can conceive, said he, of no more miraculous escape; 'tis the smile of God on those blackened ruins. Of the awful experience of these eleven, — the first sensation when it came upon them like a tornado or earthquake, or the sound of Heaven's artillery, as if the end of the world had come, moving the instinct to escape by whatever way possible; the mad rush from the impending ruin; the suspense like the stillness of eternity, when seconds seemed hours; the strained faculties, by a reaction stunned and paralyzed for a moment; the awakening to consciousness, and the awful joy, that they stood on solid ground and breathed God's free air; the next thought, of home and the beloved, to send them word of their safety; the involuntary, perhaps unconscious, prayer to God; and then, mingled with the ecstatic joy, the up-look to the crushing building; the stifled wailings within and without; the thought of so many they knew buried up alive; the

wild delirium, so much misery and so much joy, when they were brought face to face with God's providence,—of these individual experiences, each so different and each so solemn, they cannot tell. But they should remember that God's hand has consecrated them, that they have been called by an almost superhuman voice to bless him in life as well as in words. He would not speak of the multitude of the dead, or the fearful scenes of that night. The reality had not yet but must gradually break upon us. He saw God's mercy in the strength he gave to the unharmed to labor, and to look on scenes no words can describe. After speaking of the great love of God manifested towards the living, the preacher alluded to two persons who had been taken from this church by the calamity. But it was not for us to sit down in sackcloth and ashes, make long prayers, and keep severe fasts to deprecate God's wrath; continued disasters should enforce the command to "love one another." We should be more united, more loving, more helping, more assiduous to do good, more devoted to the *living*, more like the good Samaritan. To that higher mansion, said he, in concluding, we trust these souls, and look up from the earthly house of this tabernacle to that building of God, "a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

REV. M. J. STEERE, AT THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH.

*Text*:—"In the day of adversity consider."—Eecl. 7: 14.

Lawrence, said he, was now in a way to be known through the wide world. She had, during the past week, experienced such a day of tribulation as never of the kind had been, and perhaps never would be. We were apt to think present extremes greatest, but sure he was that, in all his reading, he had never fallen upon any thing taking place during the regular routine of peaceful, industrious life,—so fearful, appalling, as that which now hung the city in mourning. Indeed, said he, so far from being liable to extravagance in our estimate of our city's sorrow, we believe that none of us have really awakened to a full apprehension of it. And it is well that our sensibilities should be partially stunned by a blow so terrible, lest we be unnerved for the high and laborious duties which it devolves upon us. The speaker would not harrow the feelings of his audience. They needed anodynes rather than stimulants. Many of them had been laboriously active by day, wakefully nervous by night. Sleep had fled their pillows. Some of them had hovered over the wounded and the dying, like ministering angels, others would have gladly done so had God given them the *nerve*. Their duties were not yet all done. But they were needing rest—rest in God. He hoped they would find it to-day, for lo! "He giveth his beloved sleep." Days of adversity were referred to, and prominently that of the previous autumn, when Lawrence was enveloped in a cloud of cindery smoke, and threatened with being made a mass of devouring flames. That was a day of adversity, when her citizens were running to and fro distracted, firemen were fainting with over-exertion, and several persons were killed by the falling of ruins, and when fire was, by the ministering wind, cast into God's goodly sanctuary. Dark, indeed, was that day of adversity: but it was bright as the light, compared with the darkness that then overspread the city. What though the sufferers were generally foreigners? What though they were not highly connected? What though in this respect, with a few exceptions, this disaster differed, *toto calo*, from the Norwalk tragedy, or the burning of the *Lexington*? Should we therefore be the less moved? Nay, but the more. Therefore were the claims upon sympathy stronger. So the speaker felt as he saw two ladies bending over a poor German in the hall, who could not speak our language, like the twin cherubim over the mercy seat. We cannot feel, said he, as do they whose dear ones have been borne away from them, and, perhaps buried, unidentified as yet,—now, perhaps, still lying deep in the chaotic grave in which they were

buried alive. Nor can we feel as do they who lie with broken limbs and rent muscles, waiting, perhaps, to die; or as they who watch over them with a hope that will not yield. But we can feel sufficiently to move us to do for the suffering all that is demanded by our holy religion. Another visit of the speaker to the ruins entombing the charred bodies of some of the brethren, and over which the storm was weaving a winding-sheet of snow, had doubly convinced him that our sensibilities were for the time mercifully stunned, lest we be crushed beneath our sorrow; but still indifference were as criminal as it were impossible; Judas' hanging himself was scarcely more criminal than Peter's indifferently warming himself, while his Lord was being abused in Pilate's hall.

In this day of adversity, said the speaker, we might consider the marvel that so many should have been saved. Did an angel lead them out? We might also consider the glory of Christianity, as we understand it, as affording abundant ground for cheerful submission to even such a day of darkness. He would say nothing of other theologies. Let them get comfort from them who can. He would cling to the universal fatherhood. It was not for us to see the victims of fall and fire and suffocation dropping from the misery of that awful scene into misery endless. He did not see in the death of those who perished in the sight of their friends,—who went to eternity as in a fiery furnace, a consignment of their souls to endless pain. Oh, no; he saw their sufferings ended with their dying, as that they could suffer in the future only whatever would be needful to discipline them to holiness; as he saw the poor souls crying and burning and dying, he felt that dying was to them relief. We should consider a duty growing out of such adversity. For our benevolent activity it had opened a wide door. Here the speaker appealed to the charity of his audience. "O brethren!" said he, "if we have escaped the terrible scene—if our immediate friends are not involved in it—if our family circle is still complete, how, I pray you, can we better express our gratitude to God than by ministering to the wants of the poor sufferers. Oh, what is money, counted by the lurid light of flames burning up our shrieking brethren!" In closing, he said, "If I address any who are hoarding, and are becoming callous as the pile increases, let them look at the scene of suffering to-day, till the admonition of the mangled and charred dead, and the sorrowful living, pierces to the centre of their hearts, and gives vent to the pent-up milk of their kindness. And let us all be willing to divide our *pittance* with the victims of destitution carved out by the hand of terror. But enough! In this day of adversity consider. So much impromptu. No more."

In the afternoon he spoke on the same subject from the text "And Aaron held his peace."

#### REV. MR. DINSMOOR, AT THE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

At this church, Rev. Mr. Dinsmoor, the pastor, preached a discourse, intended principally to commemorate the recent event. He selected for his text a portion of the passage of Scripture adopted by several other clergymen as the foundation of their discourses. "And except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish."—Luke 13: 5.

He described the fallen condition of man, and spoke of the recent event as a judgment of God, being brought upon the world in consequence of the sin which characterized it. He maintained the necessity of falling upon Christ for salvation. We are all, he said, deserving of death, and, but for God's merey, we should receive it. Our only way of safety was by fleeing to God and repenting, and, unless we do that, we "shall all likewise perish."

## REV. JAMES O'DONNELL AT THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY (CATHOLIC).

This church was dressed in mourning, and was filled to overflowing. After announcing the number of the killed, and drawing consolation from the fact that nearly all had received the last rites of the church, Father O'Donnell said, —

“It is remarkable, that of the nine hundred persons at work in that mill, where not one could hope to escape, so small a proportion were killed or injured. Oh, how I should wish at this time to remind those who escaped of the vows and promises they made under those burning ruins! But it is of little consequence when we are called upon to die, or where, if we are prepared; but it is of great importance to be fit to die at any time; and I cannot give you better advice, than to be always ready. We cannot know the hour when God will summon us. He says to all, Watch and pray, for ye know not the hour when ye are to be summoned. To the man who kneels down every morning and implores the protection of God, death is always welcome, because God calls him, and it will be impossible to find him unprepared. Oh, I wish those persons who never go to church on Sundays would take warning from this, and improve in the future. In proportion to the weight of this sorrow, God Almighty has poured consolation into the hearts of the bereaved, to make them surrender their friends with more resignation. Four thousand persons die every hour of the day and night from one end of the year to the other. We should always implore the mercy of God, for many a man who goes out in the enjoyment of life and health in the morning, at night is dead. I need not remind you of the many instances in your own lives where the protection of the Holy Virgin has been manifest. See how a little intimation from her induces her Son to change water into wine. If you wish for the intercession of the saints—if you desire the protection of the Blessed Virgin, you must try and obtain the friendship of her Son by obeying all his commands. I will recommend to all persons to return to their work, and not allow the recent event to prey on their minds. You are all under the protection of God. No matter where you are, you cannot die before the time appointed, unless you are so depraved as to put an end to your own lives. And, as you are under the protection of God, and are always safe till he wills that you should die, I advise you to discourage by your example all attention to those groundless rumors and alarms, which can only excite fear among the weak and simple. Let all return to their work, and, my word for it, not a person will die a single instant sooner than God himself has designed. It is a doctrine of our faith. And when the time of one's death does come, not all the doctors of the earth can save him. Let me again request all to set their houses in order, and live prepared to die, and then death can have no terrors for them. Now there is every reason to praise God that he has so tempered this blow with mercy; and we have great cause to thank those around us for their generous attentions to our sick, which have been gratefully noticed by those who have been continual witnesses of their charity. I recommend them to your prayers, that God will reward them according to their generosity. As an instance of it, I might allude to the time, two years since, when the mills were stopped, and hundreds, with no work to do, were at the mercy of poverty. During that winter not a single person in Lawrence was sent to the poorhouse, but all were maintained by the generosity of those around them. And now the American people here have done all in their power to relieve and comfort us; they have wept, they have lamented, and they have succored and assisted us. It is Almighty God who raises up those friends for you. He has provided them to extend the hand of sympathy and attention to those in affliction, at a time like that described by the prophet, when Rachel bewaileth her children, and will not be comforted, for she hath them not. Pray for them, I entreat



you. Let your prayers ascend for all; they will avail just as much for those who are absent as for those who are before you, for those who are away upon the stormy sea as well as for those who are at your side. Pray that the Almighty God will grant them heaven, and that the gates may stand open to them, and that they may receive the joys of Paradise."

REV. MR. TAAFFE, AT THE CHURCH OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION (CATHOLIC).

This church was also hung in mourning, and crowded with people. After the customary exercises, Father Taaffe spoke as follows:—

"Dearly beloved, who of us could have believed last Sabbath that, ere another Sunday's sun had risen, such a change had been wrought among us,—such a calamity had befallen our people. Feelings are such at this time that I cannot speak in detail, neither do I wish to harrow up your sympathies. We meet this morning to render our prayers in behalf of those whose souls have been called from earth so suddenly. At the same time we will contribute freely to aid those suffering, and our prayers shall be given to strengthen the widows and orphans in their overwhelming grief. I trust that many of those dear ones who have so suddenly been taken from us, had even time enough to make their peace with God, and that he will have mercy on them. Those who had not, I trust God will take to his home, as the 'Shepherd his lambs,' and be merciful to them. We give thanks to Almighty God that we have a Mother. She followeth us with prayers to the throne of grace. We are all children of that Mother, and she will never cease to render supplications when her children are in trouble and affliction. I would request that the names of all who have perished be given me that they may be entered upon the list of last 'All Souls' Day.' We shall pray for them every Mass, and the names will be announced next Sabbath. I have received a proclamation from the mayor of our city, requesting all to set apart Tuesday next as a day of fasting and prayer. But the Catholic Church needs no such proclamation; she does not recognize any authority in a matter of this nature; her children are ever ready and willing to aid the unfortunate, without being 'authorized' to do it."

#### A Day of Fasting and Prayer.

In all the churches on the Sabbath was read a proclamation of the mayor appointing a day to be observed by a cessation of business, and appropriate services in the several churches. The announcement was made public through the newspapers of Monday, and every citizen of Lawrence favored an action which seemed to promise a result at once so soothing and beneficial. The following was the

#### PROCLAMATION.

"CITY OF LAWRENCE, Jan. 14, 1860.

"In view of the great calamity which has fallen upon our city like a thunderbolt from a cloudless sky, crushing it with a weight of misery which no earthly power can raise; shrouding it in a cloud of anguish which no human hand can dispel; binding in chains of woe which despair even cannot break, I recommend and earnestly beseech that on Tuesday next, all residents of Lawrence abstain from their usual avocations and labors.

"That they set apart that day as one of prayer.

"That the people meet in their respective places of worship, to join in those religious ceremonies which the occasion demands, and there publicly ask of God that he would temper our affliction with mercy; that he would restore to health and strength those now languishing in pain and suffering; that he would provide with a father's care for

the orphans and widows; that he would comfort and sustain those bereaved of husbands and of wives, of parents and of children; that he would so order the signal destruction of life and property, that good may come out of this great evil; and that this, our experience, may teach wisdom throughout the land.

“DANIEL SAUNDERS JR., Mayor.”

The day thus set apart was mild and springlike. The sky was clear, and the sun shed a mantle of cheerful warmth over the city, wherein were hearts upon which rested a leaden weight of woe—hearts cold and sad in the midst of all the sunshine and sympathy which a kindly Providence and loving friends bestowed. The appalling catastrophe, one short week before, with its train of melancholy events, had subdued the worldly zealous, humbled the haughty, and brought the high and the low into closer fellowship than ages of prosperity could have done. There were none so poor but could add their mite to the general fund for the relief of their suffering fellows, nor yet so rich as to despise the counsel that cometh from above. To this source they appealed for assistance. Christian people of all denominations betook themselves to their respective churches, acknowledging their dependence upon the Giver of all good, and drawing consolation from the lips of the preacher.

Services were performed in all the churches, and the prayer-meetings, continued through the day and evening, were imbued with that spirit of earnestness which could only be awakened by some event that laid hold of the hearts of the people. The city was draped with emblems of mourning, and shrouded with an impenetrable gloom. The fears of some that a day's liberty would be largely abused proved groundless. Nearly all of the population, not confined by the care of the suffering, were abroad. They filled the churches and thronged the streets, and thousands visited the City Hall. No scene of drunkenness or ribaldry disturbed the mournful spirit of the day. So far as could be observed, the demeanor of every person was consistent and appropriate. Too many hearts were wounded or warned to allow of levity or of much indifference. The places of business were closed, the hum of industry was not heard, and the streets wore a Sabbath-day appearance, sanctified by an unusual solemnity. In the house of God a deep interest prevailed. To many it was an occasion of unparalleled moment. To those who in this calamity, saw so near the hand of God, indifference was impossible.

#### Mass for the Dead.

At the Church of the Immaculate Conception (Catholic, Rev. Mr. Taaffe), Thursday was set apart and most appropriately observed. The house was well filled and the services were of that solemn and impressive nature peculiar to the Catholic Church. The Very Rev. Mr. Williams, Vicar General of the Diocese, officiated, assisted by Rev. Mr. Roach, of Randolph, as deacon, and Rev. Mr. Lynch, of Boston, as sub-deacon. Rev. Mr. Healy of Boston Cathedral, acted as Master of Ceremonies. Father McElroy, S. J., of Boston, delivered a discourse upon the occasion. The drift of the sermon was to afford consolation and strengthen confidence. He counselled those afflicted not to grieve, but to receive their affliction from the hand of God their heavenly Father, whose mysterious ways we could not divine. He spoke of the wellspring of charity, flowing freely, and showed the cause for gratitude to God for inspiring men to relieve the wants of the suffering. The Church did not lose sight of its children even in the next world, and thus they were collected together in its sacred edifice to pray for their repose. A holy sacrifice was offered for them to-day. He closed by showing what a solemn warning was thus given to all, and urged his hearers to take heed and prepare for death and for any event of life. The clergymen present, besides those already mentioned, were

Rev. Messrs. Taaffe, O'Donnell, of Lawrence, McNulty, of North Boylston, John O'Donnell, of Nashua, McDonnell, of Haverhill, O'Connor, of Lowell, Wiget, of Boston, Hamilton, of Charlestown, Carroll, of Foxboro', Flood, of Watertown, Crudder, of Lowell, Leach, of Newburyport, Gray, of Lowell, and Strain, of Chelsea. The choir from the cathedral of Boston sang Mozart's Requiem in solemn, beautiful style.

#### Burial of the Dead.

Several funerals had taken place on Saturday, attended with a haste which betokened too plainly the sad exigencies of the case. Coffin-makers and undertakers had been at work day and night, and the harvest of death, garnered during the past week, had, in gathering the living to their fathers, ploughed furrows in the bosom of many a country graveyard, and of many a once happy family. One coffin-maker stated that he had supplied thirty-nine coffins for the victims of the disaster who received "Christian burial," besides a number of boxes in which the remains of several of the unknown and unwept had been buried.

Nine bodies and parts of the remains of others were buried in two boxes, in the Lawrence cemetery. The body of Samuel Rolfe was taken to Newburyport for interment; that of Miss Irene Crosby to Chatham, Mass. The funeral of Catharine Sweeney took place on the Saturday after the accident. Some half a dozen men, and an equal number of women, followed the remains to the grave on foot, the women wringing their hands and giving vent to the most bitter lamentations as the simple cortege moved through the streets.

The funeral of Miss Ann Cullen, one of the victims, took place from the residence of her brother, in Essex Street, Chelsea, on Friday. She died shortly after being rescued from the ruins. Her sister, who had not seen her for years, left Chelsea on the afternoon of the sad catastrophe for the purpose of meeting her at the mill. She arrived in Lawrence just at the time the building fell, and in the morning, among the remains of those conveyed to the City Hall, she recognized the body of her sister.

#### The Funeral of Lafayette F. Branch.

Mr. Branch was the only overseer who perished. His funeral ceremonies were performed on the 15th of January at the Lawrence Street Congregational Church, Rev. Dr. C. E. Fisher officiating. The funeral was attended by a portion of the City Government, and a numerous assemblage of the congregation, of which the deceased was long a member. The corpse, attired in citizen's dress, was enclosed in a black walnut coffin, which bore a plate inscribed with the name, date of death, and age of the deceased. The remains, though five days inanimate, presented a remarkably lifelike appearance. Prior to the removal of the body from the former residence of the deceased, No. 2 Pemberton Block, services were performed by Rev. Mr. Fisher. The coffin was borne into the church and placed upon an elevated pedestal in front of the altar. The bearers were Thomas S. Winn, J. M. Reed, John Tatterson, late overseers in the Pemberton Mill, R. M. Hobbs, George A. Fuller, and Caleb T. Briggs. As the coffin passed up the aisle, the organ pealed forth a solemn dirge. The services commenced by the singing of the 665th hymn of the collection:—

"Thou God of hope! to thee we bow;  
Thou art our refuge in distress;  
The husband of the widow now,  
The father of the fatherless."

Selections of Scripture were read by the preacher, after which he addressed the

mourners in words of consolation, and in the prayer which followed, invoked the blessing of the Almighty upon the widow and the fatherless children of the deceased.

#### LIST OF THE DEAD AND INJURED.

The following list of the dead, badly injured, slightly injured, and missing or unidentified, has been officially revised and corrected, and is believed to be accurate. It was compiled by Hon. John R. Rollins, Ex-Mayor. It will be seen that the total number of dead and missing, is ninety; of this number, seventy-six bodies have been recovered and recognized, thirteen are yet unrecognized, leaving but one missing.

Dead—Total, 76. — *Total 109.*

Mary Ann Bannon,	Lizzie Towne,
Bridget Bronder,	Ellen Mahoney,
William Jordan,	Orin C. Nash,
Joanna Cronan,	Samuel Rolfe,
Irene Crosby,	Bridget Loughrey,
Hannah Shea,	Morris C. Palmer,
Margaret Sullivan,	Matthew C. Ryan,
Dennis Leonard,	Hannah Mulinex,
Wm. Metcalf,	Mary McCann,
John C. Dearborn,	Catherine Cooney,
Peter Callahan,	Ellen Sullivan,
Bernard Hollifield,	Ellen Dunneen,
Margaret Hamilton,	Mary Dooley,
Ellen Colbert,	James Hart,
Mary Griffin,	James Hartigan,
Catherine Hannon,	Catherine O'Brien,
Michael O'Brien,	Mary Nee,
Margaret Foley,	Mary Murphy,
Mary Culloten,	Catherine Sweeney,
Kate Conners,	Margaret Coleman,
Margaret Fallon,	Mary Barrett,
Joanna Hurley,	Elizabeth Dunn,
Mary Howard,	Catherine Harrigan,
Martin Hughes,	Augusta Ashworth,
Margaret Corcoran,	Ellen Ahern,
Bridget Crosby,	Patrick Connor,
Catherine Kelleher,	Lafayette F. Branch,
Eliza Orr,	Ellen Conners,
Julia Roberts,	Ellen Roach,
Bridget Ryan,	Margaret Turnor,
Wm. Kane,	Mary Burke,
Wm. Adolph,	Bridget Gallan,
Elizabeth R. Kimball,	Lorinda Gilson,
Richard Lunney,	Jane Thomas,
Ann Sullivan,	Katy Clarke,
Mary Jewett,	John Hughes,
Richard Midgely,	Maggie J. Smith,
Ellen Hickey,	Celia A. Stevens.

#### Missing or Unidentified.—Total, 14.

Bridget Kelly,	Joseph Baily,
John McNab,	Henry Harrigan,
Asenath S. Martin,	Dora Harold,
Sarah Lyons,	Mary Ryan,
Ellen Linkinson,	Jeremiah Ahern,
Margaret Donnelly,	Ellen Robinson,
Eliza Walliggan,	Lizzie A. Flint.

## Badly Injured.

Mary Armstrong,  
 Eliza Baker,  
 Julia Blake,  
 Jane Brooks,  
 Ellen Bradbury,  
 Elizabeth Burns,  
 Ellen C. Barry,  
 Richard Bradley,  
 Ellen Bohive,  
 Bridget Bradley,  
 Jane Bradley,  
 Owen Bremen,  
 Jane Cragg,  
 Mary Callagan,  
 Kirans Corkland,  
 Mary A. Coleman,  
 Margaret Cremen,  
 Margaret Kirburg,  
 Mary Cummings,  
 William Childs,  
 Elizabeth Connell,  
 Mary Crosby,  
 Joanna Carty,  
 Mary Callaghan,  
 Mary Callahan,  
 Catharine Connors,  
 Thomas Connors,  
 Charlotte Carleton,  
 Mary Caren,  
 Margaret Caren,  
 Catharine Clary,  
 C. Carney,  
 Catharine Campbell,  
 James Davis,  
 Cate Dunley,  
 Mary Dougherty,  
 Michael Daley,  
 Sarah Dew,  
 Anna Doraty,  
 Margaret Donnanhan,  
 Catharine Dolan,  
 Sarah Doyle,  
 Mary Fox,  
 Mary A. Emery,  
 Robert Flannagan,  
 Almira Ford,  
 Patrick Flannagan,  
 Hannah Finessy,  
 Ann Falen,  
 Constantine Fiedler,  
 Ann Galvin,  
 Hannah Garny,  
 Mary Ann Hickey,  
 Kate Harrigan,  
 Owen Harran,  
 Ellen Hannon,  
 Rosana Heirop,  
 Margaret Hayden,  
 Jennette Henderson,  
 Robert Hayes,  
 Wm. Henry Hall,

Betsy Heath,  
 Maria Hall,  
 Damony Hone,  
 James Hickey,  
 Hannah Hayes,  
 Mary Fenherty,  
 John Fanon,  
 Catherine Ivory,  
 Job Jewett,  
 Lizzie L. Kingsbury,  
 Elizabeth Kelley,  
 Mary Kennedy,  
 Lawrence Kennedy,  
 Rose Kenney,  
 Margaret Kerby,  
 Henry Kochler,  
 Ellen Lyons,  
 Michael Lavin,  
 Mary Laughton,  
 Catherine Landers,  
 Rosana Lynch,  
 Jessie Leach,  
 Abby Pottle,  
 Mary Muichaney,  
 Ann Manion,  
 Mary McGovern,  
 Mary McAleer,  
 Catharine Mulchaney,  
 Barney McGee,  
 Michael McCormick,  
 Ann McKee,  
 Ellen McCarty,  
 Ellen McKanny,  
 Wm. McComb,  
 Samuel Martin,  
 Ellen Mahoney,  
 Catharine Manyan,  
 Patrick O'Donnell,  
 Patrick O'Hare,  
 Caroline O'Brien,  
 Jerry O'Brien,  
 Hendessy Smith,  
 Henry Hickman,  
 John Quinn,  
 Ann Rafferty,  
 Margaret Ryan,  
 Catharine Rooks,  
 Jeremiah Reardon,  
 Fanny Reed,  
 Ann Scanlan,  
 Bridget Scanlan,  
 Frank Scannell,  
 Mary A. Sullivan,  
 Augustus Sampson,  
 Margaret Shory,  
 Robert Scaver,  
 Wm. Shackford,  
 Mary Sampson,  
 Eliza Watson,  
 Elizabeth Ward,  
 John Welsh,

Winna Waters,  
Sarah Warner,  
T. H. Watson,  
D. Watson,  
Michael Wrens,  
Wm. Young,

Mary York,  
Sarah A. York,  
Joshua Jewett,  
James Kenney,  
Ira D. Locke,  
Catharine Jordan.

## Slightly Injured.

Benj. G. Adams,  
Edward Blake,  
Caroline Brown,  
Abby Brown,  
Hannah Blake,  
Domonic Burns,  
Mary Burns,  
Patrick Burns,  
August Bergen,  
Jennie Bercham,  
Margaret Bulger,  
Timothy Bukley,  
Ellen Bukley,  
Catharine Bresnahan,  
Bridget Barry,  
Mary Broder,  
Lucy Boynton,  
Margaret Babb,  
Mary A. Brussell,  
Ellen Connor,  
Catharine Carroll,  
Ellen Clary,  
Catharine Cussock,  
Catharine Callaghan,  
Thomas Connors,  
Catharine Cameron,  
Mary Colbert,  
Edward Clark,  
Edward Calbert,  
Nancy Connelly,  
Catharine Callaghan,  
Mary A. Carckland,  
Kate Claney,  
Patrick Creley,  
Ellen Cain,  
Ellen Collins,  
Hannah Carl,  
Hannah Callaghan,  
Mary Daley,  
Julia Daley,  
James Dearborn,  
Mrs. James Dearborn,  
Mary Duffee,  
Margaret Donovan,  
Hellena Donovan,  
Hannah Daley,  
Austrie Day,  
Hannah Daley,  
Dominick Dowd,  
Arthur Dick,  
Thomas Durrell,  
Margaret Dooly,

Bridget Dolan,  
William Elwood,  
Ann Farmer,  
Mary W. Fernside,  
Selina Fernside,  
Catharine Farns,  
Mary Falen,  
Daniel Galvin,  
Mary Glynn,  
Mary Griffin,  
Michael Garven,  
Thomas Goodwin,  
Hannah Hurley,  
Hannah Harkins,  
Patrick Higgins,  
Ellen Hartigan,  
Michael Hart,  
Margary Heirop,  
Jane Haley,  
Catharine Hartigan,  
Thomas Hopping,  
Michael Howard,  
M. King,  
Coughlan Kean,  
Mary Kellren,  
Mark Kely,  
Mary Kiernan,  
Mary Lavin,  
Ellen Linehan,  
William Lawler,  
Jane Leyden,  
Rosie Mulvey,  
Charles Morgan,  
George Marther,  
Alice McCarty,  
Patrick McCarty,  
Ellen Murphy,  
Mary Moore,  
Robert Moore,  
Mary Metcalf,  
Henry Martin,  
Isaiah Majerson,  
Kate Manning,  
Patrick McQuinn,  
Ellen McCarty,  
Ellen Murphy,  
Catharine Morrisy,  
Hannorah Mahooney,  
Catharine McSweeney,  
Catharine Moran,  
Ellen Murphy,  
Edward Murphy,

Cynthia McCarter,  
 Darius Nash,  
 William O'Donnell,  
 Margaret O'Brien,  
 Barney O'Connell,  
 Mary O'Donnell,  
 Margaret O'Connors,  
 Mary O'Donnell,  
 Margaret O'Donald,  
 Catharine Phelan,  
 Mary Phelan,  
 Anna M. Patch,  
 Daniel Parant,  
 T. W. Roberts,  
 Thomas Rowley,  
 Ann Reagan,  
 Patrick Ryan,  
 Anna Ryan,  
 Catharine Ryan,  
 Francis Rafferty,  
 Ellen Ryan,  
 Elizabeth Ryan,  
 Mary Russell,  
 Daniel Reyal,  
 George Raperson,  
 Margaret Reardon,  
 Rosetta Robinson,  
 Matthew Robinson,  
 Ann Reardon,  
 John Reardon,  
 Michael Reardon,  
 Thomas Roach,  
 Keziah Stevens,

Betsey Scanlan,  
 Jerry Sullivan,  
 Arthur Sullivan,  
 Mary Sullivan,  
 Margaret Sullivan,  
 Bridget Sullivan,  
 Mary Sullivan,  
 Helmina Staigeer,  
 Hannah Shean,  
 Jane Sweet,  
 Eliza Stanley,  
 M. W. Stiles,  
 Prudence Spread,  
 Margaret Seavy,  
 Mary Sugden,  
 Bridget Sampson,  
 Mary Slaven,  
 Margaret Staven,  
 Dennis Swaney,  
 Henry Stoodley,  
 Vienna Stratton,  
 Sovina Stratton,  
 John Stevenson,  
 Michael Sullivan,  
 Margaret Sullivan,  
 James Wheeler,  
 John Ward,  
 Mary Welch,  
 Sharon Wilkinson,  
 Elizabeth Watson,  
 Catharine Welch,  
 Sarah York.

