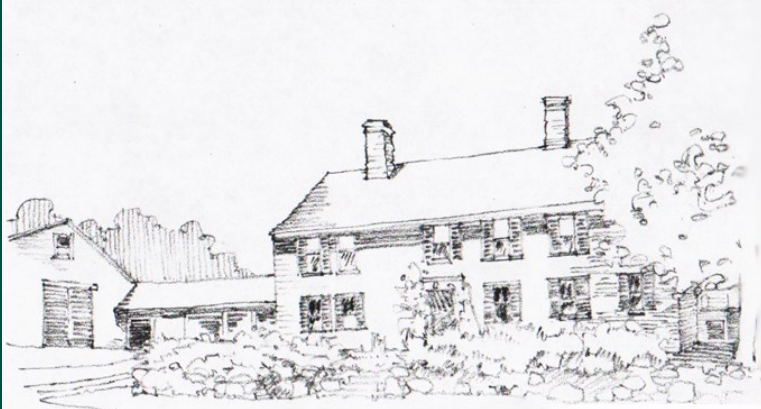
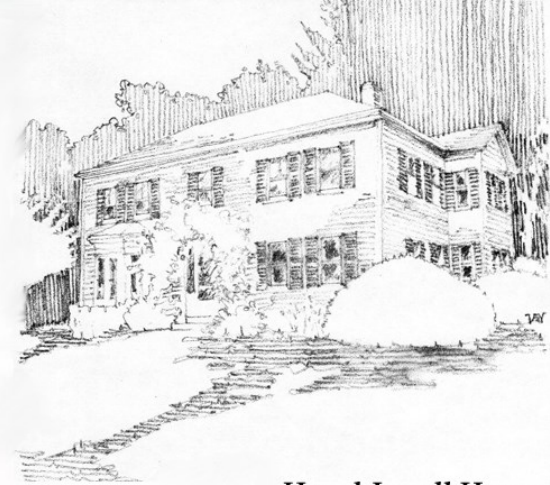




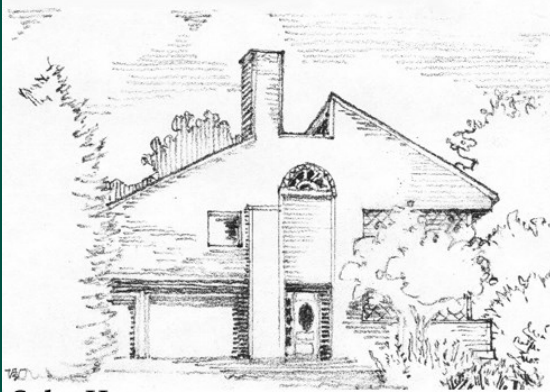
Wayland Historical Tours



Reeves Tavern



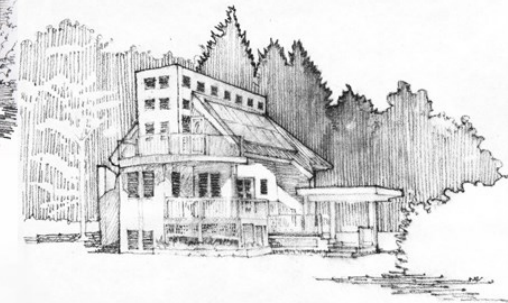
Heard-Lovell House



Solar House



Noyes - Parris House



Toaster House

Re-publication of 1976 Wayland Historical
Tours
2013

Cover: Five Centuries of Wayland Houses

17th Century—Noyes Parris House

18th Century—Reeves Tavern

19th Century—J. F. Heard-L. K. Lovell House

20th Century—Solar House

21st Century—Toaster House

Drawings by W A Sterling

WAYLAND HISTORICAL TOURS



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PREFACE—1976

The story of Wayland's first three centuries is told through three historical tours covering: 1) the early settlement days of Sudbury in the seventeenth century; 2) the Revolutionary War period, during which the town divided from Sudbury and became East Sudbury in 1780; and 3) the nineteenth century when two separate centers developed within the town, named Wayland in 1835.

The tours aim to encourage a “sense of place” through the use of maps and text that relate the land to the people and events of each period. Tours I and III take place in relatively small areas and can be followed on foot or bicycle, whereas Tour II encompasses the entire town and will require the aid of a bicycle or an automobile.