#### THE CORONER'S INQUEST.

An inquest over the bodies of those killed by the catastrophe, commenced Thursday morning, January 12, at the City Hall, in Lawrence.

Dr. William D. Lamb was coroner; and the jurors were,—Messrs. W. H. P. Wright (foreman), J. H. Dana, Edward Page, Leonard Stoddard, Leonard F. Creese, and S. P. Simmons.

Caleb Saunders was chosen clerk.

The evidence of witnesses was then taken, continuing ten days. We give an abstract of the evidence, prepared for the purpose.

#### First Day.—Morning Session.

##### TESTIMONY OF F. E. CLARKE.

I was paymaster on the corporation, and was in the building on the day of the accident; I was in the general office, and started to go into the paymaster's office, when I was stunned by a sensation like an earthquake; the door from the main mill, the carding-room, was broken out by the hands there; I went out, and when I got out and stood on the railroad track, the end wall of the mill fell down; it was about half-past four o'clock; I saw steam escaping from the boiler after the accident; the boiler was in an out-building, connected with the main building at the south-west corner; I have not a list of all those employed; there was one in the counting-room,

but it was destroyed by fire; after the accident, I was engaged in the rear of the building, relieving those from within, until just before the fire got under way; after going away for a short time, I returned, and found that it was too late to save the list; I had locked up the safe; Frank Robbins told me that he was near by when the fire commenced; in the safe there is no perfect list of the hands employed; it was left out of the safe, as the clerk was using it at the time; there is no means of knowing how much is due to each of the hands, excepting that due bills were given to all the hands, excepting in the weaving-room, up to the last Saturday in December; never knew of any settling of the mill before; thought I had noticed that there was not so much shaking while in operation as in other mills.

#### TESTIMONY OF HENRY L. NEWHALL.

I was in the employ of the Pemberton Manufacturing Company as clerk; I was there on the afternoon of the 10th inst., at my desk; first I heard was a slight crash, which I did n't notice much; then a sound as of wind, and then the building falling to pieces; I went to the outside window and jumped out; before I reached the ground the building was in ruins; there was no more than two or three seconds between first and second noise; I had just time to warn Mr. Clark, and we rushed out; I got out on the north side of the building; never heard any body say the building was dangerous before; never felt in any danger myself; I should judge that the south end fell first; I should say that no more than four came out of the room on the level of the office; the second hand came out just ahead of me, and went down; there were somewhere between 900 and 950 operatives in the employ of the corporation; I should think there were about seven hundred in that part which fell; can form no idea of how many came out without assistance; saw one woman jump from the upper story to the ground; did n't look towards the mill when I heard the crash; I took my hat and left; I had in my possession the last pay-roll; I was writing pay-envelopes, and left the pay-roll in the desk; there was one pay-roll in the safe, which was made up in August; I think I was at home when the building caught fire; I left the building at half past eleven o'clock.

#### TESTIMONY OF JESSE GLOVER.

I was overseer of the repair shop of the Pemberton Manufacturing Company; I was present on the corporation on the afternoon of the 10th; I was about five rods from the mill, between our building and the Washington mills, on the track that goes through the yard; I was looking at the building; think I saw the building settle at the lower end before I heard any noise; then there was a sound of wind rushing, and the flying of mortar; it commenced at the lower end to settle, and ran right along the building as fast as a man could run; it was immediately after the crash that I heard the escape of steam; saw no bricks thrown into the air, nor timber; think the sound of wind was occasioned by the fall of the building; the hissing was like a forty horse engine, with a pipe broken off; did n't hear that until the building was half down; I supposed that a pipe was broken; could not tell which part of the building gave way first; I have examined the boiler since, and I believe it was all right, and that there was water enough; I went to the repair shop to see if any of the men were hurt; a part of the wall was knocked in by the falling mill; I went then to the assistance of those inside; I was a hundred feet from the fire when it broke out; I should think it was a little north of the center of the mill; I could n't tell in what room; it seemed to come from the top of the ruins; there were a good many people about the



fire when it broke out; I have seen some little cracks about the building, but nothing serious, no more than frequently seen in brick buildings; I never did anything to strengthen the walls; think something of that kind has been done; I have been employed here three years and a half; I have been called upon sometimes to level up the machinery, as is frequently necessary in all mills; never leveled up more than half an inch; some of the shafting has never been leveled up since I have been there; never have been called upon to do any thing to support the foundation; when I went there I heard of one of the pillars settling in the cellar; I can give no reason for the falling; my impression has been that the walls were light; I heard of some trouble to the building before I got there. [Witness then pointed out on a plan of the building where he had noticed a crack in the brick-work.] On the corner next to the shop there was a crack extending between the building and the chimney the whole height; at the top this crack was half an inch wide, and one-fourth of an inch wide at the bottom; this was on the south-east corner, next to the repair shop; the crack ran straight up from the top of the boiler-house to the top of the mill; the building and chimney were not built together; never have known the walls to give way since I have been there; have moved some four fly-frames, so that they came near together; they weighed about a ton apiece; the men who were at work on them were saved; think they were not moving them at the time; I have not examined the foundation since the accident; never have known of any thing serious happening to the foundations; think between the windows the walls were eighteen inches thick; the windows were very large. Have understood that the timbers were not bolted to the walls; think the building was not so well constructed as buildings of that size should be; think bolts have been put in to strengthen the chimney.

## TESTIMONY OF JOHN E. CHASE.

I am agent of the Pemberton Manufacturing Company; have been their agent six years, ever since the mill started; I was in the centre of the spinning-room, in the third story, near the wall, at the time of the accident; Mr. Howe, treasurer of the company, was with me; we were going south, towards the river; I was conversing with Mr. Howe, or rather I stopped him to call his attention to some machinery; we then saw about forty feet of the building, south end, falling, and before I got Mr. Howe around, the crash had come half way of the mill; think I saw this before I heard a noise; all I saw was the centre of the mill falling; we escaped out into a wing; I could hear the wind and feel the splinters, as though the timbers were falling; the building was five stories high; nothing fell on me while I was escaping, in the cloth-room; there was less weight above at that end, than at other parts of the building; the first floor was the weaving-room; the second, spinning; the third, carding; the fourth, carding and spinning; the fifth, dressing, spooling, and finishing; there had been a change of four fly-frames that day, from that end which fell, to the west side; before that they were in the south-east corner; after the crash I felt so faint, that I could not do much; the people of the cloth-room were there when I got there; do n't think many got out the way I did; I went below, and found the safe open; locked it, and went out; can give no idea of how many were saved; we have given notice to have all hands now alive call and register their names at the Essex counting-room; know of no way to get at a full list of those employed in the mills; I was on the railroad track when the fire broke out; at the time of the accident the gas was lighted in all the rooms except the carding-room; Mr. Pindar, superintendent of Washington mills, said he saw the origin of the fire; there were cracks at each side

of the chimney, caused by the swaying of the chimney; they were half an inch wide at the top, and disappeared at the second story; the chimney was stiffened, but not wholly on that account; the crack followed the window corners; never saw any indication of the building settling; the beams settled or sprung about two inches when we first put them in, but they were firm in that condition, and were all trussed; the trusses were extra to the contract; there were no cracks at the time they were put in; there was another small crack, also caused by the swaying of the chimney; the building was 284 feet long, and 84 feet wide, outside; attached to that was an L, which did not fall; there was also a sort of shed on the west side, used for weaving; noticed less motion in this building than in other mills; always believed the mill perfectly safe; there was some talk about the building being unsafe when it was built, but after it stood six years, I considered it safe; there was at one time a leakage of the penstock, which affected the river building, and not the main mill; another leakage washed away some of the foundation from the south-east corner; the building was examined at that time.

#### TESTIMONY OF JOHN TATTERSON.

I was overseer of the wing department on the first floor; my office was in the north part of the building, and I just stepped from it into the main room, when I saw about two-thirds of the lower part coming down with a downward curvature in the centre; I went into the corner of the room where the gas meter was; there was a bank wall which protected this part; the part which I saw falling was south of the middle; noticed no bulging of the walls; it was done very quick. Heard no explosion; I was assisted out from the place where I was confined about twenty minutes or half an hour after the fall; have been in the employ of the corporation five and one half years; when I had been here about two months, one pillar settled, and the settling (about two inches) extended to the top; the foundation did not settle; there was an iron called a pillar, which went through the pillar lengthwise; on the pintle was a flange which rested on the head of the pillar; by the pressure the flange was broken off. Have nothing in my possession to show who worked for me; think I can tell from memory; the certificates were not distributed — they were in my desk, and were consumed; the centre of the building seemed to fall faster than the walls; there was some gearing at the south part of the building, which was considered not properly put up; think about thirty of my hands are lost; never felt any insecurity here.

#### TESTIMONY OF JOHN PINDAR.

I am employed at the Washington Mills, and was there on the afternoon of the accident; I was coming out of the Dye House; was not looking at it; was at the extreme end of the Washington Mills from the Pemberton; I was there from that time until 3 o'clock next morning; my attention was called to it by the second overseer of the Dye House; I was present when the fire took place; persons were picking around among the ruins looking after dead persons, where a large amount of cotton was exposed; said I, "For God's sake, look out for fire with your lanterns;" there were four or five persons there with two lanterns; then soon after I saw the fire blaze up, and the people came out, and I saw but one lantern come out. The fire took from the loose cotton hanging around the carding machines; heard nothing like breaking of glass; have heard no individual say he saw a lantern broken; the lantern looked like a common oil lantern; heard a voice below among the carding machines over which the roofing had fallen.

## TESTIMONY OF RICHARD H. PLUMER.

I was present on the ruins of the Pemberton Mills, the evening of the 10th; was there at the time when the fire originated; was stationed at one end, and I left that place in charge of Mr. Coolidge and went towards the center of the building to cut a hole; we cut a hole in the roofing about ten feet by three feet; we found some dead bodies there, and there were some persons there endeavoring to get out another body; two persons were holding lanterns for these men; one of the lanterns dropped; can't say whether it broke, but fire sprung up from some loose cotton; I called for water, but found none; took off my coat to cover the fire and smother it, but it had got so large that I could not. Did not see the mill fall; there were living persons in the ruins when the fire broke out; a man was taken out with his leg broken; saw a woman alive whom we could not save; the fire originated about one hundred feet from the south end of the mill, a little east of the center.

## Afternoon Session.

## TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM BARBER.

Was present at the ruins until within half an hour of the time when the fire broke out; I carried a lantern to the ruins and kept it with me all the time, and carried it home with me; know no cause for the building falling; I thought the building was too light.

## TESTIMONY OF B. D. GOWAN.

Am a mason; have worked as a mason since 1816; Mr. Fletcher had the contract to build the foundation of the Pemberton Mill; I did it by the yard for him; I never saw any contract; there was a direction to build the foundation down to a proper depth; they dug it out, and when they were ready for us we laid the stone. It was from three to five feet below the surface; the bottom was a soft, sandy loam; we had been accustomed to go deeper for a solid foundation; in water-power works they usually lay the foundation very deep; the Bay State foundations were very deep—twenty feet; the Atlantic has a room below the surface; I don't know that I noticed any settling while laying the foundations; the south end was dug out deeper than the rest; it was softer there than anywhere else; there was water on the bottom through the whole excavation; supposed that it came through from the canal; there was no defect in the material of the foundation; the foundation was good as far as it went; I thought at the time it was not deep enough, especially at the south end; there the soil was spongy, and of a quick sand nature; spoke to Mr. Tuttle about it at the time; was in the yard a good part of the time when they were building on the foundation; never noticed any particular or uncommon settling of the building; the wall was about six or seven feet wide at the bottom, and four and one-half at the top; thought it was wide enough; I was there to put in foundations for some piers, over which were columns, to make the building stiffer; the building was not completed when the piers were put in; the pillars were trussed above after these foundations were laid; the foundations of the piers were about the thickness of the stones below the foundation of the walls; the wall trenches were about a foot below the surface on the inside; can't say whether I was ever called upon to put any thing around these piers to support them; they were of brick; the posts in the mill are of iron; I was present when the building was erected; saw the ties put in, and I thought the building was too light; we thought the walls were too light because the windows were so large there was little space between the sills of the upper and the caps of the lower windows;

some of the timbers were rather short going across the walls, and pilasters were built out to support them; the timbers went into the inner wall, but did not extend to the outer.

#### TESTIMONY OF WM. SULLIVAN.

Did the excavating for the Pemberton Mills; Capt. Bigelow gave me the job; I did it by the yard; the contract specified that I should go down until I got to a good foundation; Mr. Coolidge was the engineer; he told me when I had got deep enough; the excavation was about ten feet deep at the end next to the river where the wheel pit is; the wheel pit was in the southeast corner, and from there we stepped up; we came up next to gravel, and then to sand; the wheel pit was on hard pan; the water was two or three inches deep at the lower end, and at the other end it was only moist; I excavated for a part of the Atlantic Mills; they went down from 16 to 20 feet below the surface of the yard; I excavated the last mill of the Atlantic Corporation on contract; the bottom of the Pemberton Mill excavation was more solid than that of the Atlantic which I excavated; never heard of its settling.

#### TESTIMONY OF JOHN B. TUTTLE.

Reside in Lowell; am a brick-mason; have been in that business thirty-four or thirty-five years; I was one of the firm that put up the brick part of the Pemberton Mill; the firm was John B. Tuttle & Co. (John B. Tuttle & Gilman Tuttle); I took the contract from Capt. Bigelow. [The witness then presented a copy of the contract.] There was water in the bottom when we commenced to work; there was one hole where the water came in where we procured our water to drink for two months; a drouth came on, and the water was dried up; I supposed at first that the water came through from the canal; have built many mills before; the east and west walls were double, each 8 inches, with a space of 4 inches between; about 20 feet of one end of the building was only 12; we built up pilasters to the second floor, projecting 8 inches; the third floor the pilasters were 4 inches, and above that they were dispensed with; after it was found that the timbers were too short, by direction of Mr. Bigelow or Mr. Coolidge, we took down part of the walls and built a projection inward five or six inches with brick and cement; half of the mill was up when we made this change; where the timbers were to come we headed over, and built the two walls together; I expressed myself at many times then that the walls were not sufficient for the building, if they were laid ever so strong; I told Mr. Bigelow so after the work was commenced; think any mason who has worked at the business twenty years would say so; frequently spoke of it to several people; told Mr. Childs when I was working at the Boot that I had my fears about it; think the walls would have been stronger if they had been built together; I know of no other mill with walls so light; never want to see another; some mills in Manchester are built with double walls, but none so light as these; the great width of the mill required stronger walls; our old-fashioned factories are from forty-five to fifty feet wide; these walls were all cut up with windows; we used just such mortar as we were ordered to; Mr. Coolidge was about the building nearly all the time, and Capt. Bigelow was there occasionally; ordinarily factory walls are twenty-eight inches for the first story, twenty-four for the next two stories, and sixteen for the rest; this mill was sixteen inches on the lower story, with four inches face; where the stairs went up at the southeast corner the wall was single—twelve inches thick; where the stones were placed for the main gearing, the wall was solid—two feet thick; the piers were built sixteen inches square, and they were afterwards

boxed up with brick, and made two feet square; I should rather presume that if the piers had given out, the walls would have fallen in; none of the timbers went through the outer walls; usually an iron goes through the outer wall from the timber, with a nut outside; the crack by the side of the chimney, near the center, must have seriously weakened the walls; the corners are most important to brick walls; don't think chimneys should be built with the building; never built a steam chimney before; the swaying of the chimney might have caused the crack, without any settling of the foundation; the bricks were very poor, being crooked and rough; the soft brick were thrown out; nothing was said about throwing out rough or misshapen brick.

**Second Day. — Morning Session.**

**TESTIMONY OF STEPHEN WALLIS.**

Reside in Lowell; am a mason; have been a mason for twenty-six years; helped build the mill which fell; I laid the first brick on it, and worked on it until it was finished; never examined the foundation much, but know that water was running through it on the easterly side, about 135 feet from the northerly end; it run out, so we used it for drink; it used to wash out quicksand, which in course of time might have caused it to settle; have been to the ruins since the fall; saw no indications of the settling of the foundations; if it had settled sufficient to cause the fall of the building, the stone would now appear out of place; the walls were twenty-inch walls, with space of four inches; I kept count of all the solid places, to number the bricks out of sight; at the corners we built two feet solid; at the door jams one foot solid; at the window jams four inches; we generally had eight ties under the window sills, being two bricks; the building was well tied, but the walls were thinner than any I ever worked on on such a building. On four-story mills I never worked on any walls less than two feet at the basement; think the pilasters on the first and second stories strengthened the bearing of the floor timbers; the timbers above were as long as those below, but the pilasters being dropped above, we built in the wall to increase the bearing of the timbers; never heard of an intention to make the building but two stories high; there was a small crack by the side of the chimney, supposed to be caused by a heavy wind which occurred while we were building the chimney; the crack followed the bricks through their joints part way, and then followed the window jams; there was another crack on the arch, which still remains standing; the bricks were poor ones to lay, but they made solid work when laid; the mortar was good; didn't think the walls strong enough for so large a building, and I frequently expressed that opinion; I sometimes talked with Mr. Coolidge about the work; think I expressed my opinion to Mr. Coolidge about the walls; in the absence of the Messrs. Tuttle I was foreman of the work; if the pilasters had been continued through the whole building, I should not have considered it strong enough; have known another mill built with bonded walls; the new Merrimac Mill of Lowell was built in this way, but the walls were twenty-eight inches thick, and covered over with cement; think these walls would have been safe if they had been four inches thicker on the first three stories; the windows were too large; the window caps of the fourth story were the sills for the windows of the fifth story; we put cement in the mortar whenever ordered by Mr. Coolidge.

**TESTIMONY OF MORRIS KNOWLES.**

Reside in Lawrence; have been a carpenter thirty years; worked on the building which fell; did the work on an agreement, there being no written contract; it was to

put on so many floors, &c., (naming the whole;) received a specification of the style of the building, with the kind of timber to be used. The timber was furnished me, except the window frames and sashes; think I ordered them for five stories; think the upper windows were one light shorter than the others; think before I made my contract it was fully decided that the mill should be five stories high; when I first commenced work the foundations were laid, and we laid the first floor; my partner had the principal charge of this job, and he is dead; on the lower floor the timbers laid on the wall and pilaster nine or ten inches; the timbers grew longer as they went up; on the second floor they were four inches longer, and the pilasters four inches less. On the third story the pilasters were discontinued. The timbers there were cut, supposing the pilasters would be continued, but they were not; it left some four or five inches to lay on the wall. The walls were then built in (as before described) to meet the timbers. Don't think this projection strengthened the bearing materially. On the story above, the timbers were cut longer. It was a wider mill than ever I was on before. Should think the greater width would require stronger walls. The Pacific Mill comes nearest to this in width; that is seventy-two feet; this was eighty-four; don't recollect whether I ever worked on any walls so thin as this; never knew of a mill where pilasters were thrown out to receive the timbers; have known them built up to strengthen the walls from the bottom; the caps of the iron pillars were not large enough to give much support; my partner, Mr. Dodge, and I spoke of it; each long timber was composed of three different pieces, joined together by a joint bolt, and under each joint was one of these pillars; where these timbers joined there were six inches for each end to rest upon, out of which was a half circle with a diameter of three inches, through which ran a pintle. Think the piers were strengthened at my suggestion; never saw a mill so cut up with windows as this; never had formed any opinion in regard to the strength of the walls, but think now the walls were hardly sufficient, considering the manner in which the walls were cut up; noticed a crack on the east side of the chimney; Mr. Chase spoke to me of it, and said it was caused by the swaying of the chimney; there was also a crack on the west side; these two cracks must have weakened the wall; I raised up the roof of the cloth room; I made alterations in the mill, partitioning off different rooms; none of these alterations weakened the mill; never noticed any settling of the building, nor heard of any; Captain Bigelow employed me to put in some trusses between the posts and the walls, and between the inner posts; think they made the building safer; the irons went from the timbers out to the center of the outer wall, and turned up about ten inches; they were an inch and a-half wide, and three-fourths of an inch thick. Sometimes we use this kind of iron, and sometimes another iron which goes through the outer wall, where it is secured by a washer; I did some sheathing on the wall on the south-west corner where the chimney was; it was in the upper room; it was not for the purpose of hiding the crack as I know of; it was sheathed along where they put in a vat; noticed the cracks at the time, and sheathed right over them; don't recollect of any statement made of a reason for the purpose of finishing up that corner; not positive whether I sheathed more than one story; don't recollect whether I made any expression at that time in regard to the effect of the crack on the wall; it was cracked way through the wall; think they went down through the upper story into the next, and there disappeared. (The witness was questioned at length regarding these cracks, but nothing tangible was gleaned from him.) The windows contained forty lights each; might have made some remark at the fire about my sheathing there covering up the crack; didn't suppose it was done for that purpose; the first story pillars are six

inches in diameter; above they are somewhat smaller; they were hollow, and they were not as thick as are generally used; they are usually full three-quarters of an inch in thickness; some of those I have seen broken in the ruins had large blow holes concealed inside; if properly cast their thickness could have been relied upon; my attention was called to these at one time by Mr. Coolidge when one broke, about a year after the building was erected; I don't know that I have formed any opinion of the causes of the demolition of the building which I should be justified to give without further examination; think it started from the giving way of the pillars, breaking the flanges of the pintles, and throwing it out; the pillars were ten feet apart one way, and twenty-seven feet the other; it is my opinion now that the accident didn't occur from any fault of the walls.

(Mr. Wallis and Mr. Knowles were then requested to visit the ruins and make such investigations as would further the ends of the inquest, taking such time as would be necessary.)

#### TESTIMONY OF BENJAMIN COOLIDGE.

Was assistant engineer of the Essex Company under Capt. Bigelow, and afterwards under Mr. Storrow; the ground on which the building was erected was a pasture in the fall of 1852: we laid the first stone the 31st of January, 1853; the soil was a dense, heavy, solid, sandy loam, remarkably solid and heavy; underlying that was what geologists call the boulder formation; this extends three or four feet; there are generally stones from 500 pounds to the size of a man's head, and so down to gravel, and this fine sand spoken of as quicksand; it is not quicksand; this, sifted in, made what I called rock pack below, perfectly solid; underneath that lies what is used in puddling here, in Lawrence; sometimes it is so solid, that it breaks out in large lumps when dry; when wet, as on the Pemberton, a little mud leaks out of it; under that is a peculiar quicksand full of water, very fine indeed; it sets almost instantly, when allowed to rest; it is useless to excavate it, we only touched this in the excavation of the wheel building, which is not the main building; there are veins of coarse sand in the fine sand and in the puddling; they seemed to be deposits; there was little or no water came through this fine sand until we came near the rocks; next to the canal the rock pan was full of water running as clear as crystals, sifting out this fine sand; the puddling formation, when an excavation was made in it gave out a little water which kept working until quite a piece, and made a little mud in the bottom; the quicksand was full of water; have been in the employ of the company since 1846, for ten years under Capt. Bigelow, since then under C. S. Storrow; the boulder formation is 8 feet below the surface of the canal, and it runs down to 16 feet below at the river; the excavation for the Pemberton was made from 8 to 16 feet; on the end next to the canal the foundation was on the rock pack; on the east side the foundation was laid on three foundations—boulder formation, the firm sand, and the puddling formation; the northerly end was from ten to twelve feet deep, resting on the puddling; the south end was made deeper till we came near where the chimney was to be when we stepped up to the boulder formation, on which the chimney was built; this was the most solid foundation, but we had to go lower on the rest of the south end for the main shafting; the westerly side was built on the puddling formation as far as the privy, near the center, when the excavation stepped up; to prevent the action of the water on the sand, a cement dam was made, cutting off the water from it; the average thickness of the foundation was from six to nine feet; there never was a foundation wall laid in Lawrence equal to that one for solidity and strength; it was made with

stones long enough to go way across the full width; think the foundations will be found solid now; in the north part, the piers rested on the rock pack; in the south part, there were deep holes dug down and laid on solid stones; the piers were laid with hard brick, and carefully tested cement; there were better rocks under this than under the Duck Mill; the Duck Mill was laid almost wholly on the sand foundation; the rest being on the drift or puddling formation; the settling of any part of the foundation would almost certainly be indicated by the breaking of a window-sill or cap; never saw one broken here, but have an indistinct recollection of hearing some one say there was one broken; recollect the trouble with the pen-stock, which was built under the superintendence of Capt. Bigelow; after that, I saw that nothing was disturbed there; the trouble with the pen-stock was a small affair; when I was digging the wheel pit, Mr. Putnam asked if it was dangerous; the pit was 25 feet deep, and being near the mill it looked frightful; I filled it up with ballast at his request, though I didn't think it necessary; any orders from the proprietors tended entirely to security; heavy iron straps ran from the southern timbers through the heavy south wall, and were fastened outside by a washer.

#### Afternoon Session.

#### TESTIMONY OF BENJAMIN COOLIDGE CONTINUED.

Never saw the plan of the building until it was placed in my hands, which was about the 1st of January, 1853, before the foundation was commenced; the plan was for five stories; don't know as the masons had any working plans; the carpenter generally went to the office and drew his directions from the general plan; the plan did not show the vault in the wall; think I was ordered to build the wall with a vault; I had directions to have the walls bonded; think the walls were built up solid above the timbers as far as the iron went, as well as below them; I would refer to the testimony of Messrs. Tuttle and Wallis in regard to the manner of building the walls, except the statement that the irons from the timbers only went inside of the inner walls, where I differ from Mr. Tuttle and agree with Mr. Wallis; think in the original plan the pilasters were carried into the third story; don't know why they were afterwards discontinued; Mr. Tuttle's description of the formation of the pilasters is correct; where the wall was projected out, I am unable to say whether the bearing would be as strong as if the timbers were long enough to rest upon the original wall; the brick work was satisfactory; it was done in the very best manner; the bricks were rough, but they were hard; the mortaring was flush with the edge of the bricks, laid with particular care; never knew any other mill with two 8-inch walls and a vault; think these walls were built with a vault to allow the mortar inside to be carbonized and made more solid; the vault also made the mill warmer, and was considered as strong, being well bonded; thought the bonding went up in the center by the pilasters; the stairways, the cornices and the sides of the doorways were built solid; the cornices were laid in cement; the walls were a foot thick for twenty-three feet on each side of the stairway.