The roots of Wayland's past go deep into the soils of the Sudbury River Valley. This interrelationship between environment and people remains vital today as we try to carry on the heritage left by our predecessors—love for the land and service to the town.

It is impossible to thank everyone who has assisted in providing information personally or through writings, but several groups and individuals will be singled out in particular.

Funds for the publication of this booklet were made available through matching grants from the State Bicentennial Commission and town meeting appropriation to the Wayland Bicentennial Committee.

The Wayland Historical Society graciously permitted the use of its Grout-Heard House office and files of Wayland materials. Aid in identifying these materials came from Isabel Wight, co-curator and a cataloguing group comprising Betty Sweitzer, Gretchen Little, Jean Clampitt, Corinne Gols, and Nancy Leeson.

The booklet research committee consisted of Jo Goeselt, who worked on maps, field work, and cemetery study; Joan Clay, who helped search deeds

and record information on old houses; and Marcia Storkerson, who assisted on town meeting records and publication.

Specialized map work was provided by Lew Bowker, town engineer, and the staff of the engineering department. Original sketches were donated by Anna Horrigan and Joan Clay.

In editorial evaluation, the following rendered guidance and corrections: Forrest D. Bradshaw on the early period and questions concerning the present town of Sudbury; Margaret Bent Morrell on the early period and Cochituate; Howard S. Russell on early agriculture; Palmer D. True on military aspects of the Revolutionary War; the Wayland Historical Commission in the inventory of old houses; and John C. Bryant, Mrs. Francis W. Walsh, George G. Bogren, Robert H. Scotland, and Mrs. Arthur H. Dudley on Cochituate research.

Helen F. Emery reviewed the entire booklet and made available invaluable research materials as well.

This booklet contains neither footnotes nor bibliography. For those serious students undertaking research on the town, a complete listing of references will be made available upon request at the Wayland Public Library and the Wayland Historical Society.

The basic references continually consulted on Wayland were: Sudbury Town Records (1639-1780), East Sudbury and Wayland Town Records (1780-1900); *Vital Records of Sudbury, Mass. to 1850*, *Vital Records of Wayland, Mass. to 1850* (New England Historical Genealogical Society, Boston, 1910); Alfred S. Hudson, *The History of Sudbury, Mass. 1638-1889* (1889), and *The Annals of Sudbury, Wayland, and Maynard* (1891); and Sumner C. Powell, *Puritan Village* (Wesleyan University, 1963).

Barbara Robinson, Editor

Wayland Bicentennial Committee 1976

ADDENDUM TO PREFACE - 2013

The Wayland Historical Tours booklet, first published in 1976 for the Bicentennial, has been reproduced for the celebration of Wayland's 375th Anniversary. The year, 1638, marks the first settlement of Sudbury, which was within the bounds of present day Wayland where today's North Cemetery is situated.

A team of readers reviewed the text and photographs and made changes to the original text either to correct information or expand concepts. It is through research over the past 35 years that new information has increased our knowledge and understanding of our roots. Helen F. Emery went on to write the definitive history of the town, *The Puritan Village Evolves*, which was published in 1981. Additional information was gleaned through that project; other information through on-going research of Wayland's architecture and the people who lived and prospered here.

There are a few technical changes such as spelling of last names. An example is Brown and Browne. Both spellings appear throughout primary sources for some names such as the Rev. Edmund Brown. For the purposes of this text the editors determined to use the spelling most frequently seen (Brown).

Funding for various events of the Wayland 375th Celebration program, including re-publication of this booklet, is made possible through a Town Meeting appropriation and donations to support the Celebration Committee programming. Hard copies of the booklet will be sold while an online edition will be available to all through the Town website. As in 1976 the Wayland Historical Society graciously permitted the use of its Grout-Heard House office and files of Wayland materials.

The booklet editing committee consisted of Mary Antes, Jo Goeselt, Barbara Robinson, Gretchen Schuler and Jane Sciacca. Editing was facilitated by use of a scanned document that was completed by MaryAnn DiNapoli, Administrative Assistant to the Town Administrator. Taking advantage of new technology, Geographic

Information System (GIS) maps were prepared by Brendan Decker, GIS Coordinator for Wayland. Present day photographs replaced the 1976 photographs. Old images from the Wayland Historical Society collection were scanned by Lois Hanssen Davis. Bill Sterling redesigned the cover of the booklet by providing sketches of five houses – one from each century.