Q. Do you think the walls were strong enough, considering the length and width of the mill and the weight on the floors?

A. It is not the business of the deputy engineer to criticise, but simply to obey the orders of the chief. I formed no opinion on the subject.

Q. What do you think now, as an engineer?

A. As an engineer I am unable to form an opinion without knowing more of the weight inside, and the force of the motion of the mills. As an individual, I think the walls were strong enough.



Q. Do you think the building was strong enough, considering that you have answered in regard to the mills?

A. I felt some apprehensions about the iron pillars placed in the mill; they were not furnished by the Essex Company; one of the pillars was dropped from a small distance and broken, and found to be defective; I reported the fact to Captain Bigelow; knew of a flange of the pintle of one of the pillars to break once, as testified by Mr. Tatterson; knew of a crack by the chimney, and one in the arch; I was told there was a crack in the chimney, by Captain Bigelow, who asked me how it happened, saying my foundation must have settled; I explained to him that it could not have settled; he was satisfied that the foundation had not settled, and remarked that the crack was caused by the swaying of the chimney; the crack destroyed the strength of that corner of the building as far as it extended; Capt. Bigelow said he might run an anchor down the wall, but that it would only extend the mischief further; never knew of any settling in the building, though I frequently examined it and asked of the engineer; I had an idea that the building was one of the most perfect of the kind, only I felt some apprehensions owing to my knowledge of the defects of the pillar. (A pillar was exhibited, very defective, and the witness explained its defect, being a mere shell on one side. He said he thought they were not sufficiently tested at the foundry.) Capt. Bigelow told me that the proprietors were to furnish the pillars; when I reported a defective one to him, he told me they came from Boston, or from some place near Boston; when the mill fell, I laid it to the pillars at once; I was responsible for the pillars, for I knew they were defective; such a pillar as this (the one shown) would be very dangerous in a mill; the water works of the Pemberton were at the river, and not at the canal; the rock pack not only falls away from the canal to the river, but it also falls away down the canal; I went under the mill within an hour after it fell; the east wall seemed to stand perfectly; any settling sufficient to throw the mill down could easily be told.

Q. What is your opinion of the cause of the mill falling?

A. I thought that one of the pillars was broken away, from the fact that the center fell in first; I think a pillar must have been broken about two-fifths of the length from the south end; if a pillar had been broken, there would have been a space 54 by 20 unsupported; no common walls could have withstood being pulled down; the floors were four-inch spruce plank; the floor was very strong; I think that the weight of the floors would help bring down the walls; the floors were not broken at all; they went down whole, breaking the pillars; the noise was described to me as one loud crack, followed by a succession of cracks, until the whole was blended in a frightful roar; do not think the fall was caused by any crack existing at the southwest corner of the mill; I don't remember of any imperfect pillars after the one spoken of; I considered that when I had notified Capt. Bigelow of the defective pillar, my responsibility was over, because we found no more imperfect; if I had known that the giving out of a collar had sunk two inches, I should not have considered that very dangerous.

#### TESTIMONY OF J. P. PUTNAM.

Reside in Boston; I was treasurer and a stockholder in the Pemberton Mill; I subscribed for a hundred shares, each \$1000, at its construction, being one-eighth of the whole; the first contract with the Essex Co. was made for a small mill, 10th April, 1852; this was to be made for John A. Lowell, who was then in Europe; on his return it was decided to make a large mill, and to let in other stockholders; Mr. Lowell owned 200 shares; the Essex contracted to build the mill at cost on a credit of five years; they were to furnish the materials; I used to consult with Capt. Bigelow, be-

cause I wanted to be sure everything was made strong ; he was going to put in wooden pillars, such as they were then putting into the Pacific ; I thought iron was stronger ; I told him I thought I could get them for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents a pound from a place in Boston ; he told me to inquire about it and he would inquire at the Lawrence Works ; I found a place to get them cheaper than he could at Lawrence ; I got them made by Mr. John C. Woods, whose place of business I then thought was in South Boston ; the draft for the pillars was sent to me by Capt. Bigelow ; I have no doubt that the pillars were made according to the draft ; for the lower story the pillars were to be 6 inches in diameter, and five-eighths of an inch thick ; second story,  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter, and one-half inch thick ; third story 5 inches in diameter, and one-half inch thick ; fourth story,  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter, and one-half inch thick ; fifth story, 3 inches in diameter, solid ; felt some apprehension at one time about water running through the foundation, but that was remedied by driving piles, and felt no more apprehension on that score ; again, when they were digging the wheel pit, I found it full of water one morning, and ordered it filled with stones, which was done, and that apprehension ceased ; we intended to not stop at the limit of safety, but to make assurance doubly sure, without sparing expense. There was some question about the wheel pit and the manner in which the wheels were put in ; I thought the plan we adopted was a very good one ; with these exceptions, never heard any person say but what the mill was the strongest in the world ; the first plan of the large factory was made just as the mill was before it fell ; about one-third of the machinery was intended to be used for the manufacture of warps ; finding ourselves unable to sell these so well as we expected, we were obliged to remove them, and looms were put into another building ; no addition or change was ever made in the machinery of the mill, and five stories were decided upon as the height before the foundations were laid. In the mill there was a large, expensive and unequalled apparatus for guarding against fire ; it cost some \$18,000 or \$20,000, probably twice as much as placed in any other of our mills ; outside there were arrangements of platforms to use in case of fire — unusual precaution ; after the machinery was put in, there were trusses put in ; think the suggestion came from one of the directors ; we supposed the floors were strong enough, but wanted to make them stiffer, and the mill was accordingly made very stiff ; never knew of any settling of the foundations ; knew of the crack by the chimney, and at first felt somewhat anxious about it, but afterwards believed there was no danger ; the clamps (iron bands) appeared to tie the side and end walls so firmly together that we had no apprehension ; no one ever spoke to me about the walls being cheaper than other mills of the kind ; cheapness did not enter our minds ; the piers were doubled under the lower floor to make the floor stiff, there being no apprehension that it was weak ; think the mill was closely packed with machinery ; the mill was afterwards sold to Mr. George Howe and Mr. David Nevins, who were the owners at the time of the accident ; don't know whether there have been any changes in the machinery since they owned it ; think the looms have been diminished ; never had any reason to look forward to such a calamity ; the Essex Company paid me for the pillars what I paid ; I felt no responsibility in regard to the pillars except as far as acting as an agent for the Essex Company ; this man furnished them for a small trifle less than the Essex Company could procure them for elsewhere ; have no reason to believe that these pillars were not according to the plan furnished ; don't recollect of Mr. Tuttle telling me that the walls were too light ; he might have done it ; if he did, I probably spoke of it to Capt. Bigelow ; my confidence was not shaken in the strength of the walls ; I didn't know that the pilasters were discontinued above the second story ; didn't know that the walls were only a foot thick by the stairways.

## Third Day.—Morning Session.

## TESTIMONY OF CHARLES S. STORROW.

Was agent of the Essex Company; in 1852 the Essex Company sold to the Pemberton Company a water power and mill site, at a nominal rate; besides this the Essex Company was to erect a mill for them on a credit of five years. The mill was to be erected in accordance with plans furnished by the Directors of the Pemberton Company, represented by Mr. John A. Lowell; the plans were drawn up by Captain Bigelow, under the direction of Mr. Putnam, whose orders were obeyed, and whose suggestions we were glad to have; it was for the interest as it was the desire of this Company to make the mill as strong as possible, and it was erected without regard to cost; whatever bills were approved by Captain Bigelow or Mr. Putnam, were paid without question by the Essex Company; I never after the building of the mill and until its fall heard any one say that the mill was not perfectly safe, nor did I have any apprehensions of it; I am a civil engineer by education; I didn't notice the details of the work, but I had perfect confidence in Captain Bigelow; the walls were built with a vault for the reason of using the given number of bricks to better advantage, as for the thorough drying of the walls; it gives more stability and prevents moisture from coming through.

The bills for the pillars was presented, of which the following is a copy:—

MR. J. P. PUTNAM		1853.		To JOHN C. WOOD	Dr.
March 28	— To 52 Base Plates, 2362, 2½c.	-	-	-	\$59 06
May 1	— To 260 columns as per contract, \$8 50	-	-	-	2210 00
	To extra weight, 52 columns, 171 each, \$892, 2½c.	-	-	-	222 30
					<hr/>
					\$2491 36
	Cr. by — Paid by Essex Company	-	-	-	1962 81
					<hr/>
					\$528 55

Correct — part having been already paid by \$600, and the pay to  
(Signed) J. P. PUTNAM, L. BOUVIE, &c.

May 7, 1853 — Received the above balance of five hundred twenty-eight dollars, fifty-three cents, being pay in full of columns. (Signed) JOHN C. WOODS,  
By Albert Fuller.

Thus far I have seen no reason to believe that those walls or foundations have failed; if the floors fell in, the walls would have been thrown down if they had been twice as thick; as far as I can now judge, I think the cause of the accident came from the interior of the building, and not from the walls or foundations. If there had been any settlement of the foundations, there must have been cracks at the windows and in the window sills; if fifty-two piers had settled at the same moment, we could not tell what would happen; I know of no part of the mill built as it was because it could be re-built cheaper; am acquainted with Mr. Knowles; no man stands higher as a skillful, careful workman; no man is more competent to take such a contract; Mr. Dodge, his partner, was considered as good a builder as then was in Lowell; the firm was sent to me as the best builders in Lowell; I would further add that Mr. Coolidge was constantly inspecting the buildings; as deputy engineer, it was his business to lay the

lines and levels, and then to see that the materials were put together well; don't know about the extra weight of the floors; do not consider the pillar (shown yesterday) suitable for such a building. In my opinion the support of the beams, where they were spliced, was sufficient for a vertical pressure; the water ways were all exterior from the building; they did not run under the mill; if there had been any undermining of the mill the shafting would have been thrown out of level, and its running damaged. I understand the mill was running perfectly at the time; that gives me great confidence that there was no settling of the foundation; the cost of the mill was generally considered high; in the building of the mill precautions were taken not considered necessary by the engineers.

Adjourned at noon, over the Sabbath.

#### Fourth Day.—Morning Session.

##### TESTIMONY OF NEWELL D. DEAN.

I was in the employ of the Pemberton Corporation as second hand in the carding room, on the second story; I was in the north end of the second story, in the center, widthwise, when the mill fell; was within two feet of the northern wall, facing it, looking at some roving there; heard a noise, and thought the shaft was broken; looked towards the south and saw the floors near the other end coming down; it seemed to be the whole width, and, when I saw it, it had apparently come a quarter way from the south to the north; didn't feel the floor under me give way; noticed nothing about the floor under me; have no doubt the floor above me broke through first; the north end of the building had all fallen in when I got out; should think it was not over half a minute from the time the first noise was heard until the mill was all down, it was about quarter of five o'clock; I had just looked at the clock; heard no cracking or snapping before I saw the floor falling; the crash was like that of a heavy tree falling in the midst of a thick forest; there had been no moving of machinery in my room that day, nor ever since I have been there—a year and a half; the machinery in the Pemberton Mill was heavier than in some other mills; the fly frames were heavy; when the floor was falling through it seemed to be the lowest in the center.

##### BENJAMIN COOLIDGE RECALLED.

Have made examinations since I testified before; I am satisfied that the foundations remain uninjured; the brick piers seemed to be unhurt, except by fire; saw nothing that would give any new clue to the cause of the disaster.

##### THOMAS P. WINN RECALLED.

No recollection of seeing anything falling above me; should have known if the shafting had been materially disturbed half a minute before the fall; should not think the mill was as firm as others in which I have worked; thought the timbers were light in the building, considering the space of the building and the weight of the machinery; since the fire I have seen several pillars very defective; (he showed a pintle found in the ruins which appeared as if the flange had been broken off, allowing the column above to press down; the pintles are iron bars, about twenty inches in length, which run from a cap on the top of a lower pillar to a cap under the lower end of a pillar; above the pintle also goes through the joint of the floor timbers, where they connect.)

## Afternoon Session.

## TESTIMONY OF ALONZO N. WING.

Was employed at the Pemberton Mills, and had charge of the winding; I was in the fifth story, about a hundred and twenty-five feet from the northern end, walking towards the south; I looked through a glass partition, and saw the western wall falling in; I ran towards the north end; felt the floor settling under me, while I was running up an inclined plane; ran some eighty feet, when it all came down together; the floor seemed to settle first in the middle, lengthwise; I was running in the middle of the room; when I came down, the roof parted over my head, and one part slid off towards the canal; the north wall seemed to be shut out; the roof was nearly flat; should think the westerly portion of the floor fell a little first; heard no warning before the crash of the fall; had no knowledge that the speed of the machinery had been increased within two weeks; the floors were sagged in some places, but to no unusual extent, as they always are more or less in such mills; the weight of machinery was not heavier than in others; the carding machines were heavier than usual; they were on the second floor; they were made with iron frames; have worked in the Jackson (Nashua), and the Boott (Lowell) mills; the weight was not much less compact in those than here; never have been obliged to level up machinery here so much as in other mills; never knew of any settling.

## TESTIMONY OF TOBIAS W. ROBERTS.

Have been employed in the Pemberton Mills about four years; was second hand in the carding-room, in the second story; was standing about two-thirds of the way down from the northerly end; I was lighting up; first saw the floor coming down from above; I was facing the west; a quarter part of the room as it appeared, coming down; turned round, but did not get many steps before I was struck by the roof from above, and knocked down; all seemed to come down in a mass; heard the bricks come around me, after I fell, in a few seconds; the usual work was going on in the room; had been no moving of machinery in that story; do n't think there was any thing settled below before the roof came down from above; the floor seemed to come down nearly level, somewhat broken; found the lower floor somewhat broken, and crawled through a small hole into the weaving-room (first floor), and finally came out into the Duck Mill yard; was not bruised so as to leave any mark of importance; noticed no indications of fire when I was in the ruins.

## TESTIMONY OF JAMES N. READ.

Have been employed in the Pemberton Mills since July 11, 1853; had been in the building at the time of the accident, and passed into my own department into the river building, and shut the door; the sound was something unlike any thing I ever heard before, but like what I have heard described as the sound of an earthquake,—a heavy, roaring noise; I thought at first the boiler had burst; turned to open the door through which I had come, but, on second thought, concluded that it was unsafe, and went into the river building; found my men jumping out of the back windows; one broke or dislocated his feet jumping out on the rocks; I shut down the windows to stop the panic, and we afterwards got out of an end window; I believe I was the first on the ruins from the outside; some of my men followed me, and some did not; the sound was one continuous roar, commencing louder than it continued; heard the escape of steam, but believe that the parting of the main pipe of steam for the heat-

ing of the building, might have caused it; the noise of the crash seemed so near me that I thought the building I was in was coming down; saw no lights among the ruins, except those carried by persons; never noticed any thing about the mill to make me feel insecure.

**Evening Session—Resumed at Seven o'clock.**

**TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN CRAWFORD.**

Have been in the employ of the Pemberton Company for five years, until nine months ago, when I was discharged by Mr. Glover; I was in the Washington Mills when the calamity took place; I know how the fire took; it was between nine and ten o'clock; I was there helping to assist; my daughter was in the ruins, and I was looking for her; I got part way into the weaving room and was stopped by the ruins; at the time of the fire I was on the ruins, when a young man came up and asked me to hold a lantern; I held it for about ten minutes, when somebody asked for it, took it, and went down; he came back and said there was a deep hole there which went down to the card room; he went down again, and I said "For God's sake, be careful of the lantern;" he went down further, and I said, "For God's sake, don't go there with that light;" he went, however, and in going down, struck the lantern on some timber on the right hand side; when he struck the lantern it broke and immediately fell; I shouted "fire," and stooped down to pull him out; he was on fire himself, and the fire was spreading like gun-powder; I ran for our machine, and we got it out and went to work; the fire took near the center of the building, near the Duck Factory; I don't know how much the shafting was leveled up, but know that it was some, for I assisted in the job; they altered the hangers until they got the shafting to run; after this I was called to the card room and helped level up the fly frames; they were leveled up in various ways, and some of them were found half an inch out of level; they must, however, have settled more than an inch to do all this; had the floors all settled alike, the machines would not have been so uneven; the floor had settled more in some places than in others; after this the shafting was leveled up two or three times, but how much I don't know; the main line of the shafting runs about one third of the way from one side of the building and very near the first line of pillars, but the lines are not in the same relative positions in all the rooms.

**TESTIMONY OF MR. BENJAMIN HARDING.**

Reside in Lawrence; am a carpenter, and have been one for twenty-five years; have been employed in the Pemberton Mills, under Mr. Morris Knowles; commenced in the spring of 1853; my business was, in the first place, preparing beams to put into the mill; there were two pieces in each section, bolted together with three bolts; the pieces of timber were 7 by 16 before they were planed; they had a  $\frac{3}{4}$  piece between, making the beam 16 inches square, for the first three or four floors; the next were an inch smaller, I think, each way; worked on the Pemberton until it was about complete; the time that I worked directly on the building was from 1853 to January, 1855; in the third floor the first half of the beams next to the canal were full length, the other half were a little short—four inches on each end; the center pieces alike throughout the whole; twenty-seven beams in a story, and I think about half were short; should think the short ones all rested from two to three inches in the main wall; some of them might have rested four inches; there were pilasters, if I recollect rightly, coming as far as the third floor, and then were discontinued; the timbers were not cut short; they were not ordered long enough; I cut them myself; think the projections were built from the pilasters.

I know that where these short timbers were put there were projections thrown out from the wall; wherever the projections were, the short timbers were placed; think the northerly half did not have these projections, because the timbers were long enough; on the next floor the beams were full length and rested eight inches on the wall; the mason work was carried up one half at a time, and then the timbers were laid; cutting the timber by order of Mr. Knowles, I asked him what I should do about it; he said, "Cut them as long as you can and I will tell Capt. Bigelow;" the result was the projections were built; the joints were well made with seven-eighths inch bolts; never knew a mill to be supported like this in the shoring; should think the best method was not used in the shoring of this mill; the building in all its parts, for its size, was rather slender; not only the columns were deficient, but there was too much space given to windows, making the walls weak; the machinery was very heavy for the surface — a monstrous weight to be held up by the columns below: never knew of any other mill with so long sections; the man who superintended the building said they should never be over 22 or 24 feet; they were 27; the timber used in the construction was good; the beams were pine, and I never was called to remedy any deficiency; it has ever been my opinion that the floors were loaded very heavy; there might not have been much greater weight to the square foot than in smaller mills, but we cannot put double the weight on double the length; should think that by changing the bearing, by moving the machinery, there would be danger of straining more; think it would have been better to have had the pintles and the pillars turned and fitted together; had no reason of apprehension because of the short timbers; I think if one of these pillars had broken off, so as to have rubbed down, it would have brought all above it down to the lower floor, taking at least two beams; after the first pillar had broken the others would break easier; have examined the ruins; have seen no evidence of the settling of the foundation; think there was a giving away of a column where that machinery was moved; I make up this opinion from remarks which I had heard made when the mill was examined, and from talk I had with persons in the mill; if a pindle had broken when the column gave way the effect would have been fatal; this mill had but very little vibration; less than most other mills; but this is not a proof of safety, or test of strength; the mill had a flat roof and was very wide, so there was no chance to vibrate.

#### Fifth Day. — Morning Session.

##### TESTIMONY OF CHARLES H. BIGELOW.

Reside in New Bedford; I am a civil engineer by profession at present; I have been civil engineer since 1846; before that time I was in the corps of Engineers of the United States army; I had the rank of Captain in that corps; I had charge of Fort Independence in Boston Harbor in constructing it; had been so for five years; was educated at West Point; graduated 1835; from 1835 to 1846 I was in the corps of Engineers; the corps is not composed of the whole class, but according as vacancies occur the first scholars enter it; two out of my class entered it; prior to having charge of Fort Independence, I was under Capt Thayer on Fort Warren, Boston, assisting in the construction of that; left the corps for private reasons, which led me to enter the civil business, and gentlemen in Boston wanted me to enter the manufacturing business; had an offer and appointment as manager of the York Mills, Sacó, Me.; at that time Lawrence was about starting; the Directors of the Essex Company desired me to enter their employ; I had made up my mind to leave the service any way; I accepted Mr. Storrow's invitation, and came here as their engineer in March, 1846; then com-

menced working as civil engineer; during that time had charge of the construction of the Atlantic Mills, Machine Shop, Duck Mill, Pacific, and Pemberton, besides superintending the construction of the dam and the canal, the plan of the dam having been made prior to my coming here; while stationed at Fort Independence and Fort Warren was not employed in business like building mills, but had there all the elements of land works, sea walls, foundations, &c.; the nature of the arrangement between the Essex Company and the Pemberton Mill was such as to leave the parties free; the Pemberton party having right to make contract or employ force as it might suit them, and we were glad to have them do it; and they did so in repeated instances, such as making contract for the glass, all the shafting and gearing, for the iron columns, and to add force to the carpentering and other departments of the work; the provision was made because they wished to forward the structure, and to make it convenient for the managers, and satisfactory; it was the interest of the Essex Company to forward the mill most satisfactorily to the owners; Mr. Putnam was the managing director and financial agent of the owners; I was the engineer and responsible officer of the Essex Company; my relations with Mr. Putnam through the whole construction were those of mutual friendliness and respect, and I never saw in Mr. P. the slightest tendency to sacrifice safety or strength of the mill for the sake of saving expense. On the contrary he always went for the safest and strongest structure that we knew how to build, with due regard to economy; I placed Mr. Benjamin Coolidge in immediate charge of the work at the Pemberton Mills; he was to reside there, and he did; he spent his days there, and his nights, if necessary; Mr. Coolidge superintended the work with a vigor and fidelity that was untiring; his intelligence as an engineer and as a man, is well known in this community, as well as his honor as a gentleman and a Christian; he was to be my eyes and my hands, constantly present as far as we could make him so. Mr. Coolidge has stated the nature of the soil, and having kept notes he knows it as well as any other man in the world; I myself examined them critically and carefully at the time, and I am satisfied there is no better foundation for a building in the city of Lawrence, so far as the soil is concerned; it was a water-bearing soil naturally. The stones of our quarries are suitable for foundations, large, handsome stones, stratified granite or gneiss; they were amply wide at the bottom — nine feet, I think; (referring to the plan) the walls on the east and west side were nine feet, the south wall eight, the north wall six. Mr. Fletcher was the contractor for the foundation; the stones of the walls were so large that they extended beyond the width given, and were always in excess; it was intended to make the given width solid, and the ends projected over; I come now to brick walls built on these foundations; there was an underpinning, and it was backed with either brick or mortar walls; the walls have been stated as composed of two walls with a hollow space; it is an error; it was one wall with air flues in it, the air flues less than two feet by four inches in a horizontal area; there were four, longitudinally, in every ten feet; the wall was composed of eight inches of solid wall, flue four inches, and the remainder of wall ranging in thickness, making up the rest; where the flues were not, the wall was solid; the flues averaged one foot ten inches by four inches; the bonds were continuous from bottom to top where the walls were continuous. The thickness of the walls was amply sufficient to bear any weight by vertical pressure which could be brought upon them in this mill; there were estimates made of what weight each floor would be called upon to bear; we never built a mill without estimating the weight to be thrown upon the structure in all its parts; the floors were constructed with beams, each beam made of two parts, varying from 16 inches a little in depth, and making them, when built together 16 inches square, or there-



about, the timber was very good, and no objection ever appeared to it; they were put together in the very best manner by Messrs. Dodge & Knowles. The span these beams were to go over being such that they might sag or spring under the weight of machinery, a system of undergirding them with iron rods was adopted to render them perfectly rigid, which they always were; it was not because they were weak, but to render them stiff; the same system is adopted in every railroad car, so that they shall not bend down in the middle; this was the iron said to have been brought in to strengthen the walls; no other iron was ever brought in for the purpose; the rigidity of these beams has always been maintained, so that the shafting always run as near perfect under them as in any mill; the beams were anchored in the walls at the side; the irons were turned up at the ends, and went within four inches of the exterior of the wall, and then went up about a foot; there was a body of brick work built around the ends of the beams; the anchor irons pulled the walls down; they would pull the walls down before they would pull out; I think they were sufficient to pull the walls down when the floor settled. The chimney was first intended to rise only a few feet above the roof, like that of the Duck Mill, as it now is; but Mr. Putnam, whether because the number of boilers increased, or because he desired to have a high chimney from fancy, I know not, wanted to have it made higher; he asked me if I thought it would bear it; I told him yes; this was after the foundation of the chimney was laid, and some of it erected; should have made the foundation broader, and should not have made a high chimney in connection with the walls; all high chimneys are generally made disconnected from the walls; by the swaying of the chimney the wall was cracked; apprehended no danger from the crack; the chimney and its crack on one side are still standing; the chimney could not have settled to crack the walls, because we guarded against it in the foundation; don't remember that I stated to Mr. Putnam any fears that the walls would be cracked by building the chimney higher. When I first came to Lawrence it was fashionable to have iron pillars; don't think they were used much before; a plan was made for some under my direction, the Essex Company and Machine Shop then being one; they were made with a clasp to go round the beam, not with a pintle to go through it; the main object of iron pillars being to sustain the upper floors in case of fire; it was to be made certain by this clasp; so if beams should be taken out the whole structure would remain above, supported by the columns; never had or used any model with a pintle going through the beam in the Essex Company; all the other mills which I have built having iron pillars, have these clasps going round the beams. [Witness then read a letter from Mr. Putnam, asking the engineer's advice about pillars for the three lower stories; also read a letter from Mr. J. B. Francis to Mr. Putnam, saying that he should think it would be better to have the columns 6 inches in diameter and  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in thickness, instead of 7 inches diameter and  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick, as in the Prescott Mill, of five stories. Also another letter from Mr. Putnam to witness, saying he would desire to have at least the lower two stories supported by iron pillars. He could get them done for  $2\frac{1}{4}$  cents, but thought the Essex Company could get them at an expense of 2 cents per lb. Also read a letter from witness to Mr. Putnam, saying that the size spoken of was large enough, and giving the price of wooden pillars about half as much as iron; finally asking Mr. P. to decide which he would have. Also a letter from Mr. P. to witness in relation to the use of the pintle, asking for a plan for that part. Witness did not remember whether he sent a plan. Also read another letter from Mr. Putnam to witness, saying that he concluded to have wooden pillars, unless pillars of the following dimensions were thought to be large enough, i. e., floor  $5\frac{3}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$ ; second floor  $5$ - $\frac{1}{2}$ ;

third floor  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ; 4th floor  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ; fifth floor 3—solid. Mr. Bigelow then wrote him a letter, informing him that four inches was smaller than he had ever seen a pillar, and he could not vouch for their sufficiency; he advised to have  $4\frac{1}{2}$  or 5 inch pillars put on the third floor; Mr. Putnam then wrote a letter to witness, saying he had contracted with Mr. Fuller to make the columns at an average price of \$8.50, changing the size of the above for the third story to  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches; he said Mr. Fuller was an honest man, and would make honest pillars; he afterwards received another letter from Mr. P. altering these dimensions, making them a little larger, as follows: those of the first story 6 inches in diameter and  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch thick; second story,  $5\frac{5}{8}$  inch diameter and  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch thick; third story,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inch diameter and  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch thick; fourth story, 4 inches in diameter and  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick; fifth story, 3 inches in diameter and solid.] Received a letter from Mr. Putnam April, 1853, saying, "Mr. Fuller has the pillars done; he wants you to send somebody down to inspect them. He says they are first-rate pillars, but wants you to send down, so if any are rejected he can save the freight." We refused to send a man down to inspect them; they were to be delivered here; no one was sent there; it was merely a request on his part for his own private advantage; the original plan for using a pintle did not come from my suggestion, always having used a clasp; I received the suggestion from him, and made up my mind that they would bear up enough weight, vertical pressure, and so told him; the theory of the experiments found in the books, and the practice in other mills, both go to show that there was an ample margin of security in the dimensions of the pillars—the order being to render the margin enormous; have no doubt that they were bought in absolute good faith by Mr. Putnam; the only error I can see in his course was in buying them at so much apiece instead of so much a pound; never knew of any test for casting, except to examine them on the outside; the pillar broken was defective; never saw any so defective as some of these are. We gave the pillars an ordinary inspection, and received them in good faith; have no doubt but that they were examined as much as pillars ordinarily are; one circumstance points directly to these columns as the cause of this accident; walls and wooden structures give away slowly, and cast iron falls suddenly; and that was the way with this; wooden columns would show splinters and give warning; the mill was a model to experienced persons for its steadiness and the approach to perfection with which it run all the time it was in motion; a year or two after the mill was completed, I was in and out constantly to see how it went; the delicate bearings of the heavy shafting at the south end were always remarkably true; the overseers said so; especially was this true at the south end; here any settling would be found out beforehand, even slight settling, which would be considered of no consequence to the stability of the building; have often, after I handed it over, for a year or two run my eye along the walls, and they were always true to their original line; have always seen from Canal street that the end was perfectly straight and plumb.