*Mary Antes, Chair,
375th Anniversary Committee*

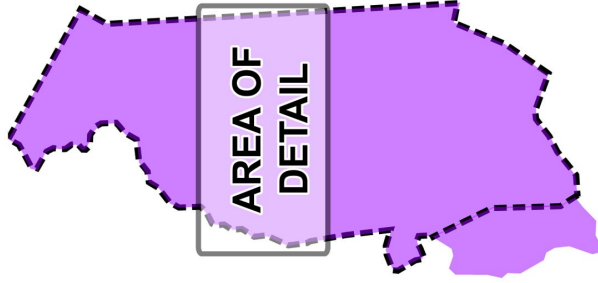
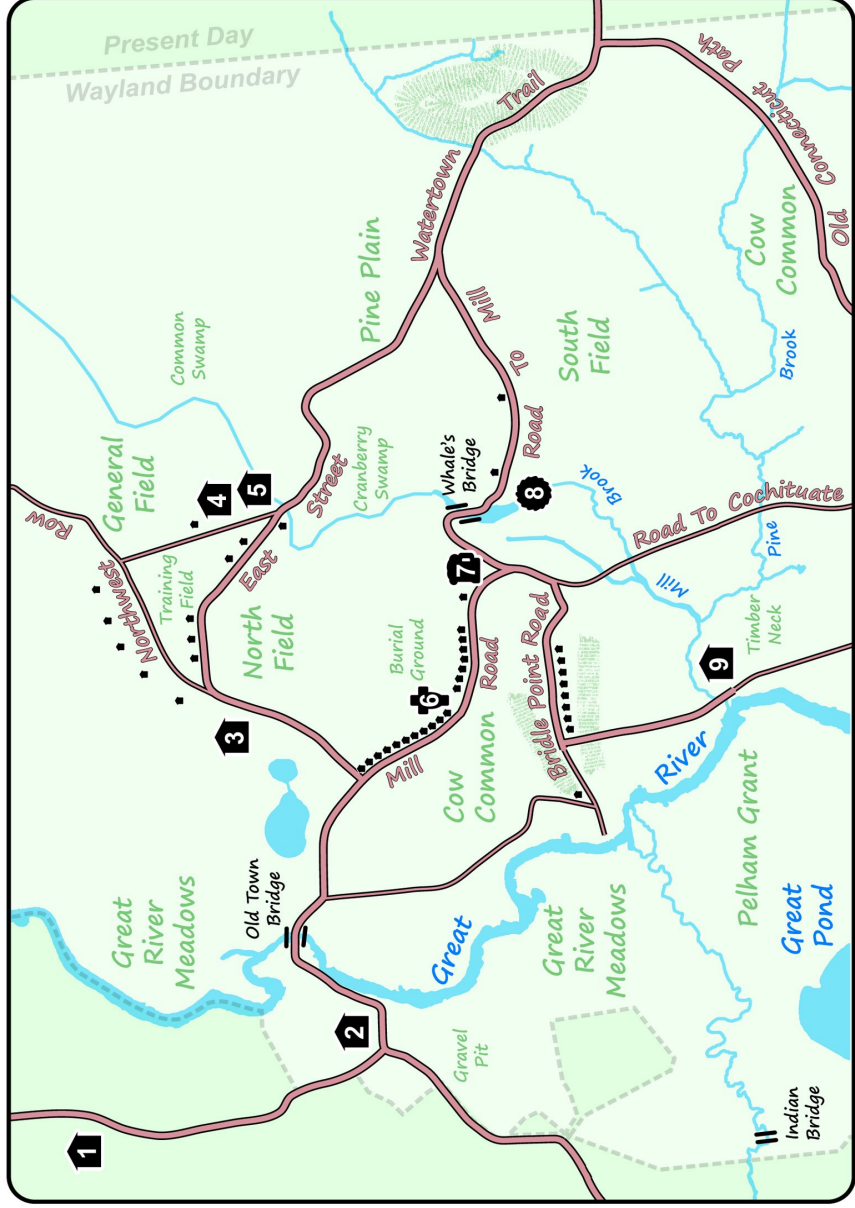
*Jo Goeselt, Former Curator
Wayland Historical Society*

*Gretchen Schuler, Chair
Wayland Historic District Commission*

*Jane Sciacca, Board Member
Wayland Historical Society*



Sudbury Village, 1638-1676



-  Notable House
-  Tavern
-  Church
-  Mill

- 1 Haynes Garrison
- 2 John Goodenow
- 3 Town Pound
- 4 Thomas Noyes
- 5 Bryan Pendleton
- 6 Town Meeting House
- 7 Parmenter Ordinary
- 8 Cakebread Mill
- 9 Edmund Brown

TOUR I INTRODUCTION

Let us take a journey back in time to the earliest days of our town, when a small group of dedicated Puritans came in the fall of 1638 to “settle a plantation upon the ryver which runs to Concord.”

The “ryver which runs to Concord” was called the *Musketahquid* by the local Indians, meaning grassy banks, and it was those grasslands for cutting hay and the nearby pasture lands for grazing cattle that were the great attraction for those hopeful farmers traveling by foot from Watertown.

The General Court granted permission for a plantation of fifty or sixty families along the River where 1,500 acres of meadow might be available to them in an area five miles square. This grant was territorial in nature, the families to be considered a company of original proprietors.

In the first petition to the General Court, in November 1637, it was “a great part of the chief inhabitants of Watertowne” who requested this land because of “straightness of accommodation and want of more meadow.” Although permission was granted, there were legal restrictions that may account for the withdrawal of many of the Watertown petitioners. By September 1638, when the Court gave permission to “Mr. Pendleton, Mr. Noyes, Mr. Brown & Company to go on in their Plantation,” new names appeared, including some recent arrivals on the ship *Confidence* who were apparently recruited for this Plantation.

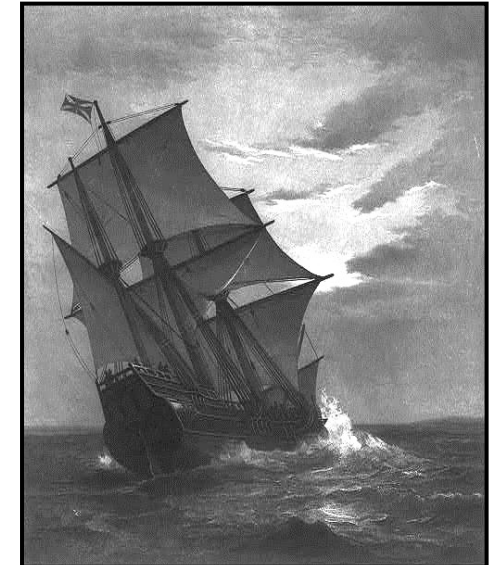
Of the petitioners from Watertown who remained on the list, none was better known than Brian Pendleton who had served as that town’s selectman and representative to the General Court and who enhanced the prestige of the new Company.

Although Peter Noyes had only recently come from England, he was already one of the recognized leaders of the new group. He was responsible for many who signed to come on the *Confidence* and for additional family and friends who sailed on the *Jonathan* to settle the next spring.

Another significant addition was Edmund Brown, who was to become the settlement’s first minister and who had many friends from Cambridge University in the General Court.

This was no group of cast-off immigrants from England, but a young and courageous band of Puritans seeking a better vision of society. Many of them left a comfortable life and positions in their community because of ideals not fulfilled there. England was undergoing social and religious turmoil. Puritans resented the “popish” doctrines of Archbishop Laud and the politically corrupt reign of Charles I. They were also dissatisfied with economic conditions, and the lure of land ownership in the New World heightened their pioneer spirit.

Sudbury’s original proprietors braved a long ocean voyage to start their lives anew in the New World. The Confidence brought many of these founding families, along with their household goods and farm animals. The Jonathan brought additional family and friends the next spring.

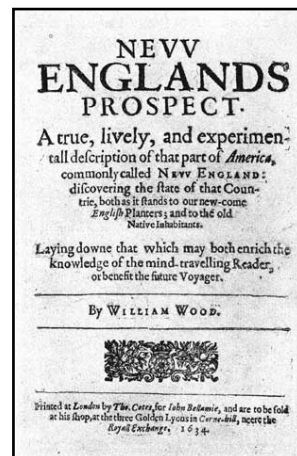


When the Massachusetts Bay Colony received a charter in 1629, its incorporators were able to bargain for more favorable terms than the earlier Pilgrims, and obtained a large measure of economic and political self-control. As a result, the exodus to the New World quickened. Between 1629 and 1632, twelve towns were scattered all along the Massachusetts coastal area.