#### Afternoon Session.

##### TESTIMONY OF GEORGE A. HIBBARD.

I have examined the pillars here; think the metal is very good; think it is not properly cast; the core used is what is called sand core, mixed with beat sand and meal; the core would be raised or "floated" if it was not secure in its place by chaplets; we are now casting some for a store in Boston, eleven inches in diameter, and three-quarters of an inch thick; think some of the imperfections might have been discovered by passing over them with a hammer; we had a machine for testing the

equality of pipes by weighing; never saw it used; it would tell imperfections very quick; never knew of any test applied to any pillars where I have worked; should think these columns were too light and thin; never have seen columns of this size used to sustain such a weight; we have been in the habit of making pillars 10 or 11 inches in diameter, and from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in thickness for the lower stories of buildings; the pillars in State Street block, running through the building, are 10 inches in diameter, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick.

## TESTIMONY OF GEORGE W. SMITH.

My business, dealer in general wrought-iron works for stores, fronts, &c.; have had a good deal of experience erecting cast-iron pillars; never applied any tests; should think the iron in these pillars is as good as is ever put into pillars; don't think they could make so thin castings out of very poor iron; think the metal is a mixture of Scotch and American iron; have generally put them in the upper stories; the greatest length of span I have ever known in these buildings where I have put iron pillars has been ten or fifteen feet one way, and twenty or twenty-two feet the other way.

## CAPT. BIGELOW RECALLED.

Since the morning session I have corrected my memory in regard to the bonding of the walls; the bonding between the window-jams were only four inches thick; some of the beams were four inches short, that would leave four or five inches on the wall; don't think the shortness of the timbers were anything against the stability of the walls; if I had, I should have rejected them; the walls were not made vaulted with regard to saving expense; it never entered my mind that too much weight was put on the floors, I had such confidence in the great excess of strength; should have preferred clasps, instead of pintles, between the columns; the difference in weight between the different kinds would be some two hundred pounds; have known spans frequently twenty-five or twenty-six feet; twenty-seven feet was rather long; the timber was excellent, and particular care was taken to make the floors rigid when they needed nothing in strength; the timbers were as strong as are ever put in such a building; the bricks were perhaps a quality rather inferior in regard to straightness and smoothness; am always particular to throw out soft bricks; always was careful to have the joints of the bricks completely filled with mortar; it was most carefully superintended; by a calculation made from the figures of the overseer, Mr. Winn, in regard to the weight of machinery on that part where the mill fell first, it was concluded that fifteen tons were put on a section of floor twenty-nine feet eight inches by fifty-two feet; don't think this was heavier than should be borne up; should not have hesitated to have placed that weight there myself; think the floors would sustain as much as if the crack was not in the wall; any settlement of the walls would have been indicated by breaking of the window caps and sills.

Q. Should you now have any hesitation in using such shoring as this for a building of the height, weight and character of this, knowing what you do?

A. I should not use pillars like them again; this is the lesson to be learned from this accident; cast iron must be more carefully inspected than it has been before; I should test them with the hammer, and make them larger, to give a larger margin of security; I should not use pintles but clasps, such as have been used in all other mills here where iron pillars are used.

Q. What, in your opinion, was the cause of this accident?

A. The bad manipulation in the casting of those pillars.

## Evening Session.

## TESTIMONY OF ELBRIDGE JOSLYN.

Am engaged in a foundry; was superintendent of the foundry here at Lawrence; before that was superintendent in Lowell; have examined these pillars; the iron seems to be good; the casting must have been done badly; have been in the habit of casting pillars; sometimes, in casting, pillars are slightly unequal—perhaps to the extent of one-sixteenth of an inch—but one so bad as this one exhibited we could have discovered and should have broken it up; always test the pillars by hammering them with a sledge; could tell a very thin place in a pillar by a peculiar appearance outside, which would always show until it was painted; all our pillars are tested; the pattern of the Atlantic pillar was a thicker pillar than these, and had a thicker cap; it had a clasp going around the beam instead of a pintle going through; the pillars used on the Atlantic were much stronger than these; we made some columns for the Bay State Mills, with pintles; they were stronger pintles than these; the flange was twice as thick as this.

## TESTIMONY OF JOHN C. HOADLEY.

Have been employed seven years here as superintendent and agent in the Lawrence machine shop; have been a mechanical and civil engineer since the year 1835; the piece of iron before me is tolerably good; the great defect in the pillar is eccentricity of the core; three or four chaplets are usually set in a column to prevent sagging of the core; if the eccentricity of the core is great, one side cools very quickly, while the other side is still in a molten state; thus one side would contract one-eighth of an inch to a foot, and the other side not so much; this would bring the tension on the reverse side and be liable to break it; there is also danger of "cold chucks," as we call them, rendering them liable to snap; we have never applied any test, other than careful inspection of the exterior and strokes of the hammer; the difference of half an inch could be detected; the difficulty in the pillars before me is in the insecurity of the fastening of the core; have visited the ruins and seen three pillars, which, if properly tested, should have been rejected; should not willingly send out such pillars myself; the witness was struck with the lack of stability in the lines of the pillars in the buildings; having such a small base, they were very liable to be thrown out of line; if one column had fallen, it would seem as if all must go, as the floors were strong and tenacious, and the beams interlocked by the pintles; as soon as one column of pillars was thrown out of line, the others would be operated on as by a very powerful lever, and then forced down; if the plan for these pintles had been brought to me by a responsible engineer or architect, I should not have taken the trouble to calculate upon its stability; think that the cap of a pintle would become weakened by a heavy jar long continued; it would be analogous to the repeated blows of a hammer.

## Sixth Day.—Morning Session.

## TESTIMONY OF ISAAC FLETCHER.

Contracted to lay the foundation of the Pemberton Manufacturing Company's Mill; have been in the business about thirteen years; furnished and laid stones for the Pemberton Mill; considered the base good and the foundation well laid; I had the utmost confidence in the foundation; have seen nothing since to make me think the foundation was not good.

## TESTIMONY OF EDWARD P. WHITNEY.

Was in the employ of the Pemberton Manufacturing Company at the time of the

accident; was in the fourth story, where I had been moving fly frames; I was sitting on the pulley of one of the frames, the south end of the second frame from the westerly tier of columns; first felt the frame settling; I was looking towards the south, and saw all south of me settling; thought the cards in the south view were settling a little in advance of those where I stood. We had not ceased moving the machines more than five minutes; heard no crack at all; should think it was not more than three seconds from the time I noticed the settling before all was down; think we had much more weight in that part than in any other part of the mill; where we set the fly frames a lot of cards were removed; should think the fly frames made a much greater weight to the square foot than the cards; made a remark at the dinner table that day that I didn't see what held the mill up; nothing but the great weight caused me to say so.

#### CHARLES H. EIGELOW, RECALLED.

Must have approved of the plan of the columns and pintles; believed that the columns, being ordinarily well cast, would sustain the weight required; should think the floor would have borne on the columns about three or four tons each; don't think more weight was put on the columns than they should have borne.

#### TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL GOULD.

Am a millwright; have been such not far from thirty years; was not employed in the construction of the Pemberton Mill, but went there when the second story was put up; I was to have charge of the yard when the mill was running, and I was to stay there and take notice of any thing that was going on wrong; was put there by Mr. Putnam; thought it did not look so substantial as many other mills I had seen; had no apprehension of danger; didn't remain until the mills went into operation; have heard persons say that they "went as near the wind" as they could in building it.

#### TESTIMONY OF B. F. CHADEURN.

Am a brick-layer; have been employed by the Pemberton Mill Company; have made nearly all of the repairs on the mill since the mill was completed; thought the mortar was not good enough; first thought so soon after the mill commenced running. When I made a hole through the wall for a bolt to run through, the mortar was brittle, and seemed to have too much sand in it; thought it looked as if it was taken out there; also made holes in other parts of the wall when irons were put in; found it difficult to drill a hole through, because the bricks were so loose they would push right through; the bricks had been laid there about two years.

#### TESTIMONY OF STEVENS DOCKHAM.

I sent these pillars and caps from the ruins; one in the entry was taken outside and stove up; the others came from within forty feet up to a hundred of the south end; there are hardly a dozen in the basement not yet exhibited, all of which came from the same neighborhood; one was found with the pintle pressed into it, which came out of the fourth timber from the south end; didn't find any defective pillars until Saturday; believe the foundation remains perfectly sound; have seen nothing besides the defective pillars to which I could attribute this accident.

#### TESTIMONY OF HENRY STUDLEY.

Was employed in the Pemberton Mill, in the fourth story, about twenty feet from the east wall, and from seventy-five to one hundred feet from the south end; I was at the fly frame nearest the wall, facing Mr. Winn; I was talking with him, and he exclaimed, "What is that?" I looked around, and saw the floor settling towards the south-east cor-

ner; saw the cards then go down, and the floor above it follow it; should think the floor commenced to fall near the south-east corner; should think the easterly side was the lowest; Mr. Glover said he thought he saw the pillar spring, and after that we moved the machines by boring a hole in the floor; on the day of the accident we had to move the next to the last machine further than the others, to allow of getting in the last; a man was about to bore another hole; I said to him, "Don't bore another hole there, let us move it with bars;" Mr. Winn said we could take a sling around the foot of a pillar and draw it the short distance; it was done, and we moved the machine two or three feet by that means. Never had an idea that the mill was unsafe; have been engaged as a millwright for seven years.

#### Afternoon Session.

##### THOMAS P. WINN, RECALLED.

Had no recollection of directing Mr. Studley to put the tackle around the foot of the pillar to move one of the machines, on the day of the accident; might have given my consent to it; should have had no hesitation to do so; I only objected to putting it around the pillar before because it was put up so high on the pillar.

##### TESTIMONY OF JULIA HARTIGAN.

Was employed in the spinning-room, but was in the spool-room, at the time of the accident, in the fifth story; I was near the centre of the spooling-room, which was in the south end; I was engaged in a deep conversation with another girl, and the first thing I noticed the floor went down and we went with it; seized hold of each other; when that floor went down to the next we felt a short halt and a sort of a shake, and so on through the floors.

##### TESTIMONY OF GEORGE HOWE, OWNER.

Reside in Boston; was interested in this mill; the property of the Pemberton Mills was offered first at private sale; not being sold, it was offered at auction; a general schedule was given of the property—in it the number of spindles and number of looms; a number of gentlemen, of whom I was one, associated together for the purchase of the establishment; we agreed before the sale that we would bid the sum of \$300,000; at the sale Mr. Nevins and myself were inclined to give more; the others were not, and gave us to understand they should stop at that point; we held an argument with them to induce them to go beyond; we endeavored to persuade them to go to \$325,000; Mr. R. C. Hooper was one of the gentlemen, Mr. Nichols (Nichols, Pierce, & Co.) another who declined going beyond; Mr. Hooper was to bid on the property; he arrived at the point agreed, beyond which he would not go; Mr. Nevins persuaded him to continue to \$310,000; at that point he stopped and refused to go any further; another bid was made, and then Mr. Nevins came to me and asked if I would join him equally in obtaining the building; at that point, I think, Mr. Amos A. Lawrence I discovered was bidding against us; believe he was bidding in behalf of gentlemen supposed to be familiar with the property; didn't suppose him to be a by-bidder, and never have thought so; Mr. Lawrence I know made the last bid but one; think it was within \$250 of the final bid; Mr. Nevins came to me and asked me if he should bid again; I answered yes; he asked me how much; I told him I would indicate to him when he should stop; he did bid again, and the property was struck down to Mr. Nevins at \$325,000; Mr. Edward T. Rand was employed by us for the examination of the title, and it had his approval; we then applied to the Legislature for a charter; the bill, with the least possible delay, passed the House, and then the Senate, and it had at once the approval of the governor; the great

inducement they had for such summary action was found in the representation of the representatives of Lawrence, that a number of operatives were here in a state of suffering in consequence of being thrown out of employ, by the stoppage of the mills; the purchase was on the 8th of February, and early in March the mill commenced operation; I undertook to act as the treasurer, and Mr. Nevins as the selling agent; it devolved on me to make an arrangement for an agent; Mr. Chase the previous agent had been recommended to me by Dr. Hobbs, of Waltham, former agent, and now agent of the Waltham Company; he came to my office and wished me to consider Mr. Chase as an applicant, recommending him in unqualified terms; he had his education from his youth up in charge, first at school and then in the various departments; had previously recommended four other parties, in whom I equally had confidence; at once I made an arrangement with him; he named his salary, it was \$2500 a year, and I immediately closed with him; he was authorized to go forward and engage all the overseers at his discretion, and pay them whatever he thought proper; manufacturing business was then uncommonly depressed; the Pemberton Mills had an accumulation of stock unsold. (This was the other corporation. We changed the name and called it Pemberton Manufacturing Company.) The stock amounted to several hundred thousand dollars; at the outset we didn't expect Mr. Chase would pay so much for wages as if the business was better, and he didn't; we began selling the goods very cheap, and the prices afterwards advanced, and as they advanced we allowed Mr. Chase to advance the wages, until they were advanced, I should say, in the neighborhood of twenty per cent; the business went on increasing; I made it a point almost without an exception to visit the mill once a week, and go through every floor; Mr. Chase accompanied me; not more than once or twice, for nearly two years, did I find Mr. Chase absent; he never knew when I was going to visit the mill, and I had the greatest reason to believe in his ability and faithfulness; Mr. Nevins, living in Methuen, and attending to the styles of the goods, visited it much oftener than I did; he generally informed me when he did visit the mill, stating that he had visited it all through; Mr. Chase never knew to my knowledge at what time Mr. Nevins was to visit the mill; I found Mr. Chase extremely intelligent; I thought I knew much of manufacturing, but I found he knew much more than I did; we went on until the day of the disaster; it so happened that on that day Mr. Nevins had visited the mill, as he represented to me in the morning; on his return to Boston he reported to me that he had never been better satisfied with the operation of the mill than on that day; I came down by the afternoon train, half-past two o'clock; having then but a short time to stay, I went in company with Mr. Chase directly to the mill, as was my custom to do; we had passed through the weaving-room and the principal carding-room, the lower one; from there we went to the third story, spinning-room; we entered at the north end, and as we passed the mules, I remarked to Mr. Chase that I thought that they were running remarkably well; we had reached the last pair of mules, and I simply said, without meaning much, "This pair of mules seems not to be working so well;" he had a good reason to give for it; they were employed on slacker twisted yarn; while he was making his explanation we stopped about fifteen seconds; had it not been for this suggestion and this halt in our passage through the room, we should have been directly under the point where the floor first began to sink; we heard a noise and I think simultaneously the mules stopped; Mr. Chase exclaimed, "What is that?" and I think I made the same exclamation; in looking in the direction from which the noise came, towards the southerly end, about midway of the passage, in the westerly alley, we discovered at once the columns were falling towards ourselves; the beams were sinking; we then turned round to make an escape; I deemed it extremely doubtful whether we should get out; but we fortunately did.

Q. What part of the mill did the noise come from?

A. It came from the south end; the noise sounded very much like snow sliding from the roof; the pillars in the centre seemed to be going first; the ceiling was coming down; did not feel the floor inclining upwards; we ran half the length of the mill; the falling gained on us behind; think the timbers from above came near striking us; a large number escaped through the door which I did; it could not have been two seconds after we passed the threshold before the mill was a mass of ruins; I stated the price at which this mill sold; I should state in connection with that, that at that time factory shares were selling, many of them, much below the rate at which we purchased this mill; we paid this price for this factory for the advantage on the one hand, of having more exclusive control of it, and on the other for its high reputation; at the time we purchased the mill, its reputation was high; before it was sold, the company got Messrs. Isaac Hinckley and William A. Burke to come here and make an estimate of its value; they did so; they were requested to report also what it would cost to build a duplicate mill, and they reported (in round numbers) that the stationary property would cost something over \$200,000; the movable property, such as machinery and fixtures, and motive power would cost \$427,000; together it amounted to something over \$640,000; the land and water power was not included, because the price had varied; I had the greatest confidence in the judgment of Mr. Burke, for he had been for many years at the head of the machine shop of the Amoskeag Company, in which I had been from its commencement, a director; Mr. Hinckley stood as highly as Mr. Burke, as his name was first appended to the statement; by referring to the quotations at that time, it can be seen that factory stock was selling for about a third price; when we had our charter, one-half of the shares was taken by Mr. Nevins; I gave twenty shares to Mr. Samuel W. Swett, President of the National Insurance Company, twenty to one of my sons, and ten to another, and I had the rest myself — 250 shares; the property was divided into six hundred shares; it was insured for over \$400,000; it covered all the buildings, and all the stocking process, and all machinery; I think the insurance on the machinery was for \$200,000, on the buildings about \$80,000, on the cotton stock \$50,000, on the stock in process over \$30,000; most emphatically I can say that never the first word was said to me against the stability of the building; I have heard since the accident, that some people had made remarks; but no such remark ever came to me from the agent, or anybody else; it was considered the model mill, and was insured for the lowest premium; Mr. Mather, who acts for the Manufacturers' Insurance Company of Boston, was so well acquainted with the property that he required no representation from us; he had \$40,000 on it; no one ever said a word to me against the perfect security of the mill; never heard a word about the broken pintle which has been testified to; never knew that I was part owner of extra caps to strengthen the flanges of the pintles; had no knowledge of the character of the walls any further than this; there are unerring indications of the stability of walls; a building having granite caps and sills must show any settling by breaking these; never knew any cracking of any caps or sills; it was the remark of Mr. Chase that the walls had stood so perfectly that not one sill or cap had been cracked; the remark was made when we were discussing the question of filling up the upper carding-room, which was not fully occupied; we were wanting more weaving, and I asked Mr. Chase if he thought it would be safe to fill it up; he said that he thought the building was strong enough, inasmuch as the walls had never settled; I afterwards concluded not to run the risk; never made any change in the machinery except in the lower story; we took out six jacquard looms, very heavy, and substituted common looms; the third story was occupied by mules and spinning frames; the mules were placed at right angles of the building from one end to the other, leaving a passage



way; they had a bearing the whole length of the room, on castors; the action of the motion on the building was very little, the tendency of the works being rather to add stability to the building; the ring spinning was such that one could hardly know they were in motion if they were not looking at them; the motion would not occasion the slightest action on the building; the fourth floor was occupied by another set of mules, acting the same way as the mules below, running the same way, and of the same construction; at the other end of the fourth story were placed three cards, stoffers and fly frames, occupying about half the surface altogether; a portion of this floor was partitioned off and occupied as the drawing-in-room, where there is no motion to act on the building; we had a less quantity of stock in the mill than has been usual; in the fourth story, we were arranging the cards — not increasing, but giving them a different combination; by this we were to make a space to be occupied by a pair of mules to be moved from the floor below; they had not been moved; nothing had been put in it, but a lapper of great weight had been removed, a heavy coiler had also been removed, and a railroad of no great weight placed there, so the weight had been largely diminished on that floor; my ideas of the stability of the mill were increased by noticing the best system of iron girding inside I ever saw in a mill; as proof of it, I may say that I was never on the floor of a factory that had such stability as that one did; I make no exception; in regard to the walls, I think their stability depends more upon the beams inside than the walls themselves; I think if walls are connected by timbers, trussed with iron and anchored at each end in the walls, and if the floor is perfectly supported, a wall will be kept secure from falling outward, and it is impossible it should fall inward; if the floors were taken out, a strong wind would be likely to blow the walls over; since I have been associated in the interest of the mill there has been nothing added to it nor taken from it to affect its stability; the crack about the chimney I never heard the first word about; never knew of any crack about the building; I judged of the building by its parentage; Messrs. Putnam and Lowell never have been known to slight any thing for the sake of saving money; money was of little consequence to them compared with stability; I had never known an iron column to give way when the weight is kept vertical.

#### Evening Session.

#### TESTIMONY OF IRA TRUE.

I am a carpenter; have been employed on Pemberton Corporation since the second floor was put on; was in the repair shop at the time of the fall; in attending to repairs I have been called to level shafting when it was between the pillars; the upper card-room required the most attention: have been called there seven or eight times lately; the levelling was done mostly on Sunday; a settling of three-eighths of an inch would cause heat; the shafting adjusted in the card-room was towards the left wall; in one or two places have been called a number of times to adjust the same portion of shafting; in some cases we deferred the levelling until the next week; some on the south end were adjusted twice; the shafting was not much affected by heat; have been employed in mills at Newburyport; the settling was caused by springing of timbers, what carpenters call "sagging;" some of the timbers of the flooring of the fifth story sagged perhaps five inches; Messrs. Studley & Whitney assisted in the levelling up; considered the sagging a sign of weakness; I reported the fact to one of the men who worked with me, and adapted the shafting to the beams; Mr. Glover had the hiring of the hands, but I did not report the fact of the sagging to him; it was noticed more particularly a fortnight ago; the beams all sagged, more or less; they were double timbers, running east and

west; the shafting we adjusted run from north to south; we put bearings or hangers at the extreme south end; can't tell what sagging there was there; detected the greatest sag near the south end, perhaps the fourth beam, near the centre; I applied no other test than sighting; the shafting needed to be adjusted with great nicety; started our bearings at the south end; we generally found the lowest point, and started our shafting there; levelling up became necessary; have discovered settling in the weave-room and levelled up; it was not in the same portion of the mill; the dressers in the fifth story stood lengthway of the beams; three occupied the width of the mill, one between each beam; there was an alley running through the centre of the room; from my observation, the sagging of the fourth story was caused by the floor above; the settling of the middle portion of the building caused the sagging; I never saw any thing about the mill indicating danger, but considered it safe; never helped to level up the dressers; if there had been a settling of two inches of the floor in the fifth story, the dressers, I think, could not have run; if there was any one timber in its original state and in a perfect line, I think there would have been three inches' difference caused by the sagging; was directed to go into the building to level the shafting by Mr. Glover, generally; in the last-mentioned case, Mr. Studley directed me; we put up the new line of the shafting about four feet from the old; the shafting put up was old; think it was taken from near the middle.

MORRIS KNOWLES, RECALLED.

In the year 1853, the last of March or first of April, Captain Bigelow sent for me to come to his office and gave me the dimensions of the mill, and asked me to make an estimate for what I would build it, I finding certain parts of the lumber, the Essex Company the rest; I made the estimate and took the contract; as I was busy I went to Lowell and got Mr. Dodge, and he attended to the details of the work afterwards; I frequently visited the work; while masons were carrying up one-half of the mill, we were preparing timbers to put on to that half; we found that our timbers were some four inches too short on each end; our custom was and always has been to lay the timbers eight inches certain over the wall; think I went to Captain Bigelow about it; it was always my custom to do so; the anchor irons were ordered of the same length, and were prepared at the same time; they were carried out when the timbers were too short, by fastening them nearer the ends of the timbers; in the shortest timbers the fastenings would be eleven inches from the end; think that sufficient for all practical purposes; considered the short timbers perfectly safe, and the shortest ones had four inches bearing on the main wall; after seeing Captain Bigelow, we made arrangements to have projections built out; our beams don't come always of the same depth, and we level them on the top because we don't want to take them all down to the size of the smallest; to level them thus, we put under pieces of hard pine board, varying in thickness, according as the timbers varied; those boards were laid so as to bear on the whole of the main wall and about two inches on the projection; recollect some of the planks were found to be wormy and they were taken out; don't recollect that any main timbers were found defective; the first floor was composed of three-inch plank, and inch and a half hard pine board; the spikes used in the planks were tenpenny; two were put in narrow planks and three in the wide; between every bearing there were three dowels seven-eighths of an inch in diameter; over the second and third floors were inch and a quarter hard pine boards, laid diagonally, and sheathed below with white boards an inch and a quarter in the rough, nailed once in every eight inches; the floors above were made with the same timber, not laid diagonally; in laying these large timbers should expect the bottom of the timbers would vary in the centre between the bear-

ings; sometimes they vary an inch; they might vary an inch in this mill; sometimes the ends will vary, and then my custom has been, when we make a joint, to select those nearest of a thickness, and then plane the largest down, I think we never put pieces of board on the pintle caps to compensate for the difference of thickness in making the joint; we used to have pieces of wrought iron to lay on the cap of the pintle; should think these irons did away with the advantage of the groove in the base of the pintle; should expect some sagging in the timbers in the course of six years; the effect of heat would cause an increase in the inequality of the lower surface of the timbers warped; some timbers are more cross-grained than others, and would warp more; the fact that the floor of the fifth story had settled three inches would have surprised me; should not have expected that this floor would sag so much with the weight it was calculated to bear; should not have expected more than an inch or an inch and a quarter; to look at a sagging timber one would think that the sag was greater than it would prove by actual measurement; on last Thursday and Friday I went to the ruins and examined the main gear and the counter gear; examined the wall exposed; was not able to see any indication of settling; think I saw a crack in the window sill at the south end, below the floor; last Tuesday went to the ruins with Mr. Francis, of Lowell, and he expressed himself perfectly satisfied that the foundation had not settled; don't know as Mr. Francis saw the crack in the window sill; supposed it was caused by the strain of the fall; in the mean time, examined and overhauled the pillars; found a defective one exhibited about a hundred feet from the southerly end; I thought before that if I saw a pintle broken like this, it would be great evidence; am perfectly satisfied in my own mind, knowing the rigidity of the floors and the manner in which they were constructed, that if one of the flanges should break, the whole structure would fall; if the flange should break, the wood around the pintle might not come close to it, and the hollow pillar might drop down five or six inches; that would break the pillar, and the others would be thrown out by the inclination of the pressure; if the walls had been four feet thick they would have come down by the pressure of the roof, which was not self-supporting; a self-supporting roof would make the walls much stronger.

#### Seventh Day.—Morning Session.

##### GEORGE HOWE, RECALLED.

I would remark in regard to my confidence in the wall, I should just as soon thought of asking whether Mr. Ebenezer Francis' note was good for half a million dollars, if he weré living, as I should have thought, knowing its history, of asking the opinion of any one in regard to this building. Knowing the gentlemen connected with its construction, I should have supposed the inquiry in any case would have excited great mirthfulness.

##### TESTIMONY OF E. B. HERRICK.

Reside in Lawrence; am employed in the Washington Corporation; have charge of the yard, and watch; at the time of the accident I was standing in the Washington Corporation yard, looking towards the Pemberton Mill, talking with Mr. Piersons, Street Commissioner; my impression was first that there was a snow slide, by the noise; didn't know but what it was a coal pile; it seemed to come from the direction of the Pemberton Mill; I could see the north end and could not see the south end; in a few seconds the part of the building I could see fell; should think it fell mostly towards the Washington

Mills; saw no bulging of the walls; heard no explosion before the fall; expected to have fire to contend with; saw lights in the ruins; went to the end next to the Pemberton to look out for it; got hose out then ready for fire; have never noticed any weakness about the building; have never made any examination before the fall or after; couldn't have told what kind of pillars were in the building; never saw the mortar while it was making; think I have heard Mr. Hodgman say he didn't think the flange of the pintle was strong enough; heard there was one broken, and that he repaired it, and think that he said they should be altered, and that some preparation was made to remedy the weakness; didn't know what it was.