One of the towns receiving the heaviest influx because of its convenient location near the mouth of the Charles River was Watertown. It soon tried to discourage further immigration by limiting town land grants. This resulted in new settlements being formed—first in Connecticut and next in inland Massachusetts. Watertown residents helped to found Concord in 1635, Dedham in 1636, and Sudbury, the third inland “frontier town beyond the tide” in 1638. The westward movement was underway.

As early as 1633, an exploring Englishman, William Wood, returned home to tell in his book, *New England's Prospect*, of the wonders of a vast, unsettled frontier and made areas along the Old Indian Path and the *Musketahquid* sound most inviting. This path, the “Old Connecticut Path,” guided many a land seeker and religious dissident down to the Connecticut frontier. Not all who made this trek stayed, and some came back to places like Watertown with reports of opportunities for new settlements nearer the coast—including the *Musketahquid* river location.

In 1634, William Wood wrote New England's Prospect in the hope of attracting more settlers to New England. His description included flora and fauna, geography, and the Native American residents—complete with an Indian-English dictionary—as well as the Musketahquid area.



An important reason these frontier areas began to seem more appealing was the reported absence of Indians. Because of two devastating epidemics in 1616 and 1633, many of the local tribes had been wiped out or severely thinned in numbers. The few existing tribes from the interior Nipmuck country had even appeared friendly and had come to the rescue in 1633-34 with needed corn after the Bay Colony suffered tragic losses during a poor growing season and a severe winter. But not all the Indians were friendly and some of the earliest acts of the General Court related to the defense of its new settlements. The Puritan view that Indians were savage creatures that needed to be Christianized, along with exploitative and expansionist land policies, were not aimed at improving relations.

When the first group of settlers set out in September 1638 for the river plantation, advance reports could not adequately prepare them for their new venture and they indeed must have had their fears. Would the Indians be friendly? Would the wild wolves and bears be lurking in the dark and imposing forest to kill off their precious cattle? Would conditions be so primitive that no clearings existed? Would there be enough time before winter set in to hack out temporary shelters and provide fuel and food for the long months ahead?

As we follow in their footsteps from Watertown, we can try to visualize that small group of men, women, children, and cattle plodding along over the narrow, rutted path through the unbroken forest. Where the Old Indian Path came to the end of Watertown and the beginning of the new settlement grant (the present Wayland-Weston border), it turned to the southwest to head toward the *Musketahquid* and the *Cochituaatt* Narrows. We will take another less-used path off to the northwest (our present Plain Road). These settlers continued on this meandering path through tall pine trees to the junction they called Pine Plain and along the present Claypit Hill Road, where the original Indian path ran just south of existing roads and came out near the two ponds (Baldwin Ponds) before it forded the river to the west side of the settlement. We, however, must cross

Training Field Road and join Glezen Lane, following it until it joins Old Sudbury Road, just north of what was to become their village center.

What relief and encouragement they must have felt as they reached their destination by the river. No Indian war parties awaited them. The Indians must have found this a fertile area some time before, however, because much of the underbrush had been burned-over and cleared as deer runs, which made passage under the huge virgin pine and oak trees less difficult. A well-watered area, wild game, fish, and waterfowl appeared to be everywhere for the taking. Best of all there were natural and burned-over clearings in this area by the river where grass grew as tall as men, and convenient upland for temporary shelters existed nearby. Yes, conditions were promising, but there was also endless work and hardship ahead.

1 COW COMMON

As we turn south from Glezen Lane onto Old Sudbury Road, the North Cemetery is soon on our left and on our right the parking lot for the town-owned conservation lands, called “The Old Cow Common.” This is the first stop on our tour because these fields and adjacent meadows, in combination with the Old Burial Ground and meetinghouse site across the street, became the first “village center” of Sudbury Plantation.

Questions of land allotment were the first priority of the Sudbury settlers. Almost all of the first Bylaws on the Sudbury Town Books concerned the apportionment and management of land. There were house lots, meadow, and upland to be apportioned and common lands were set aside. Great care was taken to see that no one was without a sufficient amount for family needs and raising crops. No one was without land, but some were better off than others because

of their standing in the community and unusual services rendered, for which they received extra land or “gratulation.”