#### TESTIMONY OF GAMALIEL GLEASON.

Am a mason; have been a mason thirty-four years; took a contract under Capt. Bigelow on the Pacific; employed under him on the Pemberton and Atlantic; Capt. Bigelow always cautioned me to do my work strong, and if it was not done strong I had to have it re-laid; did thus sometimes re-lay work; he required thorough work as much as any man I ever worked under; I put in fire escapes and drilled holes for ladders; I drilled some of the holes through the walls; might have helped drill twenty or thirty; didn't see any indications of weakness or deficiency in the wall; think the mortar was not very strong; think it was partly in the lime; it was Vermont lime, which is not so good as Thomaston; believe it is not so strong; saw no indication of the mortar being weakened by too large a proportion of sand; thought the mortar separated from the bricks more than usual here; suppose it was caused by the bricks being dry when they were laid; when bricks are light we usually wet them; these were bricks of about medium hardness; we used Vermont lime on the Pacific; at that time it was used most altogether here; think the walls were not thick enough for such a load as was put into that mill; never saw a mill loaded as this was; believe the whole work on the building was done well, though I thought it was too light.

#### Afternoon Session.

#### TESTIMONY OF JAMES A. FOGG.

Am a wheelwright; was employed for a short time by the Pemberton Mill Company; was there under Mr. Hodgman; was there to set up machinery and level it up, as it first came to the mill; never was called to work there at any other time; noticed a sagging of the timbers between the bearings; noticed it most particularly in the card-room; sometimes had to level up the machines an inch; when we set them the levelling varied from one-half an inch to an inch and a half; think there was greater sagging between the walls and the pillars than between the two rows of pillars; the machinery was on the floor when I went there; I worked on the section at the south end; did not take any notice of it until I went to work levelling up; then found it had sagged a good deal — more than in other mills where I have worked levelling up machinery; I ascribed the sagging to the length of the span; never saw any sign of any timber giving out, but thought they were not large enough; in the fifth story levelled up a dressing machine about an inch; don't recollect of ever seeing a machine set on a floor without more or less levelling; only worked on the west side of the south end of the fifth story; didn't notice whether there was any sag on the east side; in the second story the sagging extended as far as I worked — from the south end to the centre; the lowest place was in the centre between the bearings.

## J. P. PUTNAM, RECALLED.

Since I testified before, I have found a draft of the columns and pintles among the plans of boarding-houses; it was sent me by Capt. Bigelow. [Witness then read a letter, from Mr. Francis to witness, advising that it would be better to have the pillars six inches in diameter and three-quarters of an inch thick, declaring that that would allow a large margin of security; also a letter in answer to the above, transmitted from Capt. Bigelow to witness, saying that he thought the dimensions were large, and asking witness to choose between wood and iron; also a letter, from Capt. Bigelow to witness, saying he could not vouch for four-inch pillars, and giving some remarks in detail; also a letter, from same to same, asking to have the iron caps for pillars forwarded.] The plan before me was the one I received from Capt. Bigelow; think the idea of employing the pintles with the pillars grew out of a conversation between Capt. Bigelow and myself, something to the following effect: Capt. Bigelow thought of using wooden pillars, and I thought iron ones would be stronger, when Capt. Bigelow said that columns without connection would not be safe in a case of fire; the founder might have suggested pintles to me, and I might have referred it to Capt. Bigelow, or the latter might have suggested it to me; never knew of the connection between columns, by means of a clasp, until Mr. Coolidge testified the other day; don't think I ever estimated the difference between the weight of the columns which the Lawrence Company would make and those made by Mr. Woods; made the contract for the columns with Mr. Fuller; never had any dealings with Mr. Woods, who owned the foundry; since my memory has been refreshed, I recollect something of ordering a set of extra caps for the pintles when the cap of one was broken; think we only ordered enough for one floor; they were not used; don't recollect of giving orders to have their manufacture discontinued; the extra weight mentioned in the bill was because the pillars first made for the second story were considered too light and were used for the third story, and heavier ones placed in the second story; don't recollect about giving notice to Capt. Bigelow that Mr. Woods had notified me that the pillars were ready to be tested; didn't know how columns were tested, but supposed that the usual means employed by engineers would be employed; no one ever spoke to me about the building being too slightly built; I had confidence in the opinion of Capt. Bigelow in regard to the pillars; didn't feel myself responsible for the engineering, but when I saw any thing where I thought something could be done to make it stronger, I usually suggested it; there was some uneasiness felt among the directors as to the foundation, but, after a conversation with Capt. Bigelow, I felt perfectly satisfied about the foundation; think we did not consider the breaking of the pintle of much importance; the directors felt some uneasiness about a small stream of water seen under the foundation; I did not know but we ought to drive piles; the directors came and looked at it, but it was afterwards considered unnecessary.

## JESSE GLOVER, RECALLED.

I was superintendent of the repairs for the Pemberton Company, from three years ago last March until the disaster; Ira True was there eighteen months; don't think I have given any orders to him or to anybody else to level any shafting in that mill since the mill has been run by the company which owned it last; some shafting was moved in the fourth story within the last four weeks, about two feet from the former line; this shafting was attached to the upper beams, and the beams were in good condition; the main shafting never has been levelled since I have been there; commenced to do it, but found them so near right that it was unnecessary; since that the shafting has run better than I ever saw any in any other mill; it was my duty to go through the mill

and examine it; every thing needing repairs, or unusual in the running of the machinery, was reported to me; feel confident that when we moved that shafting there was not two inches' sag in the floor between the bearings on the wall and those on the columns; Mr. Craig said he never saw the shafting run better than on that day; it would not be probable that all the beams, from north to south, would sag alike; if they sagged to any extent unequally, the shafting would have to be levelled; never knew any shafting to be levelled up the second time; never knew of any defect which I desired to keep from anybody; have levelled up the mules, which is always done in all mills where I have been; in the card-room I levelled a line of shafting which ran in the centre of the beams, and commenced to do more of the same; saw the testimony of Mr. True; have no doubt that my testimony about the settling of the floor is correct; if it had settled three inches, a person walking could have seen it; I have examined the boilers at the south-west corner; they are uninjured, except where the wall fell on them and broke off some pipes; there could not have been an explosion; the main gas pipe was in the north-east corner; there was a main pipe running from the basement to each floor; on the third story the weight was about equal the whole width of the room; in the fourth story, the greatest weight was on the west side; should think the southern half of the carding-room was loaded heavier than the northern half; don't know of any great difference in different portions of the southern half; should think the fly frames might come up to two tons; I was present when part of them were moved, the last four I did not see moved; left Mr. Studley in charge of the moving; the first one we moved by hitching to a post; that was two weeks before the calamity; the post (pillar) seemed to spring a little, and we didn't do so again; in moving that frame we fastened to two pillars; we didn't apprehend any danger to the mill, but I thought if we broke a pillar it would give us trouble by the settling of the floor above; think I have frequently seen tackle hitched around the post; have been on the top of the building frequently.

#### Evening Session.

#### ELBRIDGE JOSLYN, RECALLED.

The diameter and thickness of the pillars now in the Atlantic Mills are as follows: They are all six inches in diameter at the base, slightly tapering; first story, 3-4 inch thick; second story, 5-8 inch thick; third story, 9-16 inch thick; fourth story, 1-2 inch thick; these pillars were made by the pound, according to these dimensions; clasps were used instead of pintles; think the large pillars in the basement of No. 3, are solid; they had a receiving book which told the weight of every piece; the pillars where the large iron girders go, were solid.

#### TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL CUMMINGS.

Am a millwright, and reside in Lawrence; employed at the Washington Corporation; have been the most of the time for the last twelve years; was sent to the Pemberton the next spring after it commenced operations to make some repairs and move machinery; was employed to level shafting in the basement of the building some time in that spring; levelled across the counter-shafting from east to west; found the shafting in some places considerably out of level; worked there levelling only one day; the greatest extent of levelling was an inch and three-quarters; when the hangers were put on the floor between the beams, the largest extent where the hangers were on the cross-timbers was about seven-eighths of an inch; two of us levelled about the hangers that day; think that so much of a sag would heat the shafting so that it could not run; saw some indications of heating in the boxes; the sag was greater in some places than

in others; the greatest settling was in the south-east corner of the mill; when moving frames in the fifth story, I noticed a good deal of trembling, more than in the Washington; felt it so much that I told my folks I didn't feel safe to work there; we slid the machinery on the floor with bars; the machines were spoolers, weighing from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred; Mr. Hodgman sent me there; think I told him I did not feel safe there; thought the motion caused by the machinery here was greater than in the Washington or Atlantic; this was after the trusses were put in; supposed the trembling in the fifth story was of the floor and timbers, and not of the walls or support.

## TESTIMONY OF JOHN WARD.

Was in the dye-room, second story, south side, at the time of the accident; was between the wall and pillars, perhaps thirty feet from the southerly end; was oiling the machinery that day; was looking towards the south end at the time of the fall; thought the gas was going out; saw the shafting and ceiling give way; was knocked down, and it was two or three minutes before I got out; the fall occurred two or three seconds after the tremor of the gas; the shafting fell at once—some forty feet of it; one floor fell after another; the centre of the mill went first; parts of the walls tumbled in and other parts out; know of no jar or shock to the pillars in our room; heard a rumbling sound overhead; felt no jar or jostle, previous to the accident.

## TESTIMONY OF SIMON CRAIG.

Was employed at the mill; ran the wheel days, and watched nights; was in the weave-room, at the time of the accident, oiling machinery; heard a crash; looked, and saw the flooring coming down; it might have been thirty seconds from the time of the crash to the fall; what fell seemed to be the westerly row of pillars; commenced thirty or forty feet from the southerly end; did not notice the fall of the easterly end; the floor beneath me was firm; the machinery had been running well; the gearing had not been disturbed; noticed no indications of heat when oiling the machinery.

## Eighth Day. — Morning Session.

## CHARLES H. BIGELOW, RECALLED.

[The attention of witnesses was called to a plan of the columns and pintles brought by Mr. Putnam.] This plan, and the letters I have read, show my agency in regard to these columns and pintles, the first idea being to use wooden columns. I furnished a plan to Mr. Putnam, which was an exact transcript of this, as far as it goes; this is my plan; the form and dimensions of the pintles, as made, differ entirely from this plan; the top was not cast in connection; this was not a working-plan, but was simply to show the vertical dimensions; the cap represented on the plan was an inch and a quarter, and it is cast only an inch and a sixteenth; this was simply to represent the length of the columns, and any horizontal dimensions were only put in the plan accidentally, as these dimensions had been agreed upon before; Mr. Putnam wrote to me and asked what size we should have these pillars; I made the calculations for the dimensions of the columns, saying nothing about the pintles; he also gets other advice, makes up his mind what size he will have, and orders them from a foundry; I know nothing more about them until they are delivered to me to put into the mill; I did not feel called upon to make a new calculation on the pintles; I had calculated on the columns, and had confidence in them, and I have now, if they had been well cast; know the suggestion in regard to the pintles came from Mr. Putnam, for the special reason that just

prior to this I built the Duck Mill; it was built at a round cost, and although it was my duty to save unnecessary expense, I used the columns and clasps I have always used, without any question; in reference to the Duck Mill, though we built it for a round sum, we spent ten thousand dollars more than we thought we should when we made the contract; about these columns (showing one of the broken pieces) that capital shows that the thickness was not adhered to in the castings: (showing another piece) that is a fair specimen of the lower-story pillars, and it would take much over a hundred tons' pressure to crush it, if it were properly cast; if the columns had been as good as that piece, the jolt of a breaking pintle could not have affected the pillar in the least; the object of the pintle was to connect the columns and prevent the upper floors from falling down in case of fire; but the theory on which they are constructed is wrong, and I never could have used them of my own will; when Mr. Putnam sent to us that the pillars were ready to be examined, he didn't send for us to test them; they were examined after they came here just as they would have been if we had sent a man to the foundry for the purpose; I never bought any pillars by the piece, but I always bought them by the pound; in regard to the mortar, I am satisfied that no fair examination can be had of that at the ruins, except by taking some in the wall which has not fallen down; the action of fire, frost, and water has had such an effect on the mortar exposed to it, that it cannot be properly examined: from the examinations thus made it is not fair to condemn the Vermont lime, which is as good-looking lime as can be found in the world; the mortar was superintended by Mr. Coolidge, who has a large experience in such matters.

#### TESTIMONY OF H. D. CLEMENT.

Have been fifteen years a contractor; have visited the ruins since the disaster; have examined the foundation, and am satisfied it is all good; a settling of a quarter of an inch would cause it; it was no more than four or five feet from the chimney, and might have been caused by its weight; found several defective columns; have been in the habit of building large mills; never noticed so large a building, which had been built that length of time, without showing indications of more settling; saw nothing to make me believe that the foundation was not of the first order; found the brick pier in the basement in good condition, and the iron caps on them entire; saw no indications of the outer casing of brick having given away; of a few of them the corners were gone, but, on inquiry, I learned that it was done since the fall; found one pillar broken in the middle, which was less than an eighth of an inch thick on one side, and more than an inch and a quarter thick on the other side; it was one of the pillars five and five-eighths inches in diameter; examined the mortar; it now appears rather crumbling, and not so strong as I have seen; don't know what effect fire, water, and frost have had on it; should not expect to find mortar as this is now; saw some ten or twelve pillars defective; but only one with a defect appearing on the outside; a man saw a pillar that didn't look just right on the outside, and struck it with his heel and made a hole through it; saw no pintles remaining in the timber; saw no pillars remaining upright; think the gearing stands very well.

#### TESTIMONY OF THOMAS DOLLIVER.

Have examined the foundations since the fall of the building; saw nothing to give me reason to doubt the thoroughness of the work; saw several bad pillars; found the one exhibited north of the centre; I broke a good many and found blow-holes; saw none that could have been detected by their outside appearance; found them nearly all broken; when the pillars were brought here from Boston, I helped carry them in; think we broke one; don't recollect whether it was defective; after that I cautioned



the men to be careful in handling them—not because I thought they were poor pillars, however; at the ruins we found many pillars that we broke of unequal thickness.

**Ninth Day.—Morning Session.**

JOHN CHASE, RECALLED.

Since I testified before, the safe has been opened; the floor plans were not saved in the safe; should judge that the weight on the second story, including machinery and stock in process, would have amounted to from two hundred and fifty to two hundred and seventy-five tons; on the third story about one hundred and twenty-five tons; on the fourth about one hundred tons; on the fifth story fifty or seventy-five tons; this is the result of an estimate I have made since the disaster; about three years ago considerable weight of machinery was removed from the fourth story; on the third floor the greatest part of the weight was on the southern end; called the weight of the carls a ton each, and the fly frames two tons each; I gave directions to have the fly frames moved; I had noticed that the floor of the fifth story, which was not trussed, had settled about two inches; I had noticed some places in the floor where the sag was greater on account of the piling up of yarn, and had the overseers take it away; had no apprehensions of danger; there could not have been a settling of five inches.

[Messrs. John B. Tuttle, Gilman Tuttle, Levi Sprague, and Gamaliel Gleason, masons, testified to their belief that the mortar was good, though all agreed that it was probably not very strong, being made of Vermont lime.]

**Afternoon Session.**

LEVI SPRAGUE, CALLED.

Reside in Lowell; am a mason, and have been so thirty-two years; have worked on several mills; have examined the mortar of this building, and think it is good; was not surprised to see the bricks broken apart, considering the height from which they fell; think the mortar could not have been better made with Vermont lime.

HENRY STUDLEY, RECALLED.

We re-adjusted lines of shafting on the fourth floor soon after the 1st of January; Mr. True assisted me; moved them from thirteen to twenty inches toward the centre of the mill; in taking down the shafting we found some pieces of wood which had been put in to level it when it was set up; the pieces of wood were from three-eighths to five-eighths of an inch in thickness; think some were over the last; the shafting had been in that position for three years previous; had there been a three-inch sag in the southerly end, think I should have perceived it; in the ruins we found pieces of timber ranging a quarter of an inch in thickness; never knew levelling up to be done on a Sunday, when it could be done without stopping the machinery; have done no work Sundays for four months; know of no levelling up of machinery for two years.

JESSE GLOVER, RECALLED.

For two years have not known any machinery to be levelled, except such as was moved; I don't believe the floor could have settled half an inch since the shafting was put up on the fourth floor.

GILMAN TUTTLE, RECALLED.

Think Mr. Putnam was informed of an apprehension of danger on account of the thinness of these walls; I went to Boston in company with my brother; we went to see Mr. Putnam about the bricks; we told him that we thought the walls very thin for such a structure, and we thought that nothing but good bricks should be used; he said he

would see Capt. Bigelow about it; the bricks were rough, but were hard enough; the light ones were thrown out by direction of Capt. Bigelow.

CAPT. BIGELOW, RECALLED.

[Witness described a pattern before the jury for the "clasp," which has been noticed as the means used in most of the mills to connect iron columns; the clasp is a heavy iron U, with a cap in which the beams rest, the clasp standing upon the top of one pillar, while the pillar above sits on its heavy cap; with this contrivance, if the beams should be taken out, or burned out, the floor above would remain, secured by the broad bearing, where a pintle might topple over.] Pintles have been used in many other buildings, but I never used any in any mill except the Pemberton; I believe Mr. Putnam acted in good faith, and I am responsible for adopting his suggestion; I do not believe, however, that the system of pintles caused this disaster; I find a column here which does not begin to average a thickness which it should; with such a column as this before me, I only wonder that the building stood as long as it did; I gave express instructions to Mr. Coolidge about superintending the construction of the foundation and the laying of bricks.

Q. When such careful supervision was exercised over the construction of the foundation and the walls, how was it that that supervision was not extended to the pillars?

A. We always had confidence in castings; I never knew of any manner of testing them; those made at our own shop we felt sure of, and the man who made these pillars had as good recommendation as any; I don't know but that as careful supervision, according to the custom, was exercised over the pillars as over any other part; the foundations and walls were our own work; for the pillars we went to a man who does such work; if we want a machine, and go to a man whose business it is to make such machines, we expect it will be a proper one when we get it; this will be a lesson to all to test castings more carefully hereafter.

TESTIMONY OF CALIB CROSBY.

Am a mason and contractor; have been engaged in the erection of large buildings for the last fifteen or twenty years; have visited the ruins, and find it very difficult to judge of the mortar as it appears now; should think it was pretty good, but not as strong as some I have seen; saw no indications of there being too much sand in it; don't know as I could have improved the mortar; think it was as good as we usually find; we have no rule for mixing mortar; know William Flynn, of Lowell; think him one of the best hands to make mortar that ever made it for me [Flynn was the person who made the mortar for the Pemberton Mill]; a contractor would gain nothing by putting too much sand in his mortar; don't know of any difference in the strength of Vermont and Thomaston lime; the Vermont will make a greater amount of paste than the Thomaston; have used some of the sand from the Pacific, and call it excellent. [The sand used in the Pemberton Mill was from the same place.]

Tenth Day.—Morning Session.

TESTIMONY OF G. V. FAWKES.

Am agent of the Washington Mills; was at my desk in the counting-room, and heard the building fall; ran and looked out of the window; saw the people in the yard looking towards the Pemberton, and looked towards it myself; saw the building falling, and a woman in the air who threw herself from an upper window; when the dust had cleared away, I saw that the mill had fallen down to the second story on the north-west portion; the weight in falling struck the roof of the weaving shed, and broke it in; on the eastern side and in the centre, the roofs were down within a few feet of

the foundation, and the successive floors projected over the lower some ten feet; standing upon the top of the ruins they seemed to be level on the west side, and sloped up towards the counting-room, the privies, and the chimney; should think all the west wall fell outside.

## TESTIMONY OF ISAAC HINCKLEY.

Reside in Lowell; am superintendent of the Merrimac Manufacturing Company; in 1857, I visited the mill under instructions to make an estimate of the cost of building a mill of the same capacity for manufacturing the same kind of work; we (Mr. Burke and I) expressly declined making an estimate that would require us to examine and estimate the structure itself as a building; in passing through the mill saw no reason certainly to cause me to believe that the mill was coming down; an uncommon deflection of the floors I was aware of; thought the weaving-room was heavily loaded; the other rooms were not uncommonly so; the mills that have been built in Lowell since 1853 have been built with vaulted walls. [Witness described the construction of mill No. 1, rebuilt in 1854, illustrating his description with plans.] The dimensions of the pillars of the first story were as follows: at the base, 6 1-2 inches in diameter and 7-8 inch thick; midway of the columns, 6 2-3 inches in diameter and 7-8 inch thick; at the upper end 6 inches in diameter and 7-8 inch thick; these pillars were cast at the Lowell Machine Shop; we were told that they were tested at the machine shop; never used any test ourselves except that of weight; the widest space between the bearings in any of the mills in the Merrimac yard, is from twenty to twenty-three feet; the widest mill in the yard is seventy-two feet from outside to outside; at the time of the examination of the Pemberton Mill, I noticed no apparent lightness of the pillars; have frequently been in the Pemberton Mill when it was in motion; the motion of the mill was less than noticed in the old mills of Lowell, and no more than in the new mills.

## THE TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM F. BURKE.

Reside in Lowell; am superintendent of the Lowell Machine Shop; was associated with Mr. Hinckley in making an estimate of the amount of money it would require to duplicate the Pemberton Mill; visited the mill and made a cursory examination of it; noticed considerable settling between the timbers; it was not sufficient to cause any apprehension of danger; the estimated weight of the carding machinery and necessary furniture occupying the second story, and a part of the fourth, is three hundred and twenty-five tons, of the spinning machinery and furniture two hundred and thirty-five tons; the machinery of the fifth story weighed about seventy tons. Taking the shafting of another mill as a point to judge from, I can say that there must have been one hundred and twenty-five tons of shafting in this mill; the largest proportion of the shafting was in the weaving-room, where it was suspended from the second story floor; noticed the carding-room was pretty heavily packed with machinery, closer than is common; the foundry at Lowell is under my superintendence; no test is employed for cast-iron pillars, except such as it receives when the core is extracted, the casting being slung up and rapped to loosen the core; we make long pipes and find little trouble in keeping the core in the right place; water and gas pipes are tested by being subjected to a pressure of two or three hundred pounds to the square inch; not more than one in ten of the pillars we mould are defective; the pillar before me has the appearance of being defective, from want of care in securing the core, from impurities in the iron, want of skimming, and from the iron having been poured when it was "slack" (not of a sufficient heat); the iron seems to be as good as what is generally used in such castings; do not think the moulder could detect a thinness of two-thirds of an inch in the centre of the pillar; never knew any pillars from our foundry broken after they were put up;

had some returned to us because they were crooked, which was perhaps caused by the inequality of the thickness of the different sides; I could not form an estimate of the amount one of these flanges on the pintle would bear before breaking, without careful investigation; but I should think it was a small amount of iron to sustain such a weight of machinery; have no recollection of ever making pillars with pintles at the Lowell foundry.

Afternoon Session.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM H. BURLEY.

Am a physician in Lawrence; have practised here five years; saw Maurice Palmer before his death at the City Hall; his neck was cut in three places, each gash being superficial, and each about two inches in length; the wounds cut through the veins; the interior veins were not injured; I should say the wounds were of a serious nature, and that death might result from the loss of blood; thought he was injured internally; thought at the time if he had had no other injuries than those wounds in his neck he might have lived; think his internal injuries were severe enough to make his living impossible.

J. P. PUTNAM, RECALLED.

Wish to set myself right in regard to my agency in the matter of the pintles and pillars. [Witness read a copy of a letter sent by witness to Capt. Bigelow, referring to the pintles, and saying the plans made for them would be submitted to him.] I think that the suggestion came from Capt. Bigelow to me in regard to the pintles; he does not agree with me, however; I wish to show that whatever was done by me was done with Capt. Bigelow's knowledge and sanction; I submitted every thing I wanted to Capt. Bigelow; I did not myself desire to undertake the responsibility of the engineering.

CAPT. BIGELOW, RECALLED.

Windows contained forty panes each, eight high and five wide, and the glass was ten by fourteen, making the length of the windows about ten feet; the space on a vertical line between the window caps of one story, and the window sills of the next was about three feet, until at the fifth story where the cap of the fourth story is the sill of the fifth; the longest span in the mill was twenty-six feet and ten inches, the greatest vertical distance from floor to floor was in the weave-room, fourteen feet; and the second, third, and fourth stories, thirteen feet; the height of the mill from the top of the weave-room floor to the top of the wall was sixty-three feet; to the top of the attic floor it was fifty-three feet.

TESTIMONY OF J. B. FRANCIS.

Reside in Lowell; am an engineer, employed substantially by the various corporations of Lowell, and an agent of the Company of Locks and Canals; have been employed by the Locks and Canal Company about twenty-five years; and my connection with the whole of the mills has been about fourteen years; have been called upon to design particular parts of various structures; the parts where I have been called upon to advise principally have been the foundations and motive power; my business has been mainly connected with water power for some years.

Q. Please state what connection you ever had, if any, with the use of the pillars of the Pemberton Mill.

A. The year before the mill was built I was asked by Mr. Putnam, who was at the time treasurer of the Boot Cotton Mills, at Lowell, in relation to the pillars of a mill he was then intending to erect at Lawrence; what was said I cannot now recollect, but I subsequently wrote him the letter following:--

“LOWELL, Dec. 18, 1852.

“Dear Sir:—Assuming the weight on the lower columns is the same as that on the corresponding columns of the Prescott Spinning Mill, a column seven inches diameter and one-half an inch thick would give ample strength, provided it could be properly cast. I should think it would be better to make it six inches in diameter outside and three-quarters of an inch thick, which gives an abundant margin for all contingencies. Of course, any column which has manifest imperfections should be rejected; but my calculation is intended to cover all ordinary imperfections. Of course, the columns in the upper stories may be gradually diminished in size and thickness.

“Very respectfully yours,

“JAMES B. FRANCIS.”

As now informed, the area of floor supported by each column in the Pemberton Mill was fully double that supported by each corresponding column at the Prescott Spinning Mill, and consequently each column had to support double the weight at the Pemberton Mill that each column had to support at the Prescott. This, of course, is assuming that the weight per square foot of floor is as great at the Pemberton, as at the Prescott, of which I suppose there can be no doubt. In the Pemberton the spans were 26 feet 10 inches by 10 feet, giving an area of 268 1-3, and on four floors, 1073 1-3. In the Prescott Mill the spans were 16 feet by 8, giving an area of 128 feet, and on four floors, 512 feet. Besides this, the roof of the Prescott Mill is self-supporting, while that of the Pemberton was not; the roof loaded with snow would amount to a third or a half of the weight of another floor; always make an estimate for any particular case of the strength wanted; I put one-twelfth or one-fifteenth part of the weight on a column that would break it if the column was perfect; the rule is deduced from experiments on nicely adjusted columns, such as are never expected to be found in common pillars; instead of giving an estimate of the Pemberton, I took another structure of the same height, and gave the same estimates for it; if the structure differed from it, the estimate should have differed. A column 12 feet long, 5 3-4 inches in diameter, and 3-8 of an inch thick, according to the rule given by Hodgkinson, has a breaking weight of 231 tons; a similar pillar, only 5 1-2 inches in diameter, with same thickness and length, has a breaking weight of 293 tons, by the same rule; a column of the same length and thickness, 5 5-8 inches diameter at the base, and 5 1-8 inches in diameter at the top, with a true taper, by the same rule, has a breaking weight of 199 tons; this rule was deduced from experiments upon a large number of columns of various sizes, the largest being 7 feet long and 3 inches in diameter. I made an estimate of the strength of a flange, 7 inches in diameter, 1 1-8 inches thick, resting on a pintle 3 inches in diameter, with a column resting on it 5 5-8 inches in diameter, and 1-2 an inch thick, not perfectly fitted; I made its breaking weight to be about 45 tons; a fourth part of that would be a safe weight, perhaps, a fifth safer, and some would use a third—from a third to a fifth.