The planters began their frontier settlement with cooperative agricultural practices, probably as much by necessity as choice. The so-called “open field” system to which many of them had been accustomed in England allowed them to share their few tools and make use of the first cleared land to provide equitable conditions for all. This economic cooperation reinforced the community’s social unity—indispensable for organizing a new town.

About us on all sides stretches part of the original “Cow Common,” hundreds of acres of fields (then partly forest) that provided the life-supporting pasture land for Sudbury’s cattle. Beyond these fields were the “Great River meadows,” vast acres of grassland cut for hay to supply fodder throughout the winter.

The rich-bottomed meadow was prized so highly that it was the subject of the first division of land. It was apportioned to the original grantees or proprietors on the basis of their status in the community, the number of family members and livestock, and their ability to improve the land. The first three commissioners, “Mr. Pendleton, Mr. Noyes, Mr. Brown,” designated by the General Court in 1638, oversaw this crucial division that formed the basis for taxation and for subsequent allotments of land.

The choicest and most accessible meadow land on the east side of the Great River, as the settlers soon began to call the *Musketahquid*, could not be parceled out fairly in large square plots. Therefore, according to English custom, long, narrow strips “to lye successively upon the Great River,” extended from the edge of the fields facing us all the way to the river channel.

A cart path, which is no longer visible but readily imagined at the meadow margin, provided access to these strips. The lush grasses, maturing in late spring and summer, often permitted more than one

cutting during the growing season. It is hard for us to visualize farmers, oxen-drawn (later horse) equipment, and haystacks out on the now reedy floodplain. As a result of later mill development along the river in the nineteenth century, down-stream dams raised the water level and changed growing conditions. This meadow may then became no longer profitable to cut, but in 1638 one of these strips was an assurance of economic survival.

It was equally essential in 1638 to survey the area for the best grazing land for cattle. Perhaps livestock roamed at will at first, but by 1640 a “common for working cattel and cattel new weaned” was set aside in an area near the house lots. By 1643 the town agreed that “all great cattle shall goe with a keeper except it be working cattle in the tyme of theyre labor.”

At this time, a larger Cow Common was laid out on the east side where over 2,000 acres extended from the northernmost field in front on us all the way to the Watertown (Weston) line. With the addition in 1645 of approximately 4,000 acres on the west side of the river for a Cow Common, pasture land was very plentiful initially. There was no need to enforce the 1643 proviso that gave each proprietor-inhabitant the right to put cattle on the Common in proportion to the number of acres in his original meadow grant. In fact, the town was even able to add income by taking in cows from neighboring towns that lacked sufficient grazing area.

Oxen or “working cattel” were the mainstay of the seventeenth century settler’s land-clearing and farming operations. By 1640, the town had set aside a special cow common near the house lots for oxen and young cattle.



Until barns and sheds could be built in later years, cattle were left out in the open to survive the rigors of winter, which along with wild, predatory animals cut down their numbers. Still, the town herd grew. Edward Johnson in his survey of the Colony towns in *Wonder Working Providence* gave the “neat herd” as 300 in 1651.

At first the livestock pastured were only those that could immediately serve local needs, especially the cows for their milk and the working oxen for the heavy tasks: pulling up stumps, plowing previously uncultivated lands and clearing paths. Neither horses nor sheep did well under wilderness conditions and it was some time before they became numerous. Swine fared best in the wild, finding abundant food and scaring off larger beasts. But they were very troublesome and required more legislation than any other animal. “All hogs and pigs as shall be kept in the town of Sudbury shall not go about the town without yokes and rings in their noses,” stated an order of April 10, the first of many. A heavy fine was imposed for unruly hogs roaming about at will and rooting out crops, making the swine warden a necessary early town officer. The building of a town pound for storing stray livestock was another early priority.

By 1655, the concept of local needs was broadened and oxen and beef cattle for market were an important resource for the local economy. For those in power, the time had come to attempt to enforce the “sizing of the Commons” bylaw.