Q. Was this shoring, in your opinion, in any way insufficient?

A. I am in the habit of coming at these things by figures. It is useless to guess when a fact can be so easily demonstrated, if I can know the weight to be supported. Estimating the weight as follows: Machinery on second floor two hundred and seventy-eight tons; third floor one hundred and fifty tons; fourth floor one hundred tons; fifth floor seventy-five tons; shafting one hundred and twenty-five tons; five hundred people thirty-one tons; stock on upper floors sixty-five tons; piping and columns sixty tons; the floors and roof one thousand two hundred and sixty tons; total two thousand one hundred and forty-one. The weight for each column on the lower floor would be *twenty-five tons*. This is between one-ninth and one-tenth of the esti-

mated breaking weight of the columns; that ought to be sufficient; providing that the columns were made as nearly perfect as they are usually made, this would be safe, though not so large a margin as I should recommend; but as the column turn out, I consider it was entirely unsafe. The weight of twenty-five tons on the pintle being more than one-half of the breaking weight, I should consider to be entirely unsafe. If these columns had been as good as they ordinarily are and a pintle had broken, think it would not have endangered the fall of the mill; think the pintle a poor thing any way; if I had been called upon to give a professional opinion in regard to the strength of the pintles for the weight, I should have gone through the same calculation I have now gone through, and I don't see how I could have arrived at any other conclusion. Think there should have been another row of columns in the mill; think vaulted walls should be bounded with cement; I should prefer solid walls if laid in mortar; we have been in the habit of building thicker walls in Lowell; I should adhere to that; we don't know how thin walls will do until something happens; I don't imagine any disaster would have come to the walls if the columns had not broken; the perfect running of the lines would give me additional confidence if I felt any apprehensions, while it would be a powerful argument that the trouble did not originate in the walls; I cannot escape the conviction that the fall originated with some trouble with the pillars; but still if the building had not been uncommonly light, I do not think the breaking of one column would have caused the fall of the whole building; should not distrust the building on account of a crack near the chimney; as far as I know there has been no method in Lowell for testing columns; the engineer has discharged his duty when he has made the plans; we have divided things off in such a way in Lowell that each man is responsible for his own work; this is the first time I ever heard or read of an iron column breaking.

This closed the evidence before the inquest. Several days were required in the review by the jury, and as this work is hurried to press the verdict has not been returned.

erated, and that in length of years the same among them has fallen far below that of any other class. In a report of the Massachusetts Secretary of State, a few years since, a table was published, giving the average duration of life among various professions, commencing with farmers at sixty-four years, descending throughout a list embracing twenty-vocations, and ending with printers at an average of thirty-six years, the lowest given in the table. A careful verification of this statement may be found in the records of the Franklin Typographical Society. The term of life among its members has been comparatively brief, scarcely reaching middle age, and I can assure you with no risk of misstatement in asserting that no other laboring association in the State has a larger proportion of invalid members constantly upon its rolls. It will thus be seen that the burden of supporting a charitable organization among printers is greater than among any other class, and that the Association which has the honor with your presence this evening has peculiar claims upon public sympathy. For the liberal manner in which these claims have been recognized during the past two years, the members of the Franklin Typographical Society are deeply grateful. The recent occasion places them under renewed obligations, and in their name I would heartily thank the speaker of eloquence and the adepts of song who have kindly consented to unite their efforts in our behalf this evening.

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Anniversary Services.



Grace Church,

Lawrence.



THE  
ANNIVERSARY EXERCISES,  
OF  
GRACE CHURCH,

LAWRENCE, MASS.,

*Oct. 8<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup>, 1871.*



LAWRENCE, MASS.  
PRINTED FOR THE CHURCH,  
By GEO. S. MERRILL & Co.  
1871.



1846.

1871.

## GRACE CHURCH.

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THE observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening services of Grace Church and the unbroken connection with its Rector, Rev. George Packard, was for some months discussed by present and past members of the Parish. As the time drew near, it became necessary to form some definite arrangements. At a Parish meeting, convened for other business, held Sept. 5th, 1871, the whole matter was put into the hands of an Executive Committee, who appointed sub-committees, and, with the aid of the Rector, prepared a list of the past and present members of the Parish. An invitation circular was sent to about one hundred and fifty non-residents who had been members of the Parish, nearly all having families, and had the residences of others been ascertained, the same would have been addressed to them. As the Eastern District Missionary Association fostered the Missionary Station at Lawrence, in its early years, an invitation was addressed to the members of that Association, through its Vice President, Rev. Dr. Edson, and was presented to the Association at their meeting at Medford, Sept. 11th and 12th. The vote was passed that the Association "attend in a body, the anniversary exercises of Grace Church, Lawrence, to which they had been cordially invited." Through its Secretary, Rev. Edward H. True, an invitation circular was sent to every member of the Association. The same circular was sent to fifteen other clergymen of our church, to some of the clergy and others once resident in our town, who were intimately associated with the Rector and members of Grace Church, to the clergy now resident in our city and to several of its leading citizens. From many of the non-residents, clerical and lay, letters were received, expressing an interest in the Parish and its Rector, which was very gratifying. The circular was as follows :

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Oct. 11th, 1846.

Oct. 11th, 1871.

GRACE CHURCH,

Lawrence, Mass.

*You are cordially invited to join us in celebrating the*

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

*of the opening services of Grace Church, and the unbroken  
connection with its Rector,*

Rev. GEO. PACKARD.

*Tuesday, Oct. 10th, 7 1-2 P. M., Evening Prayer, and  
Sermon by Rev. Phillips Brooks, of Boston.*

*Wednesday Oct. 11th, 10 1-2 A. M., Morning Prayer, Ser-  
mon, and Holy Communion.*

*Wednesday Evening, Social Gathering.*

*Arrangements will be made for the entertainment of  
non-residents, who are requested to report to the Commit-  
tee, at the Chapel, on Garden Street.*

J. C. HOADLEY, }  
DAN'L SAUNDERS, Jr. } Warhous.

H. M. WHITNEY, }  
JAMES PAYNE, } Executive Committee.  
CHAS. G. SAUNDERS, }

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As the second Sunday in October, 1846, or Oct. 11th, was the day when the first service was held in Grace Church, the Rector considered that his address should be given on the second Sunday in October, 1871. Accordingly, on that Sunday, he gave the address, in reference to which the following notes were passed :

REV. AND DEAR SIR: I am requested, in behalf of the Wardens and Vestry of the Parish, and of a considerable number of leading citizens of Lawrence, to ask you to furnish a copy of your address delivered on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening services of Grace Church, the 8th of October instant.

Very truly yours,

JOHN C. HOADLEY, *Senior Warden.*

REV. GEORGE PACKARD.

Lawrence, Oct. 14, 1871.

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TO J. C. HOADLEY, ESQ.,

*Senior Warden of Grace Church.*

MY DEAR FRIEND: My anniversary address was prepared for the congregation that might be convened in Grace Church on the morning of Sunday, Oct. 8th. Relying upon the judgment of the Wardens and Vestry, and the other friends mentioned in your note of the 14th, I submit for publication a copy of the same.

Very truly yrs.,

GEO. PACKARD.

Lawrence, Oct. 16th, 1871.





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## ADDRESS.

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Upon the second Sunday in October, 1846, or twenty-five years ago this Sunday, our chapel, then upon the spot where this church now is, was so far completed as to allow a service. I remember well that beautiful autumnal day, and as I rode over from North Andover, where my family were then residing, I was wholly uncertain as to the congregation, which my published notice might draw to this first house of worship erected within the present limits of our city. As the appointed hour drew near, one after another came in, until a congregation of about two hundred, some of whom were Episcopalians, were gathered for a service to which most present were utter strangers. At that time only two houses in this part of the city had been added to the few old residences, one of which was then occupied, the house on Prospect street into which Mr. Chas. S. Storrow had moved the week previously, and the other, built by the Machine Shop Company, was soon occupied by their agent, Mr. Caleb Marvel. Two or three buildings erected on the south side of Common street, east of this church, as many on Oak and Elm streets, on the plain, as it is now called, a brick building, now the second from Essex street, on Amesbury street, west side, and the ten boarding houses on the west side of the Turnpike, now Broadway, with a few tenements opposite to them, were the finished new buildings in what was then called the New City, or by some, Merrimac. From these and the old houses, crowded with occupants, my congregation had come. It was composed almost entirely of men, who had gathered here from all parts to lay the foundations of this new manufacturing town. Ecclesiastically, they were of all sorts and conditions. The Free-Will Baptist House, on Haverhill street, was occupied by them in November, and in the latter part of December the Congregationalists were enabled to use the small house they had erected on Haverhill street, west of the Lawrence Street Congregational Church.

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In my volume of Parochial Records I placed at the time this preface: "The Diocese of Massachusetts is divided into three Districts, the Eastern, the Western, the Southern. The Church Missionary Association of the Eastern District, believing that there were several places, within her limits, where the Church might be established, appointed, in April, 1846, the Rev. George Packard as Missionary of the District. Three stations were designated as places of effort, one of which was the manufacturing town that was to be built upon the banks of the Merrimac, near Methuen. The Missionary visited Lowell, and acquainted Samuel Lawrence, Esq., with the intentions of the Association. Mr. Lawrence, having been actively interested in the preliminary measures for the establishing of this new manufacturing town, generously offered the Missionary one thousand dollars for the erection of a chapel or temporary house of worship. A lot of land was offered by the Essex Corporation as the site of the church, and its selection was given to Mr. Lawrence and the Missionary. They decided to take the lot upon the corner of Common and Jackson streets, and a deed of the same was made to Grace Church, with the proviso that in five years from the time it was given, a church of stone or brick should be built upon it. The lot given is one hundred feet square. July 1, 1846, the plan of a small wooden church was gratuitously furnished the Missionary by the architects, H. and J. E. Billings, of Boston. Estimates of the expense of its erection were obtained, making the cost \$1350. Upon consultation with the members of the Association it was decided that the church should be built according to the plan submitted, and the Missionary was authorized to procure the balance needed from gentlemen who were proprietors in the different companies for manufacturing purposes now organized, and also were interested in the moral character of the place. The sum was easily obtained from Messrs. William Appleton, Abbott Lawrence, Amos Lawrence, Samuel Appleton, Thomas F. Perkins, Samuel Batchelder, William Lawrence, William W. Stone and Nathan Appleton. Mr. Storrow, the agent of the Essex Company gave the Missionary \$50 to be expended upon the church as the Missionary might think expedient. As there were but few Episcopalians upon the ground, application was made by the minister to friends in Boston and Lowell to provide proper furniture for the church. In response, a surplice was given by the ladies of St.

Aune's, Lowell : a beautiful Oxford Bible and two prayer books, by the ladies of St. Paul's, Boston ; crimson covering for the communion table and desks, with a white communion cloth and napkins, and 85, by the ladies of Trinity, Boston ; \$19.25, or a carpet for the chancel, by a few individuals in Grace Church, Boston, and two prayer books and two psalm and hymn books, by Mr. Daniel Bixby, bookseller, Lowell."

The recital of this preface to my book of records I thought would interest all present, but to myself and the family that remains with us of those who took part in our early services, it is of peculiar and deep interest. It vividly recalls the bright and dark hours in the infancy of this Parish, the anticipations that excited, the hopes that cheered and the discouragements that saddened the Rector and its early friends. The text of my first sermon, on the morning of the second Sunday in October, 1846, was the precious promise of the Saviour, "*Lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.*" And, having remarked upon the instrumentality for good that day opened, I said, "The basis of our confidence and hope is this promise of our once crucified but now risen Lord. Looking within and around us, we may well fear and tremble ; looking upward, we have confidence and hope. Upon this and other kindred assurances of our Lord and Master, the Church collectively may, should rest. Our trust is not in an arm of flesh, but in the Lord, mighty and willing to shew mercy. We must not lose sight of these promises for good to Zion. We must plead them earnestly and perseveringly before the throne, and if we do, having faith, and that faith leading to humble, prayerful, and untiring effort, our experience will be that "*not one good thing hath failed us of all that the Lord hath spoken.*" Our Liturgical service is full of scriptural truth, and if the teachings of the pulpit correspond, and the tenor of our lives and influence be in harmony with each, may we not confidently hope, may, expect, that the Head of the Church will vouchsafe His blessing, and that through this instrumentality, precious souls will be trained up for duty, and God, and Heaven? Let us not be slow of heart to believe the gracious words which are spoken of Zion, but let us lay hold with strong, unwavering confidence upon the promises, as an incentive to faithful, active exertion, and as an encouragement in any labors, however arduous, and as a warrant for gratifying success."

On that first Sunday I gave notice that a Sunday School would be opened on the next Sunday. On that day, October 18th, we had at our Sunday School, three teachers and eight scholars. Of those three teachers, two (one, a resident, and a second here on a visit) are present this morning. The other has not been a resident with us for several years.

November 19th, 1846, the church then completed was consecrated under the title of Grace Church, by the Right Rev. Manton Eastburn, D. D., Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts. Morning prayer was read by Rev. Theodore Edson, D. D.; the request for consecration, signed by Samuel Lawrence, Esq., of Lowell, in behalf of himself and others, was read by Rev. Henry Waterman, Rector of Christ Church, Andover. The sentence of consecration was read by Rev. George Packard; the Bishop performed the ante-communion service; Rev. Petrus S. Tenbroeck reading the Epistle. The sermon was preached by the Bishop from *Psalms*, 90 : 13. The other clergy present were Rev. Alfred L. Baur, Rector of St. Mary's, Newton, Lower Falls; Rev. Charles Mason, Rector of St. Peter's, Salem, and Rev. D. Gordon Estes, Rector of St. James, Amesbury.

In my first report to the Convention of the Diocese, June 9, 1847, embracing eight months, the statistics given are: Baptisms, infant, one; Marriages, one; Burials, one. It was, indeed, with us, a day of small things, but I said in my report to the Convention, "Our present condition we consider as that of healthy, promising infancy." At the close of the year, or October 3d, 1847, I made this record: "This Sunday completes the year that our services have been held in Grace Church. The number of families who consider it their place of worship is now twenty-six. Besides these, there are many single persons, male and female, that are regular attendants. The number of communicants is twenty-six. This being Communion Sunday, nineteen partook." To the Convention Meeting, May 16th, 1849, the statistics given for the year are: "Baptisms, infants, three, adults, one; Communicants added, seventeen; Died or removed, five; present number, fifty-three; Confirmed, two; Marriage, one; Burial, one; Sunday School Scholars, thirty-five." A paragraph from that report reads thus: "The Rector desires to record a kind visit of the Parish at his house, in January. Many and most acceptable were the tokens of regard he then received, cal-

culated to cheer the heart and sustain the character of one who strives to comply with the Apostolic injunction, "Owe no man anything," and who desires, having food and raiment, therewith to be content. May rich spiritual blessings be bestowed upon all those who have ever administered to him of their worldly substance." In my Conventional report for 1850, my statistics are: "Baptisms, (infants, ten, adults, seven,) total, seventeen; Communicants added, thirty-two; Died or removed, seven; present number, seventy-eight; Marriages, four; Sunday School Scholars, fifty-seven." The report says: "The Parish has increased in numbers, character and ability, but is yet unable to sustain itself. The Rector would gratefully acknowledge a visit this year from his parishoners, which, like that of the preceding year, left to him and his family many substantial tokens of kindly and generous feeling. If it be more blessed to give than receive, the visit of February last was the instrument of great blessing to his Parish." In my Conventional report for 1857 I state: "The Parish of Grace Church is lengthening its cords and strengthening its stakes. The small, but truly church-like building which we have occupied more than four years, has for some time been too strait for our accommodation, and several families are now waiting for room in the new church. It is to be of stone, of good size, and to cost from \$8000 to \$9000. It is to be a Parish church, no individual proprietorship being allowed, and when completed, will be paid for. The Parish was determined to submit to their present incumbrances for a longer time, than to have upon them the incubus of debt, and resolved to make no serious movements towards building, till the amount needed was secured." About half the amount was pledged by our own people, and the other half was contributed by generous friends in Boston, Andover, Lowell and Salem, Mr. Samuel Lawrence being the largest contributor. Our building committee were Oliver H. Perry, Caleb Marvel and George D. Lund, and they so carefully fulfilled their duties that of the money at their disposal the house was built, a sidewalk in front of the church was laid, and the lot was enclosed in a plain wooden fence, no debt remaining upon the parish. May 5th, 1852, the church was consecrated by Right Rev. Manton Eastburn, Bishop of the Diocese, who preached the sermon from *Isaiah* 30: 20. The clergy present were the Rev. Drs. Edson and Fuller, Rev. Messrs. Allen, Babcock, Baury,

Fales, Hoppin, Mason, Richmond, Smithett, William, Wiltberger and Woods. The instrument of ~~R~~<sup>3</sup>quest and donation was read by the Rector, the sentence of consecration, by the Rev. Mr. Smithett. Morning prayer was read by the Rev. Dr. Fuller and Rev. Mr. Babcock, assisted in the lessons by Rev. Mr. Barry. On the day of consecration, a neat communion set, given by Mrs. Abraham Marland, of Andover, was used for the first time.

When the church was consecrated, in 1852, its walls were uncolored, and they so remained until 1860, when they were painted, a window of stained glass was put into the chancel, and the organ was removed to the side of the chancel, making provision for sixty comfortable sittings in the gallery at the west end of the church. In 1870 an appropriate and substantial fence of wrought iron upon a granite base, and with massive granite posts, upon Jackson and Common streets, enclosed the church lot, and the ladies of the Parish this year have had the walls of the church re-painted, giving to it the appearance it now presents, and making more bright and cheerful this house of prayer and praise.

I ought to mention that in the early years of our being, our ladies contributed largely, according to their means, for the benefit of the Parish. Upon examining my reports to the Convention, I find that they are credited, for ~~the~~ nine years, from the year 1849 to the year 1860, the sum of \$2186.98.

In my report to the Convention in 1864, our Sunday School statistics were: "Superintendent, one; Librarian and Assistant, two; Teachers, (male, <sup>seven</sup> female, nineteen,) thirty; Scholars, two hundred and seventy. Our chapel was crowded by our Sunday School, and in October, of that year, a Mission Sunday School and service were commenced in the Western part of the city, under the charge of Rev. A. V. G. Allen, then a candidate for orders, pursuing his studies at Andover. In my report to the Convention in 1865, I gave this return of our Sunday Schools: "Parish School, Teachers, (male, eight, female, sixteen,) twenty-four; Scholars, one hundred and eighty. Mission School, Teachers, twenty-two; Scholars, one hundred and seventy-five. The success of the Mission work in the Western part of the city was so satisfactory, that a second parish was formed, under the name of St. John's, and at the Convention in 1867, it was admitted into union with the Convention. The results of that Mission work,

commenced seven years since, are of a character which must convince those who did not fully endorse the movement, that it was one that was needed, and that it has been the means of extending the knowledge and privileges of our church in this community.

At the annual Parish Meeting, Easter Monday, 1869, the Parish voted to abolish all pew rents, relying for the support of church services upon the voluntary pledges of the worshippers in the church, collected upon the fourth Sunday of every month. No family or worshipper was to be disturbed in this arrangement, and all new comers were to select the pew or sittings they might find and which they might prefer. When submitting this plan in my annual sermon on the first Sunday of the year 1869, I presented such considerations that it was adopted with great unanimity at the Easter Monday Parish Meeting, and in its workings has commended itself to all, as more churchly in its character, as asking a free-will offering from the worshipper, not making a compulsory demand upon him, and as taking from the contributions made for the support of church ministrations the aspect of a common business transaction.

I have thus given, as I supposed it might be expected, the history of the Parish, from its birth and feeble infancy, to its present condition of healthy and vigorous maturity. From the changeableness of our population, "One goeth and another cometh," has marked its history during these twenty-five years. From the annual lists of worshippers and communicants, which I prepared for the first twenty years of our existence, we have been enabled to send more than a hundred and fifty notes of invitation to our anniversary exercises, to those who have been associated with us in the worship of God's house; and could the residences of others have been ascertained, the number of the invited, most of whom have families, would have reached two hundred. We have gone beyond the bounds of New England, not only as far as Georgia on the South, and California on the West, but our circulars have been carried across the Atlantic.

Parishes, like men, have their own individuality of character. Certain characteristics, inwoven in their life, distinguish them. In the review of this Parish during the twenty-five years of its existence, the first characteristic I mention is, *energy in action*. This energy has not been noisy or demonstrative, but silent and effective. No important proposition which has aimed at the ad-

vancement of its interests has been made, which has not received careful consideration and eventual adoption. I do not mean to say that all has been done by us which might have been done, but that comparing ourselves with others, we make an exhibit honorable to ourselves in its character and results.

The second characteristic I mention is *harmony in action*. Few have been the roots of bitterness, which have sprung up and troubled us. There have been differences of opinion among the Rector and his people, honestly entertained and decidedly expressed, but they have never been suffered to impair for any length of time, or to any degree of seriousness, the spirit of harmonious co-operation so necessary to parochial comfort and success. More than once have I been asked, "How is it that we never hear of any trouble in your parish?" and my answer has been: "We differ in opinion, as do others, but we do not allow our differences to lead us into contention. We have learned to submit quietly whenever we are overruled." In a body constituted like a Parish, it would be folly to suppose that there would be on any given point, unanimity of feeling, but if the members of that body agree to differ, allowing to others what they claim for themselves, there may be no serious disturbance of harmony in action. I think that this is a marked character of the Parish of Grace Church during the twenty-five years of its existence.

The third characteristic I mention is *generosity in action*. I refer, under this head, particularly to the manifestations of kindly feeling on the part of the Parish towards the Rector and his family. In the extracts which I have given from my annual reports to the Convention, acknowledgments were publicly made of the kind and generous regard which the Parish had manifested towards me and mine, the living and the dead. Other instances were mentioned in my Conventional reports, and others still, too sacred to be published to the world, are fresh in my remembrance and in the remembrance of my family, all fully establishing the characteristic of generosity in action. I remember some years since, when conversing with a minister of another branch of the Christian church, who could note but few indications of sympathy and regard in the people under his charge, I mentioned what my people had done for me and mine—their kindly and generous feelings and acts, the interest expressed for me not only in word, but in deed, and this not under peculiar circumstances, but at all



times—and he at once said to me, “Yours is a model Parish.” I agreed with him then, and have had no occasion since to alter my opinion. The last act of the Parish at their special meeting, September 5th, 1871, was but in harmony with what had preceded, and evinced a consideration and regard for me, which excited emotions which the language I can command would feebly express. The votes passed at that meeting and transmitted to me by the Clerk of the Parish, “authorizing the Wardens, with the consent and advice of the Rector to procure without delay such assistance as may be required, without further reference to the Parish; and that until such assistance be obtained, the Rector be requested to omit the evening service,” declare in language that can receive no other interpretation, that generosity in action is surely a characteristic of this Parish, and for it, as it has ever been exhibited, may this Parish, collectively and individually, be graciously rewarded by Him who is the Giver of every good and perfect gift.

My official acts since the opening of our service, October 11th, 1846, are: Marriages, three hundred and eight; Baptisms, (infants, seven hundred and sixty, adults, sixty-four,) total, eight hundred and twenty-four; Presented for confirmation, two hundred and forty-five; Burials, four hundred and ninety, of which the large number of two hundred and twenty-four were adults. These statistical figures are easily pronounced, but how much is included in them! How much of anticipations of good and apprehensions of evil, of satisfaction and disquietude, of hope and fear, of joy and sorrow, are comprised in what these numbers represent. Three hundred and eight marriages—three hundred and eight couples united in the holy bonds of matrimony, bonds of happy union with most, I trust, but not, I fear, with all. Seven hundred and sixty infants baptized, dedicated in hope and faith unto the Lord in the way of His appointment; sixty-four adults baptized, declaring thus their faith in the Saviour of sinners, and promising before God, and angels, and men, that they would be faithful soldiers and servants unto their life's end. Two hundred and forty-five confirmed, in that act solemnly renewing the vows of the baptismal covenant; four hundred and ninety burials, awakening the sad remembrance of the anxieties, and hopes, and fears of husbands and wives, of parents and children, and their being compelled, in the ordering of God's providence to part from those most dear to them, and to consign their bodies to the silent

tomb. In these numbers of marriages and baptisms and confirmations and burials, how much is included which intimately affects both speaker and hearer! We can recall those, who in early infancy were carried far away from this world of sin and sorrow, those who in childhood and youth were stricken down by disease, and who, notwithstanding our prayers and efforts, were taken from our loving embrace, those who in more advanced life, and sustaining the dearest relationships of earth, were withdrawn from our family circles, causing with us who survive, the bitter tears of loss and sorrow. In imagination I re-visit the chambers of some of them and hear again their blessed words of hope and strong confidence, of perfect submission and of joyful trust, declaring in their last hours the power and worth of that religion that they had adorned in their lives. Oh! how much is expressed in these figures of life and death!

Twenty-five years of ministerial labor in this community have passed. From a population which in 1846, could be numbered by hundreds, we have reached thirty thousand. Twenty-five years ago there were sixty-four on our list of clergy in the Diocese of Massachusetts, we have now one hundred and twenty-one. Of those sixty-four that were with us, nearly half have died, and seven only besides myself, are now occupying the same field of labor that they did then.

Twenty-five years of ministerial labor in this community have passed. My purpose, and desire, and aim have been to devote myself to the temporal and spiritual interests of this Parish. That purpose may not have been so single, that desire so ardent, and that aim so constant as they ought to have been, but yet I am not conscious that I have at any time laid myself open to the charge of caring not for the flock, over which, in the providence of God, I was placed overseer. I have endeavored to preach distinctly and faithfully the gospel of Christ, unfolding man's necessity and duty, and God's wonderful forbearance and loving mercy, and have not allowed myself to spend the precious hours given me to speak to the people, in discussing questions and treating subjects which are of minor importance when compared with those momentous truths pertaining to God and the Saviour, to man's dangers, and duties, and destiny, which the Bible contains. From the first it has been my special effort to be acquainted with every attendant upon the services of the church, and in a popula-

tion so changeable as ours, that effort has required an amount of visiting from house to house of which few can make a proper estimate. But I have the satisfaction of knowing that the people under my charge have generally felt that they and their minister have not been strangers to each other. My duty to the Parish made it incumbent upon me to spend and be spent for its well-being, and, therefore, outside of Parish work, I have mostly confined myself to one line of effort, believing that the good character of any community depended upon the advantages in secular, moral and religious education which could be offered to its children and youth.

The record of my twenty-five years service in this community is on high, and I must meet it, when called to give up an account of my stewardship.

In conclusion, let me say, that advance in years and the approach of disease may disable me from doing as much in the future as I have done in the past. The eminent physicians I have consulted very decidedly advise *moderation in work*. In following their advice I must abridge my parochial visiting, though I hope that the ministrations of Sunday and the calls of the sick and bereaved will, with God's assistance, receive as much attention as ever. I know not what is before me, but so long as God gives ability of mind and body, I shall prosecute my work among this people, who have greatly endeared themselves to me by their considerate forbearance and their affectionately generous regard. While offering to God the tribute of praise and thanksgiving for the many blessings He has vouchsafed in the past, may we with humble confidence look to Him for His guidance and blessing in the future, and whenever minister and hearers are called to give up their account, may we do it with joy and not with grief.

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*Services October 10th and 11th.*

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According to the invitation circular, Grace Church was opened Tuesday evening, October 10th for service and sermon. Prayer was read to the Creed by Rev. Henry L. Jones, Rector of Christ Church, Fitchburg, and from the Creed by Rev. E. H. True, Rector of Immanuel Church, Somerville. The sermon was preached by Rev. Phillips Brooks, from Deut. 33: 16: "*For the good will of him that dwelt in the bush.*" After presenting the reasons why Moses, the aged servant of God, drawing near to the close of his earthly service, should look back to the time when God from the burning bush called him to that service, whose favor had ever attended him in the important duties devolving upon him as the lawgiver and leader of His people Israel, the speaker proceeded to point out the differences of character that marked the young and the aged Christian, the changes that ever attended growth in grace and spiritual knowledge of our selves, and of the doctrines and duties of Christianity.

We deeply regret that we were not allowed by the preacher to give this sermon in print.

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Wednesday morning opened rainy, keeping away many clergy and friends whom we hoped to have with us in the services of the church. The order of services for Wednesday morning was as follows:

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Oct. 11th, 1846.

Oct. 11th, 1877.

TWENTY-FIFTH

ANNIVERSARY



*Prayer*

ANTHEM, . . . . . *Strachauer.*

PSALM XXIII: 1, 2, 3.

The Lord is my Shepherd: I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; He leadeth me beside the still waters; He restoreth my soul; He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake.

VENITE, . . . . . *Merrill.*

PROPER PSALMS, . . . . . XXIII., CIII., CXLV.

GLORIA PATRI, . . . . . *Kotzschmer.*

TE DEUM, . . . . . *Baumbach.*

JUBILATE, . . . . . *Samuel Jackson.*

*Litany.*

ANTHEM, . . . . . *Mendelssohn.*

I waited for the Lord: He inclined unto me; He heard my complaint. O, blest are they that hope and trust in Him.

*Holy Communion.*

KYRIE ELEISON, . . . . . *Mendelssohn.*

GLORIA TIBI, . . . . . *Merrill.*

HYMN 139, . . . . . *Mendelssohn.*

ADDRESS BY REV. DR. WILLIAM R. BABCOCK.

OFFERTORY, . . . . . *Mendelssohn.*

TRISAGION, . . . . . *Dr. Edward Hodges.*

HYMN 93, . . . . . *Handel.*

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS, . . . . . *In G.*

A large congregation, considering the weather, convened in Grace Church. At 10½ Morning Prayer to the Creed was read by Rev. James P. Francks, Rector of Grace Church, Salem; Rev. William Warland, Rector of St. John's, East Boston, reading the Lessons, and from the Creed, by Rev. Thomas R. Lambert, D. D., Rector of St. John's Church, Charlestown. The ante-communion service was read by Rev. George Packard, Rector of Grace Church, an address was given by Rev. William R. Babcock, D. D., Rector of St. John's Church, Jamaica Plain, on the nature and reality of communion with Christ in the sacrament of His body and blood. The Offertory was taken in aid of the Chicago sufferers and amounted to \$216.64. The holy communion was then administered by Rev. Dr. Edson, of St. Anne's, Lowell, assisted by Rev. Dr. Estes, of Amesbury.

There were present of the Clergy, in addition to those who took part in the services of Tuesday evening and Wednesday morning, Rev. Dr. Hoppin, Rev. Messrs. Prof. Allen, Bartlett, Durell, Fisher, Lee, Rand, Slack and Wingate.

Wednesday evening, although the storm continued, witnessed in the City Hall, quite a large assemblage of the present and past members of the Parish, and leading citizens of the city. After an hour or more of greeting, conversation and congratulation, with intervals of music, by a portion of the Lawrence Brass Band, the Senior Warden of the Parish conducted the Rector to the platform, which was the signal for the gathering of the company around and below them. When silence was obtained, the Rector was addressed by the Senior Warden, John C. Hoadley, Esq., as follows:

WELL BELOVED PASTOR AND VERY DEAR FRIEND: It seems to me that I shall best discharge the delicate and honorable duty assigned to me to-night, by giving to the remarks I have to make a form and expression purely colloquial and altogether social, without any taint of the platform, without a stain of oratory.

We are assembled to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of Grace Church, the earliest Christian church established upon the territory of our city. During this long period of twenty-five years you have been continuously its Pastor. In the course of this quarter of a century, which is a large fraction of the whole human race, we have passed through scenes the

most diverse, incidents the most varied, emotions the most powerful that can befall humanity.

We have seen gala days, holidays, and days of public rejoicing and congratulation; and we have passed through dark, sad days, days of disaster, of defeat and gloom. For the most part we have shared these public joys and sorrows—you and I—for I, although I by no means confess to being old, yet claim to be one of the oldest inhabitants of the city of Lawrence. In all our joys and in all our sorrows, you have ever been the public spirited citizen, as well as the faithful pastor; the wise counsellor, the devoted laborer in every good work; foremost in every useful undertaking. Our schools owe much to your self-sacrificing care. There has been no limit to your exertions for the public good. Far from confining yourself within the somewhat narrow borders of your Parish, your sympathies and your labors have extended to everything which affected our city. Why, (turning to the audience) when ill feeling between different classes of our citizens arose to such a pitch as to threaten disturbance of public order, and a great number of special constables were sworn in to preserve the peace, our good Pastor was enrolled among them, exchanging his shepherd's crook for a policeman's cudgel. Not satisfied with pre-aching peace, he was willing to compel the disorderly to ensue it. And again, when a dire calamity came upon us—when a tall structure, filled with seven hundred men and women, fell with the instantaneous and accelerating impulse of gravitation, to the earth, burying its inmates beneath a heap of shapeless ruins, covering us with a dark pall of sorrow, and sending a thrill of horror round the world—who so ready as you, who so indefatigable in carrying the succors of mercy to the injured, the consolations of christianity to the dying, and the soothing influences of warm human sympathy to the bereaved?

But why enumerate! The swift thoughts of our assembled friends have already run through the events of the crowded years, with a rapidity which no tongue can follow, and a vividness which no language of mine can rival. Let me come, then, at once to the pleasant duty assigned to me on this occasion. Your numberless friends, not in our parish alone, but past members as well, now living in distant cities, and citizens of Lawrence never connected with us by any closer ties than those of common citizenship, and some who were never either members of our parish or

citizens of Lawrence, have contributed a sum (I wish it was larger!) to be presented to you as a token of their gratitude, regard and esteem—gratitude, for past services; regard and esteem, for your estimable character and unstinted devotion.

I hold in my hand a cashier's cheque, payable to your order, for three thousand and fifty-five dollars, in addition to which some considerable sums, amounting, I believe, to about two hundred dollars, have been received, which have not been placed in my hands, but will be placed in yours. Accept this sum, with our hearts' best love, and our kindest wishes, and our warmest prayers, that all the events of your life hereafter may be so ordered by our Heavenly Father, as to be just as you might wish them, and for your most perfect happiness, now and forever.

Dr. Packard, after the lapse of a few moments, answered:

MY DEAR FRIEND: Let me assure you and those for whom you speak, that what you have said and done is no surprise to me. And I say this, not because it was intimated to me that something of the kind was to occur, but because my people have so repeatedly done this same thing that nothing of the kind can surprise me. Had I been situated over a parish where they promised a mere pittance for salary, and that was reluctantly and irregularly paid, and where the people were not disposed to manifest any indications of sympathy and interest in their Rector, perhaps through fear that by any attentions of this sort he might be puffed up with unseemly pride,—had I been thus situated, I might have been surprised at any such act as you have spoken of to-night. But it is not so with you, nor has it ever been. I well remember that when standing before a pyramid of virgin, spotless, unsullied coin, as you called them, you addressed to me beautiful words of kindness and regard; and, at a later date, when these coin were no longer seen by me or others, I remember that my friend, who has come from New York to attend these anniversary exercises, handed to me in his usual urbane manner, a roll of greenbacks, with the words of Scripture, "Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I thee." These are not the only times in which I have been treated in this manner, and can I be surprised at its being done again? The treatment I have received I am willing to forgive. Yes, I am ready to say in the presence of this large and highly respected company, that I am



Oct. 11th, 1846.

Oct. 11th, 1871.

# GRACE CHURCH,

Lawrence, Mass.

*You are cordially invited to join us in celebrating the*

## TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

*of the opening services of Grace Church, and the unbroken connection with its Rector.*

Rev. GEO. PACKARD.

*Tuesday, Oct. 10th, 7 i-2 P. M., Evening Prayer, and Sermon by  
Rev. Phillips Brooks, of Boston.*

*Wednesday, Oct. 11th, 10 i-2 A. M., Morning Prayer, Sermon, and  
Holy Communion.*

*Wednesday Evening. Social Gathering.*

*Arrangements will be made for the entertainment of non-residents,  
who are requested to report to the Committee, at the Chapel on Garden  
Street.*

J. C. HOADLEY, }  
DAN'L SAUNDERS, Jr. } Wardens.

H. M. WHITNEY, }  
JAMES PAYNE, } Executive Committee.  
CHAS. G. SAUNDERS, }



willing, with all my heart, to forgive such treatment ; but to forget it, I never can, I never shall. But this surpasses any and all of the past. I can speak of it, using the words according to their derivation, not only as munificent, but as magnificent. As it gives a possession of which I have been my life long a stranger, I may find it necessary to call upon you, as I do in other matters, to give me your advice as to its disposal, and I have no doubt you will be willing to offer it.

I thank you, my kind friend, and all who have contributed to this offering of regard. I surely prize it for what it is in itself, but its value is greatly enhanced by the consideration that it is, as you represent it, the exponent of affectionate confidence and esteem. May He who has said "Whosoever shall give unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward ;" may He who is the giver of every good and perfect gift, richly reward you, my best of friends, and those who have acted with you in this matter. The shades of the evening of the day of life are irradiated by your kindness, the clouds gathering in the western sky as the sun of the day of life is going down, are beautifully colored by the free, spontaneous, and most liberal offering of a kind people, to him who has been in God's providence their shepherd. May the gracious Shepherd and Bishop of Souls bountifully reward you.

After the presentation, H. M. Whitney, Esq., called upon the company to gather around the table, the partition having been removed. A blessing was asked by Prof. A. S. Packard, D. D., of Bowdoin College, a brother of Dr. Packard, and then attention was given to the good things. The whole affair was very pleasant and enjoyable, and every one rejoices with the worthy Rector, at his reception of such substantial tokens of regard.

Thus closed a series of services which had been anticipated with great interest by the Rector and Parish of Grace Church, which at the time were greatly enjoyed, and which are looked back upon with great satisfaction.

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ANNIVERSARY

AND

Historical Sermon,

PREACHED IN THE

ELIOT CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, LAWRENCE, MASS.

MARCH 14, 1880,

BY

REV JOHN H. BARROWS, PASTOR.

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PRINTED BY  
GEO. S. MERRILL & CROCKER,  
LAWRENCE.





THE HISTORY

OF THE

Eliot Congregational Church,

LAWRENCE, MASS.

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AN ANNIVERSARY SERMON,

PREACHED BY

REV. JOHN H. BARROWS, PASTOR,

MARCH 14, 1880.

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“CHRIST THE POWER OF GOD AND THE WISDOM OF GOD.”—1 Cor. 1—24.

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LAWRENCE, MASS.:

GEO. S. MERRILL & CROCKER, PRINTERS.  
1880.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

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LAWRENCE, March 15, 1880.

REV. J. H. BARROWS:

*Dear Sir:*—Having listened with great interest and satisfaction to your carefully prepared Historical Sermon, we desire to express our thanks for this valuable record, and we respectfully request from you a copy of it for publication, believing that its circulation will be productive of good and will give great satisfaction to the former as well as the present members of the Eliot Church.

Yours truly,

MILTON BONNEY,  
H. F. CHANDLER,  
C. N. CHAMBERLAIN,  
WM. H. MOORE,  
WM. E. GOWING,  
L. H. BOSWORTH,  
JAMES R. BAILEY.

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LAWRENCE, MASS., March 17, 1880.

*Dear Friends:*—It has been a labor of love to record the work of faith performed by you and others in connection with the Eliot Church. In response to your kind request, I herewith send you the Anniversary Sermon, assuring you as individuals and as a Christian people that I cherish for you an unabated esteem and affection, and that I shall endeavor to continue my happy ministry among you in the spirit of those devoted men, into the blessed and ample fruits of whose labors we are now entering.

Faithfully yours,

JOHN H. BARROWS.

TO MILTON BONNEY,

H. F. CHANDLER, and others.



## S E R M O N .

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1 Peter. III : 8-9. "Finally be ye all of one mind having compassion one of another : love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous : Not rendering evil for evil, railing for railing : but contrariwise blessing : knowing that ye are thereunto called that ye should inherit a blessing."

This exhortation of the great-hearted Peter, breathing the spirit of his later Christian life, is a beautiful prolongation of his Master's words, spoken in that upper chamber in Jerusalem, when, knowing what dissensions were to disturb the church from within and what storms were to assail it from without, he said: "This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you." The brotherhood of the Christian discipleship was the strong ark that floated the early church over the floods of persecution. It was also the golden lamp that held and fed the new light which was to irradiate mankind. Peter's exhortation to unity of spirit, to a love that is compassionate, fraternal and courteous, was an entreaty to be faithful to the essential life of those who are citizens of the heavenly country.

I speak below the truth when I say that, to a rare degree, this spirit of Christian concord and fraternity has been exhibited by the membership of this church, during more than fourteen years of organized life and labor. The Annual Report made to the church January eleventh, 1866, by Charles A. Brown and E. E. Foster, refers to "the pleasant manner in which everything pertaining to our new organization has been conducted thus far." And four years later, in the Annual Report made by E. E. Fos-

ter and J. Clinton White, I read: "It is a cause of thankfulness that there is so much harmony existing in our own church, and between our own and the other churches of the city." Such a spirit among you has been one reason that your pastors have been able to labor with such a delightful measure of the joy of the Gospel. In his letter of resignation, Rev. T. T. Munger wrote: "So happy a ministry as mine, preceded by one equally happy and made sacred to your memories by death, is an augury of good to him who may come after me." It is five years to-day since Mr. Munger's successor first preached to you as the accepted pastor of this church. Five years of service in this bustling city of looms and spindles, and among this considerate and affectionate people are ended, and this morning I can gratefully say that my lot has been cast in pleasant places. And now I would utilize this anniversary opportunity by reviewing the whole history of the church, largely for the sake of the many here to whom this history is not familiar.

Putting ourselves back nearly fifteen years to the summer of 1865, we find this child of the Merrimack which bears the honored name of Lawrence, at that time a city of twenty-one thousand inhabitants, a little more than half the present population. We also discover only two Congregational churches, the Lawrence Street, noble mother of us all, and the Central, her eldest daughter. The pastor of the first was Rev. C. E. Fisher. The pastor of the second was Rev. C. M. Cordley. Both of these beloved and faithful men have since been called to the higher service of the upper sanctuary. The two congregations to which they ministered have since grown to six churches of our New England order. The summer of 1865 was a time of eager national hope and quickened enterprise. Slavery and rebellion had been trampled out in blood. The flag of the republic waved in the peaceful air from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from the rocky shores of New England to the golden coasts of California. The

nation calling "her hand-maid armies back to spin," as Lowell had just sung in Cambridge, awaited

"The morn  
Of nobler day enthroned between her subject seas."

Everywhere there was expectant and enlarging life. Industrial prosperity had come to this community. Christian men were accumulating money and generously giving it away. The record declares that the two churches of our order were so crowded that new families coming to Lawrence could not easily obtain seats in either of them. Accordingly at a joint special meeting of these churches, held in the Lawrence Street vestry on the third of August 1865, it was unanimously resolved, on motion of Benjamin Coolidge, that the time had come for the formation of a third Congregational church in this city. It was also voted that a committee, consisting of Wm. C. Chapin, George A. Fuller, Benjamin T. Bourn, Benjamin Coolidge and William A. Russell, be appointed to consider this matter and to report in two weeks, to those interested in the movement. At the adjourned meeting, on the seventeenth of August, the report, which recommended the speedy inauguration of the enterprise, was adopted, and George A. Fuller, Benjamin T. Bourn, and Charles A. Brown were the first to express their intention of joining in the new society. On the thirtieth of August, ten persons, proposing to unite in forming the new church, met at the residence of Wm. C. Chapin, at which time it was decided to erect a house of worship, and on the fifth of September the choice was made of the present site as the location of the church edifice.

On the twenty-eighth day of September it was voted to organize the new society, and to adopt Articles of Belief and a Covenant under the name of the Eliot Congregational Church. There were present at this meeting the following persons: Wm. C. Chapin, E. E. Foster, S. A. Parsons, Wm. A. Russell, James H. Eaton, James R. Bailey, J. L. Chapin, George E. Moore, Edward Woodford,

Charles H. Sawyer, and Charles A. Brown. I have always deemed it a happy omen of spiritual prosperity that this church was baptized in the name of John Eliot, the apostle of the Indians, that Cambridge scholar who, more than two centuries ago, left the ivy-hushed seclusions of the English University for "the cloisters of the elk" in the forests of Massachusetts; that missionary among the wigwams who gathered about him the dusky tribes and taught them to pray;—that pioneer among American translators, who in 1661 and 1663, published at Cambridge in the Indian language, the first Bible printed in the New World; that herald of salvation who so long ago pointed New England to her sublime destiny of leavening the nations with the truths of the gospel; that consecrated soul of whom the great Richard Baxter said, "There is no man on earth that I honor above him." I understand that there is soon to be erected in Newton, Massachusetts, where John Eliot so long labored, a statue to this good man, and I express here my hope that the Eliot Church of Lawrence may have at least some slight share in this merited memorial.

On the first day of October, 1865, the opening public services of the church were held in the City Hall, the sermon being given by Prof. John H. Thayer of Andover, who thus began the long series of pleasant associations that have existed between you and your several pastors on the one hand, and the honored faculty of the Andover Seminary on the other. The Hill of Zion yonder has yielded to us bountifully of its sacred sweets, and it has been a delightful thought to me that Professors Taylor, Smyth, Mead, Thayer, Churchill, and Gulliver, have ministered to you so generously of the unsearchable riches of Christ, and that from this pulpit, in other years, has often been heard the voice of that venerated theologian whom New England justly deems her greatest mind, the silver cord of whose matchless eloquence and the golden bowl of whose unrivalled wisdom,

even when broken by death, shall be precious and abiding legacies to the Church universal.

On the fourth day of October, this new Society was recognized by a Council of eight Congregational churches, of which Prof. E. P. Barrows of Andover was the moderator. The public services of recognition were held in the Central Church of this city, and Rev. C. M. Cordley preached the sermon. The Instituting Prayer was offered by Rev. James H. Merrill: the Charge to the Church was given by Prof. E. P. Barrows, and the Fellowship of the Churches was extended by Rev. C. E. Fisher. Thirty-two persons constituted the original organization, twelve from the Lawrence Street Church, sixteen from the Central Church, one from the Congregational Church in Tewksbury, and three from the Congregational Church in Naugatuck, Conn. The present membership, if we include the fifty-two persons this day propounded, is two hundred and eighty-one, and of the original thirty-two there remain among us now only ten, James R. Bailey, George A. Fuller, Martha S. Fuller, Richmond George, William A. Russell, Addie A. Scott, Edward Woodford, Elizabeth H. C. Woodford, Anna J. Woodford, and Elizabeth C. Woodford. Sixteen of the others are I believe still living, members of churches widely scattered, while six certainly of the original thirty-two have gone before us to the rest prepared for the people of God. Of the present resident members who were received into the church after its organization, and before the close of the year 1865, the following is the list: John L. Cook, Mary E. Cook, Mary Ellen Cook, Frances A. Cook Bradley, John L. Cook, Jr., Susan L. Clark, and Franklin Edwards. Among the additions made before the close of the first pastorate, the following is the list of those who are now resident members: Caroline E. Farnham, Mary C. Richardson, Richard Chatburn, Harriet B. Chatburn, Harriet Amelia Chatburn, Frances M. Richardson, Mary Richardson Marble, Charles F. Taplin, Wm.

H. Moore, Sarah E. Moore, Joseph Walworth, Sarah A. Walworth, Ellen E. McCarty, Sarah Riddell, M. A. Sawyer, Judith Furber, Louisa G. F. Colburn, J. Clinton White, Edna A. White, Charlotte A. Dodge, Elizabeth M. Prior, Henry P. Cheney, Helen S. Cheney, James Hyde, Harriet Hyde, Ada Lear, Clarissa Abbott Poor, Clara Lear, Ida Lear, Mary Ann Newell, Ann Foss, Moses Alfred Hall, and Parmelia J. Ladd.

On the second of October, 1865, ground had been broken for a house of worship on the present site, and on the eighth of October the Eliot Church commenced holding services in the old chapel on Garden Street, owned by the Grace Episcopal Church, of which Rev. George Packard, of revered memory, was then the Rector. In this chapel kindly offered for our use, the Eliot Church continued to worship, until the new edifice on the corner of Methuen and Appleton Streets, was dedicated in the following September. On the day of entering the Grace Church chapel, a Sunday School of thirty-seven members was organized, and on the thirteenth of October George A. Fuller was chosen its first Superintendent. Mr. Fuller declined to serve owing to a pressure of Christian labor on the south side of the river, where he was actively and prominently connected with the enterprise which culminated, in 1868, in the forming of the South Congregational Church. After Mr. Fuller's declination, Wm. C. Chapin was elected Superintendent of the Eliot Sunday School. It is inspiring to read with what energy the founders of this church began their special work, with what consecration that work was ennobled, with what self-sacrifice it was made acceptable to God. The contributions for the expensive house of worship, then going up, were very generous, all the gifts of the first full year amounting to nearly fourteen thousand dollars, and in April, 1866, the Sunday School, then scarcely six months old, assumed the entire support of a missionary of the American Board among the Seneca Indians, while the

church undertook to pay, and for years paid, the salary of another missionary, laboring in Central Turkey, in the city of Antioch, in Syria, the old "Queen of the East," the second capital of Christianity, where the disciples were first called Christians.

It must never be forgotten that the main purpose on the part of the founders of the Eliot Church was to reach the unevangelized multitudes living in this part of the city—the operatives in our colossal manufactories. It was with this in view that the present location of the church edifice was selected, and, though this location for years seemed to thwart rather than advance the great purpose of the founders, nevertheless, now that our building has been so greatly enlarged and improved, far better results are at last encouragingly manifest. But a strong desire to reach all classes, and to win them to Christ and his sanctuary, was revealed at the beginning. In the second Annual Report signed by George A. Fuller, Charles A. Brown and E. E. Foster, I read:—"What can the seventy-five members of this church do for these perishing souls? Is not each true Christian good for one sinner's conversion a year?" In the third Annual Report, signed by Edward Woodford, W. R. Hatch and J. L. Cook, I read:—"It is important to keep steadily in mind the design of the establishment of this church, viz: to reach those who are not under the influence of the Gospel and to reach the largest number possible." And the same spirit breathes through the fourth Annual Report written by Deacon Benjamin Coolidge. It is evident to us now that just so far as this original purpose has been made supreme and controlling, so far has this church been blessed. Of all the consolations that have come to me in my ministry in Lawrence, next to the conversion of souls, the greatest have been the frequent remarks of humble Christian disciples, that they had found in the Eliot Church a true spiritual home. I believe that churches which represent Christ ought to represent all ranks of that world

which God so loved that he sent His own Son, the Carpenter of Nazareth as well as the Prince of the House of David, to die for its redemption. Such churches, breathing the spirit of Christian equality and fraternity, are the best fruitage of eighteen centuries of Christian civilization, and may yet prove the strongest bulwarks against those calamities which arise from the separation of society into prejudiced and warring classes.

One of the greatest blessings which can come to any individual is to be well born. The child of a robust and hardy ancestry often survives the diseases, accidents and exposures which strike death to the inheritor of an enfeebled constitution. Now I am convinced that this Eliot Church was well born. It had the fibre of a strong parentage. The vigorous tree of its life was rooted in the crevices of the Rock Christ Jesus. The men who planted this church were neither timid experimenters nor compromising disciples. Their object was to win the world to Christ, not to make terms with the world for their own sakes. It was the faith and consecration of the chosen few who founded this church, that carried it safely over obstacles, and through disappointments and reverses that would have been fatal to Christians of weaker fibre.

On the tenth of February, 1866, Rev. Wm. Franklin Snow, who was then completing his studies in Andover, first preached for this people. Mr. Snow was born in Boston in 1838. At the age of nine, he moved with his father's family to the Hawaiian Islands. He prepared for Harvard College at the Royal School and the Oahu College of Honolulu. In 1857 he entered Harvard and distinguished himself as a classical scholar. At the inauguration of President Felton, he was chosen to deliver a Latin address. Mr. Snow was graduated with high rank in 1861, and in September, of that year, entered the Andover Theological Seminary. In August, 1862, he enlisted as a private soldier in the Fifth Massachusetts Regiment. He was soon elected Chaplain and served in the army for



one year. He returned home in July, 1863, was married in the following October, visited his father's family in the Hawaiian Islands, and in May, 1864, became acting pastor of the Congregational Church in Grass Valley, California. After a brief but successful ministry he returned to Andover, in August, 1865, to complete his theological studies. Mr. Snow distinguished himself at the Seminary in several ways. He completed in one year the studies of both the middle and senior years. He laid the foundations of that critical investigation of the New Testament which characterized his ministry among you. He also made what is regarded as the most perfect existing report of the lectures of Professor Park, a report so accurate and careful that it is to-day frequently used by the lecturer himself in his own classroom. After supplying the Eliot Church during four months, Mr. Snow was invited, on the seventh of June, to become its pastor. The call was accepted, and he was installed on the thirteenth of the following September. The public services of installation were as follows: Introductory, Rev. B. F. Hamilton, of North Andover; sermon, Rev. A. H. Plumb, now of Boston; installing prayer, Rev. E. H. Greeley, of Methuen; charge to the pastor, Rev. J. L. Taylor, of Andover; right hand of fellowship, Rev. C. E. Fisher, of Lawrence; charge to the people, Rev. J. P. Lane, of Andover.

The new church edifice, which had been erected at the expense of thirty-five thousand dollars, was dedicated one week before Mr. Snow's installation. The sermon and dedicatory prayer on that occasion were given by the pastor elect. The original form of this church was a Latin cross. The transepts were shut at will from the main room by means of large sliding doors, and the east transept was frequently used as a conference room. This arrangement proved injudicious, as it gave you a meagre and unattractive vestry and a badly constructed auditory. In September, 1867, however, a costly and convenient chapel, erected on the corner of Appleton and Essex streets by

George A. Fuller, was generously tendered by him to the free use of the church, and in this chapel, for several happy years, much of the spiritual, literary and social life of the parish was centered. When this chapel was no longer used, and the church accommodations were limited to the original building, your outward equipment for good work was exceedingly limited. Nevertheless the old audience-room, which is fast fading from our memories, had great attractions to those who so long worshipped within it, and will be held sacred by many as the place where Christ was born in their souls the hope of glory.

The five years of Mr. Snow's ministry with this people were years of steady progress and enlargement. The membership increased from thirty-two to one hundred and twenty-nine. Soon after the pastor's installation, the time of the second preaching service was changed to the evening, and a year later it was voted to have only one preaching service, the Eliot Church becoming thus the pioneer of these reforms among the churches of Lawrence. Mr. Snow gathered about him an adult Bible class, numbering at times more than sixty persons. His chief energy was devoted to the study of that Word which quickens and restores, illuminates and sanctifies, rejoicing the heart and cleansing the ways of the children of men. As a preacher, the first pastor of this church was clear, instructive and scriptural, "increasing," as Deacon Coolidge wrote, "the spiritual-mindedness of the church, and deepening convictions among the unconverted members of the congregation." Through the kindness of one who is now a prominent member of this church, I have been permitted to read several of Mr. Snow's manuscript sermons, and I can emphatically testify to their finished character and unusual helpfulness. But most of you will agree with Rev. Wm. E. Park in the opinion that your first pastor's choicest gift was that of an expositor of the Scriptures. "His weekly Bible class," as Mr. Park, in his excellent memorial, says, "excited an interest in sacred learning rare indeed in a manufacturing

city. Had he lived and retained his health, he could not have failed to become an eminent master of Biblical science."

But the earthly promise of this gentle, scholarly and consecrated spirit was blighted by the frost of early death. On the 11th of January, 1871, after only two weeks of sickness, brought on in part by anxiety and overwork, his sensitive constitution gave way, and his redeemed spirit departed, amid the prayers of his sorrowing people, to the bosom of his Savior and his God. These words of mine may recall to you the vision of his form and countenance, and all the gentle ministries of these vanished years, but no eulogy of mine can brighten the legend which his life has written on your hearts. When, a few months ago, this church edifice was enlarged, it was proposed by Deacon Fuller that a window be placed behind and above this pulpit, in memory of Rev. Wm. Franklin Snow. That memorial is now before your eyes, and its central symbol, the Bible, keeps before your minds the truth which your first pastor so excelled in teaching. He now sits at the feet of the Great Master and has seen

"in the fountain fresh  
All knowledge which the sons of flesh  
Shall gather in the cycled times."

But his spirit abides among us in the hearts of those who are searching the Scriptures that testify of Christ. His dying wish forbade the publication of his writings, but so long as this memorial window with its opened Bible shall meet your gaze, you can neither forget his saintly life, nor fail to remember that this church is founded, not on the shifting speculations of men, but on the word of the Lord that endureth forever!

During the ministry of your first pastor, the church lost through death, several of its most valued and beloved members. Mrs. Lizzie H. Russell died December eighteenth, 1866; Mrs. M. D. Edwards, September fifteenth, 1868, and Mrs. Maria M. Sawyer, May seventeenth, 1869. The

second Annual Report, referring to Mrs. Russell's death, calls attention to her strong and abiding hold on the grace of Christ that sustained her through months of painful illness, to her loving prayers for the salvation of her own family, and to her triumphant departure from this life to the life immortal. Who shall say that we haven't felt, through many years, the beautiful and blessed influences that have come from these meek souls, whose living enobled life, and whose faith robbed the grave of its victory?

The death of Mr. Snow was deplored by the whole community, and plunged this church into the deepest sorrow. The golden candlestick had been taken from its place, and darkness and desolation brooded for a time over the hearts of the people. But on the 24th of April, 1871, an earnest and unanimous call was extended to Rev. Theodore T. Munger, of Haverhill, Mass., to become the second pastor of the Eliot Church. This call was accompanied by the cheering intelligence, at that time believed to be correct, that in the hope of his coming, the heavy burden of a twenty-thousand dollar indebtedness had been entirely lifted. Nearly thirteen thousand dollars were actually subscribed and paid. On the twenty-seventh of April this call was accepted, and on the fourteenth of June following, Mr. Munger was installed. The exercises on that occasion were as follows: Introductory, Rev. L. Z. Ferris, of Lawrence and Rev. T. G. Grassie, of Methuen; sermon, Rev. J. M. Manning, D.D., of the Old South Church, Boston; installing prayer, Rev. C. M. Hyde, of Haverhill; charge to the pastor, Rev. D. T. Fiske, D.D., of Newburyport; right hand of fellowship, Rev. J. D. Kingsbury, of Bradford; address to the people, Rev. B. F. Hamilton, of North Andover.

The opening of Mr. Munger's pastorate here was signalized by a fundamental change in the government of the church, through the formation of a society to whose care was assigned the management of the church finances. This step was urgently advised by Mr. Munger, and in

the Annual Report for the year, signed by George A. Fuller and J. Clinton White, I read: "The measure was wise, and is already producing good results." At the time when it was voted to organize a society, another important change was effected. The total abstinence pledge was taken out of the church covenant. This step very naturally caused at the time some dissent and alienation. But few to-day will question the wisdom of this proceeding, or, at least, the rightfulness of the conviction which was at the root of it. The removal of this pledge lessens no man's obligation to be a total abstainer and to do all in his power to check the evils of drunkenness; but it was rightly believed that the covenant of a Christian church is not the place for any such pledge. Most thoughtful men will, I suppose, assent to what Newman Smyth has written in his recent book, "Old Faiths in New Light," where he says: "Religious and moral vows, as total abstinence pledges, are pre-Christian morals. They may still be necessary for persons, who in their moral development, belong to the ages before Christ and who can not be constrained by the law of the spirit. They may be useful at times in view of the necessities of the weaker brethren. But they possess no virtue or sanctity in themselves, as even in Deuteronomy we read: 'But if thou shalt forbear to vow it shall be no sin to thee,' (Deut. xxiii: 22.) and they have no proper place in the covenant of the Christian church." Surely the time has come to exonerate the great body of the people who voted for this change, and to claim for them that, if they were mistaken, it was not only in all sincerity, but with the belief that they were acting in the spirit of the New Testament, and in agreement with the convictions and usages of the churches generally.

Soon after Mr. Munger's settlement, it was decided that a second preaching service take the place of the Sunday evening prayer meeting. In the beginning of 1873, was built the organ which has added so much to the services

of this sanctuary. Among the persons who united with this church during the pastorate of Mr. Munger, the following is the list of those who are now resident members: Milton Bonney, Mary A. Bonney, C. N. Chamberlain, Annie G. Chamberlain, Fanny H. Russell, Samuel M. Newhall, Vianna Newhall and Jonathan Drake. In the Annual Report presented in January 1873, and signed by Joseph Walworth, Charles W. Stevens and Milton Bonney, I read: "There is more unity and sympathy and brotherly love among the members of this church than ever before, and we think this social element and kindly feeling a source of great strength." In the early part of Mr. Munger's ministry, severe losses befell this church in the removal by death of some of its most beloved members. Deacon Coolidge died in August 1871, a man of robust and sterling piety, universally esteemed. In the November following, Bella F. Woodford, one of the first to unite with this church on confession of faith, and greatly beloved by all who came to know her beautiful life, entered into rest. And in August 1872, Mrs. E. P. Brown, a mother in Israel, whose influence was always a benediction, fell asleep in Christ.

The year 1873 was one of severe financial trial, in which this church greatly suffered, and for four years longer the burdens seemed heavier than could be borne. In those hard years one man, whom the Lord had greatly prospered, stood by you with a generous constancy, quietly, cheerfully, modestly giving more thousands of dollars than he would be pleased to have me mention. But I should not be faithful to the feeling in our hearts, should I omit from this record, at this point, the name of our much-loved friend and esteemed fellow-citizen, now in Washington, the Honorable William A. Russell.

On the twentieth of January 1875, Rev. T. T. Munger, who had long suffered from ill-health, resigned the pastorate of this church, on account of his own sickness and that of his family. The resignation was regretfully ac-

cepted, and on the twenty-first of February Mr. Munger closed his labors with this people. In losing your second pastor, you lost a man of superior intellectual power and unusual literary and social refinement. The council which dismissed him rightly pronounced him "a preacher of rare gifts and culture, joined with a mature and thoughtful devotion to the work of his choice." And the Resolutions, offered by Dr. C. N. Chamberlain at the time of your second pastor's dismissal, justly call attention not only to his many gifts and graces, but also to his fidelity, in the midst of unusual trials and discouragements, to the work of his sacred calling. Being somewhat familiar with the quality of Mr. Munger's preaching, I may be allowed to say that he has few superiors in thoughtful power, in our New England pulpit. His chief aim is to commend the Gospel to the reason and moral sense of reflective men. He has studied deeply the newer theologizing of such preachers as Maurice, Robertson, and Bushnell, but is himself an original and philosophical thinker whose influence must ultimately be felt in wider fields. Candor and moral courage are distinguishing features of his character. He was a brave teacher of Christian ethics in the days when slavery found refuge behind not a few pulpits, and from his discriminating pen came the best eulogy that was laid on the grave of William Lloyd Garrison. Having revised his thinking concerning the doctrine of the future life, he has frankly announced his conclusions, which however, do not differ so widely from those usually taught as many have imagined. In a recent letter to me from which I take the liberty of quoting, speaking of that strange form of unbelief which endeavors to justify impenitence on the ground that there is to be a chance beyond death, Mr. Munger says, of such an unbeliever: "He ought to be made to see that so long as he is looking in the direction of a possible future chance, he is looking away from God, and getting farther and farther away from God, and that there is not the slightest hope or possibility

that he will ever turn his face towards God, until he throws up and casts from him the miserable lie in which he is hiding himself, and which he knows not only to be a lie but a mean one and beneath the regard of a thinking being." "Nothing in the Scripture," he adds, "warrants him in believing that there are any chances in any future time, next week, or next year, or after death. All that Scripture and all that any wise man says to him is that he is *now a lost sinner, already lost*, and that he is lost until he escapes, and that the way to escape is to *turn about now* and seek the face of his Father in heaven. Scripture knows nothing of future chances: chances of repentance are as foreign to the whole matter of Christian salvation as mathematics or idol-worship." In closing this letter he says: "The greatest joy in heaven or earth is to know that sinners are repenting and turning to God."

It was on Friday evening, the twentieth of January 1875, that Mr. Munger resigned his charge here. On the following Sunday, your present minister, who was then studying in Andover, first preached to you. Some of you remember that the introductions which brought us into acquaintance, were made by Rev. Henry M. Storrs, D. D., of New York. If the hasty wedding which followed has proved, in any measure, a happy union of kindred spirits, we shall not fail to be grateful to him whose kindly words brought us together. It was on the fifth of February that I received a call to become your pastor. This invitation was accepted in a letter written from Olivet, Michigan, on the seventeenth of February, and this letter of acceptance was read by Mr. Munger on the twenty-first of the same month, the day on which he closed his labors here. On the fourteenth of March, your third pastor began his ministry among you. The ordination exercises occurred on the twenty-ninth of the following April. They were as follows: Introductory, by Rev. William E. Park, now of Gloversville, N. Y., and Rev. Clark Carter, of Lawrence; sermon, by Rev. E. K. Alden, D. D., of Boston;



ordaining prayer, by Rev. J. D. Kingsbury, of Bradford ; right hand of fellowship, by Prof. John W. Churchill, of the Andover Theological Seminary ; charge to the pastor, by Rev. E. S. Atwood, of Salem ; address to the people, by Rev. Joshua Coit, of Lawrence.

Before a call was extended to your present minister, he held a long conversation with his predecessor in office, concerning the special needs of this field. The counsel then given pointed towards earnest efforts in building up the weekly prayer-meetings, and in reaching out to the non-church-going classes. Five years ago today I began my work here, purposing to follow in the line of Mr. Munger's suggestions. The city had just been blessed with a general revival, and at the communion in May twelve persons were added to this church. In all the efforts at aggressive work which have followed, your earnest co-operation has been my joy and strength. You have realized, what churches too often forget, that a large amount of personal freedom is essential to any successful leadership, and that the minister should always keep in mind that his primary and chief responsibility is to his Master, by whom he stands or falls. Without any grumbling, and with only a wholesome amount of cautious criticism, you have upheld him in the somewhat bold and independent line of activity which duty has required him to pursue.

In these five years of labor, two hundred and twenty-four persons have been added to this church, one hundred and sixty-one of whom came on confession of faith. On all the communion Sundays, excepting two, there have been accessions. The following is the list of the present resident members who united in 1875 : Frank O. Kendall, Estelle D. Kendall, Lotta F. Kelley, Lizzie W. Foster, Lucy P. Foster, Caroline A. Yeaton, John A. Scott, J. H. Barrows, Sarah Eleanor Barrows, Agnes Nelson, Mary Hannah Drake, Charles H. Closson, and Emma E. Closson. The year 1876 was one of steady and quiet prog-

ress. Of those who are now resident members, who united with us during the centennial year, the list is as follows: Annie M. Burbank, Susan W. Foss, Fanny A. Brown, Catharine Scott, Augusta S. Prescott, Ellen McLean, Janet Brown, Mary Brown, Maggie Brown, Clara Pearson, Hannah Drake, Henrietta B. Bosworth, Smith Fitzgerald, and Mary Alice Combs. In 1877, there were seventy-seven accessions to this church. Early in the year a deepening spiritual interest was manifested, and, in February, under the powerful and searching presentation of Gospel truth by our friend, Rev. Thomas W. Jones, now pastor of the New England Congregational church in Saratoga, N. Y., there came to this people a new consecration which God blessed in the salvation of many persons. Then it was that some of us learned for the first time, what is the heavenly joy of winning souls to the Lord Jesus Christ. God grant that we may never suffer the "joy of salvation" to be extinguished in our hearts by worldliness, neglect or unbelief! The following are the names of those now residing here, who became members of the Eliot church in the year 1877: Kate F. Snell, Emma A. Fisher, Abner Hosmer, Lois C. Hosmer, Mary J. Ring, Henry S. Warner, Sarah Wilson, Isabella Arthur, Jennie Arthur, Jonathan Auty, Henrietta P. Auty, Eva P. Auty, Julia A. Bancroft, Emma A. Avore, Nancy A. Bennett, Adelia B. Cheney, Josie E. Currier, Amos L. Colburn, James C. Crombie, Annie E. Gowing, Wm. Walter Gowing, Daniel P. Hardy, Ann P. Hardy, Aaron Jewell, Arthur L. Kelley, Josephine L. Kendall, John C. Lakey, Agnes Lakey, Clara Lear, Mary A. McDonough, Samuel McLean, Harriet A. Pearson, Etta G. Perkins, Abby A. Roberts, Mary Woodcock, Lizzie Woodcock, William Young, Annie Young, Cornelius Scott, Frank W. Cheney, Louisa D. Hall, Miranda J. Cutler, Jennie Grant, Annie Smith, Jeannie Beannie, Moses W. Blanchard, Hannah Wagland, Nellie C. Magoon, Mary F. Russell, James Cunningham, David F. Arthur, Mary L. Adams, Henry F. Chandler, George A. Durrell, A. M.

Durrell, John Walworth, Ezra Marble, Mary S. Hall, Robert Anderson, and Lizzie Drake.

Some of the most efficient members of this church came in after the union services under Major D. W. Whittle, in December, 1877, and January, 1878. The additions made in the year 1878, enumerating only the present resident members, include the following names: Henry W. Rogers, Melia A. Rogers, Mather H. Holmes, Addie A. Holmes, Lizzie J. Crossett, Ella H. Clark, Sarah Coombs, Henrietta F. Hadley Martha Spear, Jennie Spear, Helen M. Bean, Ira O. Witham, Charlotte K. Witham, George Bancroft, Mary Lewis, Wm. E. Gowing, Charlotte E. Gowing, Henry M. Warburton, A. A. Currier, Ellen C. Moore, Annie Evans, Harriet Folsom Davis, Betsey P. Emery, and William W. Beattie.

The year 1879, was largely occupied with plans and labors incident to the enlargement of the church edifice. The additions in this year include the following resident members: Sarah Southworth, George Rollston, Nellie Heath Chandler, Kate Hendry Beattie, Olive J. Allen, Jennie Rollston,\* James Gilbert, Walter Scott, Emily Drake and Hugh J. Christison. The present year opened with cheering signs of spiritual blessing. I have never before seen so many of you burdened, and earnestly prayerful for the unsaved. The harvest in which we are now rejoicing was forseen by those whose faith kept hold of the faithful Savior. Some of our number who have been called away to other fields of activity, forsook it, and are now rejoicing with us in what God has wrought. And I cannot omit recording my deep gratitude for the help which has been afforded us, during the labors of the last two months, by the consecrated laymen connected with the Massachusetts Young Men's Christian Association. Many here will date their decision to lead a Christian life, to the kindly and earnest words spoken by such devoted servants of

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\*Died four days after the delivery of this Sermon. She was a disciple greatly beloved, adorning with meek graces the doctrine of God her Savior.

the Master, as H. M. Moore of Somerville, George H. Shaw of Middleboro, E. A. Lawrence of Haverhill, C. J. Littlefield and S. M. Sayford of Boston. Cordial greetings await them here, if they shall ever speak to us again. I take renewed courage and feel additional strength in my ministry, remembering that God in his providence is raising up so many efficient lay-workers, equipped with a practical experience, that is sometimes better than professional knowledge, filled with the Spirit by whom is all power, and strong in their loyalty to that Word which overcomes the rebellious heart and then confirms it in faithfulness to God. If you follow the leadings of the Spirit, will not some of you be directed to similar service? Our churches need more men who are wise to win souls.

The additions made to this church, thus far in the year 1880, have been as follows: Lizzie Ring, Charles Topham, Daniel McKellar, Lucy E. Kalloch, Lizzie Arthur, Helen Chamberlain, Fanny Mary Calkins, Lilian G. Cheney, Mamie B. Colcord, Mary E. Colburn, Ella E. Davis, Lydia E. Foss, Belle A. Hammond, Wm. R. Hoyt, Elmer M. Hutchins, Josephine E. Leavitt, Alice S. Reed, Anne A. Reed, Mercy S. Rowe, Eliza W. Scott, Lelia P. Shepard, Martha H. Sterns, Charles H. Colburn, Charlesina S. Brown, Jessie W. Brown, Sarah E. Colcord, Charles Connor, Jane A. Gardner, Mary I. Jackman, Eva J. Knowles, Mary Lithgow, Nellie McLean, Jane McAll, John Nelson, Mary L. Priest, Esther A. Rogers, Dr. Clara H. Rogers, James H. Riddell, Walter Riddell, Angie L. Riddell, Albert Smith, Alice M. Smith, Florence Smith, Wm. H. Tomilson, Charles Wm. Walworth, Ellen L. Wakefield, August Wagner, Lucy A. Barrie, Annie M. Coulter, Emma S. Burnley, Clarissa Taylor Horton, Sophia H. Sterns, Fannie S. Hutchins, Aaron Maddox, Susan H. Maddox and Lizzie Newell.

But while we are grateful for what the Lord has added to us of strength, we can not on a day like this forget our losses. Two of the original members of the church, Mrs.

M. S. Foster and Emma L. Woodford have been called home, during the last five years. Mary A. Chandler, Mary Warner and Mary Ann McLean have fallen asleep in Him who is the resurrection and the life. Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey Cheever, after knowing most of the sorrows of earth, have entered the Paradise of God. Many of us recall the names of Dr. and Mrs. C. M. Fellows, whose memory is still an influence for good among us, two saintly lives joined in single-minded service, and in death at last not long divided. We have lost by removal to other communities such faithful members as Mr. and Mrs. S. S. Fuller, Mrs. Alma Burbank Walton, Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Blanchard and others. Many of you will recall your special sorrow at the departure of such highly esteemed individuals as Mrs. Ellen B. Richards and Mrs. Louisa Mitchell Pray. Valued and beloved families like those of George E. Davis of North Andover, Charles R. Mason and A. N. Burbank, have gone from us. A great void, not only in our congregation, but also in our hearts was made by the removal of the family of one who helped to lay the foundations of this church organization, one who for many years labored most faithfully for its temporal and spiritual interests, and who with his wife and eldest daughter ranked among its most zealous members—Charles A. Brown of Portland. May the Lord ever bless him and his with the blessings which our brother continues to ask for this church of his love! And now I close this chapter of losses by a simple reference to our recent bereavement in the departure to Kansas City, Missouri, of James M. Coburn and Harriet M. Coburn, for several years completely identified with all the highest life of this church, of the former of whom we often say to ourselves, "He was so faithful," and of the latter of whom we often say to each other, "She was so pleasant." To these and to all who have gone out from us, to labor in other parts of the one great field, our friendliest greetings are extended to-day!

These happy years of our work together have been sig-

nalized by a general temperance revival throughout the city. In the movements under Dr. Reynolds and Francis Murphy, in the good accomplished by Reform Clubs and Temperance Unions, this church has had an active part. The various Missionary causes have also commanded your co-operation. The foreign work has a large place in the hearts of a few, and should speedily enlist that enthusiasm with which the ladies and children have of late taken hold of the Home Missionary enterprise. The recent entertainment given in aid of Salt Lake Academy, which is doing such a noble work under the Principalship of our friend Professor Benner, shows what may be accomplished in this direction by those who have a mind to work. The excellent results accomplished by the Prospect Hill Mission, for years under the Superintendency of Henry P. Cheney, deserve to be noticed here. Grateful mention should also be made of the various important services rendered by the Ladies' Benevolent Society, upon whose efforts the social life of the church has so largely depended. I can not even refer to many efficient workers in the Sunday School, and in the modest paths of humble charity, who deserve a thankful record here. But I must not omit the expression of my gratitude to the Deaconesses of the church, Mrs. Richardson, Mrs. Scott and Mrs. Yeaton, who for several years have nobly supplemented the deficiencies of my pastoral work.

The beginning of 1876, was signalized by the raising of nearly three thousand dollars toward the payment of the church debt. Shortly before this, the proposal of a union with the Central Congregational Church of this city, then without a pastor, was freely discussed, and after mature thought decided upon adversely. The prosperity of the Central Society under the wise and able ministry of Rev. George H. Ide, and the subsequent growth of this church, appear now to justify that decision by showing the need, in our enlarging city, of both these Christian organizations.

In the spring of 1879, it was wisely determined to rebuild this church edifice. We had long been endeavoring to accomplish our mission with inconvenient and straitened instrumentalities. When we consider what there is to work with to-day, one of the most convenient and attractive auditories in New England, a beautiful chapel and the other important additions, and when we reflect on the progress which has been made in the last six months, we are almost surprised that anything had been achieved before. For these improvements, which cost nearly nine thousand dollars, you made generous contributions, and owing to a recent payment of four thousand seven hundred dollars, the present debt of the church is less than the very comfortable sum of five thousand dollars. This can be easily removed during any year. Our financial obligations are not greater now than they were before the enlargement of the church building.

The remodelling of this edifice was after the plans of our esteemed friend, George G. Adams, the architect. The time, during which the improvements were being made, was one of special interest to this people. We watched the labors of the mason, carpenter and painter as if they were working on one of our own residences ; and one man among us, the Hon. Milton Bonney, the chairman of the Building Committee, gave to the reconstruction of this house a wise, constant and laborious supervision, for which we shall always be grateful. During our absence from the old place of worship, that is, from June first to September twenty-first, this congregation held its services in the City Hall. Quite a successful effort was made to reach the non-church-going classes, the audiences reaching frequently to nearly a thousand. On Wednesday evening, the twenty-fourth of September, this church was re-dedicated. The services were as follows: Introductory, by Rev. Joshua Coit, Rev. George H. Ide and Rev. Clark Carter, of Lawrence ; sermon, by Rev. T. T. Munger, of North Adams ; dedicatory prayer, by the pastor of the church. It

was an occasion of great joy, when we first gathered in this beautiful room. But the prayers of that evening have already been answered, and a deeper joy and hope are ours to-day. One soul saved is a rich compensation for the toil of years. But what shall we say of scores brought to lives of Christian obedience?

My dear people: I have been your pastor long enough to love you thoroughly. For more than one-third of your history, I have gone in and out among you, doing my work, with many imperfections of judgment, but with an earnest desire to help you on in the way of life. Let me utilize this day in expressing my grateful regard for your many kindnesses toward me and mine. You have been willing workers, cheerful givers, considerate friends and attentive listeners. I have preached to you, to the best of my ability, the doctrine of Christ. While you have had from me several series of sermons, on the teachings of Natural Theology, on the character of the Bible, and on specially practical subjects, you will assent to the statement that my main effort has been to show forth the truths relating to the person and work of Christ and the Spirit, in the redemption and sanctification of men. I have endeavored to hold up Christ as an all-sufficient Savior. I have not proclaimed to the world my doubts, but my living convictions, sure that I had no right to transgress the limits of a personal experience of truth, or at least of a whole-souled confidence in its reality. I have labored to show that Christianity is a religion of faith, working by love and bringing purity to the heart. I have exhorted you to slay skepticism by living better lives than skeptics lead. And in whatever service remains to me with the Eliot Church, I shall follow on with the same purpose, but I trust with an ever growing wisdom and charity.

I am already one of the venerable pastors of this city! You must not regard me as a novice in the ministerial ranks. Have I not seen changes, in the last five years, not only in all the Methodist pulpits of this community,



but in the Presbyterian, in the First and Second Baptist, the Central Congregational, the Grace and St. John's Episcopal, the German Lutheran, the Universalist and the Unitarian? The only Protestant clergymen in Lawrence, to whom I defer as my seniors in service here, are Rev. Joshua Coit, Rev. Clark Carter, Rev. A. L. Houghton, and our city missionary, Rev. Charles U. Dunning. I take this opportunity of sending greeting to all the servants of Christ here ministering in the Gospel, congratulating myself on the fraternal spirit which they have constantly manifested, and congratulating you that the churches of Christ which they so faithfully serve are working side by side, with rare harmony and for great common ends.

In bringing this record to a close, I must renew my words of cheer. And let me say, that my joy is not so much in our beautiful building, our growing audiences, our excellent music and our prosperous financial condition, though all these are great blessings. My joy is that the noble spirit of the founders of the Eliot Church, the spirit of earnest labor for spiritual ends and of loving fellowship with one another, has come to rule so generally among us. To those of the original members who are now here, let me declare, that we do them honor for their brave consecration and noble self-sacrifice. To all who have come to us since, let me say, that I appreciate their self-denying endeavors to build worthily on the good foundations already laid. And my heart goes out with a peculiarly affectionate interest towards the young disciples, so many of them from our Sunday School, who have recently confessed their faith in Christ.

I expect from you all that fidelity which, as Carlyle says, is the sum of the virtues. Let this fidelity reach down to so-called little things, and my heart will be continually cheered. Five years more of faithful labor, under whatever leadership you may have, should make this a church of great and far-reaching power for good. Old Cotton

Mather said: "We had a tradition among us that the country could never perish as long as Eliot was alive". So I believe that a church can not fail of the highest prosperity, so long as the spirit and faith of John Eliot, the missionary and apostle, quicken its membership. Shall we not henceforth engage in a generous rivalry to illustrate the amplest measures of apostolic love and missionary consecration? Said Lord Bacon: "The desire of knowledge was the fall of man, and the desire of power was the fall of angels, but in charity there is no excess." I once visited an International Flower-show in Florence, the city of flowers, whose name is floral, whose shield bears a lily, and whose chief architectural ornament is a blossom in stone. There I saw the great Italian cities, which in former ages had assaulted each others' walls and burnt each others' commerce and slandered each others' names, contending as to which should outblossom the rest. Naples the gay, and Bologna the learned, Genoa the noble and prosperous, and Venice, "fading o'er her shipless sea," Florence, "the all-loving mother" of great men, and Rome the venerable queen, new-crowned with youth and hope and joy, this matchless sister-hood of cities there appeared, pelting each other with the holy lilies of Val d'Arno and dewy roses from the villas of the Apenines, looking as if just dropped from the gardens of the Lord. To such a beautiful rivalry as this are we called by the Spirit of God. Let us strive to show forth the fairest flowers of the Christian life, the multiform graces that adorn the truth we are to teach. "The church," writes Phillips Brooks, "must put off her look of selfishness. She must first deeply feel and then frankly say that she exists only as the picture of what the world ought to be. Not as the ark where a choice few may take refuge from the flood, but as the promise and the potency of the new heavens and the new earth she must offer herself to men."

The time, my dear people, is short. Our earthly house of this tabernacle is dissolving. This sanctuary itself shall be the plaything of time. The proudest structures of hu-

man art crumble into the dust. The temple where Jesus taught is a ruin. The Parthenon, which Phidias built on the Acropolis, now lifts a dimmed and broken splendor into the violet ether of Athens. Only the invisible architecture of God in the human soul abides. The things that are unseen are eternal. Therefore seek first the kingdom of God. Let your life ever be fronting the gates of pearl. And when earthly Sabbaths are ended and the last song of earthly praise has been sung, may all of us, pastor and people, be found sitting at His feet, to whom our lives are consecrated, for whom our churches are built, that we may rejoice in that service which is perfect freedom, and join with the redeemed multitude whom no man can number in ascribing blessing, and dominion, and glory, and might, and power, to Him that sitteth upon the throne and to the Lamb forever and ever. Amen.