Related to this controversy was the question of individual vs. general farm lands. Initially it saved labor to work plow land in common. In 1638 the first fields sought for the following growing season would have been those needing the least work, either cleared or partially worked over previously by the Indians. In the spring of 1639, there were two general fields designated and divided into strips—the first reportedly lying between Mill and Pine Brooks, and the second between the cemetery and present-day Glezen Lane. As time went on, additional common fields were laid out and cleared so that by 1655 there were six general fields under town supervision. A

farmer might then be working six or more “tillage” and “haying” strips within common lands, scattered throughout the town, and on both sides of the river.

Farming practices throughout the Colony were generally exploitative. With land plentiful, when unfertilized, poorly plowed, and managed fields became unproductive, the planters could move on to another area. However, Johnson had this to say about the Sudbury soils in 1651:

“This Towne is very well watered, and hath store of plowland, but by reason of the oaken roots, they have little broke up, considering the many Acres the place affords; but this kinde of land requires great strength to break up, yet brings very good crops, and lasts long without mending.”

With meadow and farming strips worked in common, the need for fencing to keep livestock from ruining hay and crops became an urgent order of town business requiring strict enforcement. Fences were set up to separate the meadow lands from the Cow Common and to protect the general fields. Each farmer was responsible for an amount of fence proportionate to his farming or meadow strip. Failure to supply fence or keep it mended might call for a heavy fine. One of the first town orders (April 1639) named Edmund Rice, Robert Darvell, Thomas Goodnow, and Andrew Belcher to patrol the fences of the north and south fields. By 1655, the services of twenty-five fence viewers and three general field surveyors were required.

Deadline dates for fencing, planting, and harvesting were included in the town records, but the kinds and quantities of crops produced are not detailed. We know, however, that payment in produce for town services or taxes included corn, wheat, oats, barley, peas, flax, and malt.



Though each proprietor had his own meadow and farming lots, the land was worked collectively—with labor and equipment pooled to get the major tasks of harvesting and haying done.

In spite of the growing number of general fields, pressure for individual, enclosed farms was also growing. Roads were opening up to new areas, tools were becoming more available, and frontier conditions were easing. It no longer seemed reasonable to many farmers to walk five or six miles between several tracts of up-land and meadow. With so much common and undivided land available, including the two-mile New Grant land on the western border, why wasn't more land opened up to make large farms possible? Why was it that as the population increased, town leaders adopted a policy of restricting development of common lands more than ever?

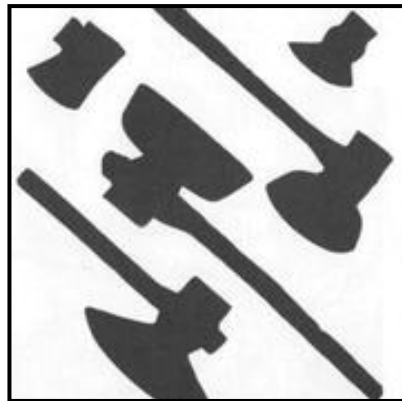
Opposition to the existing leadership came to a head in 1655 when men like John Ruddock and Edmund Rice were able to get a majority of selectmen elected who struck down the old “sizing of the Commons” statute. They mobilized the sons who had come to maturity and newcomers through marriage who lacked meadow rights, and others whose estates had increased since the first division who felt their land privileges should increase. They all wanted more land and more of a say in the community.

A group of the “founding fathers”—Peter Noyes, Edmund Brown, and Walter Haynes prominent among them--petitioned the General Court and the Puritan church leadership to help settle the controversy in 1655. The argument was taken out of the town’s hands when a General Court-appointed committee and a church council each came to Sudbury and decided basically in favor of the 1643 ruling.

The following year the General Court granted Ruddock and his followers a six-mile grant westward. The details were not worked out until 1660, when they left Sudbury to found Marlborough. The split must have had a profound effect upon Sudbury society, dividing neighbors and even families. There are indications of some political fence-mending before the dissidents left. Town meeting voted to divide the New Grant lands in 1658 into squadrons of 130-acre farms where “every man shall enjoy a like quantity of land,” regardless of “status” in the community. The way was being eased for dissenters who stayed behind to buy land and consolidate holdings into an enclosed farm.

Individual enterprise eventually replaced common farming. Nevertheless, the early period of cooperative policies had provided the unity and order essential for a struggling frontier community and made this later development possible.

The ax was vital to the livelihood of the early settlers. These early tools were of iron, without a poll—the hammer opposite the blade—with the cutting edge in an arc. The broad ax was used to rough cut logs into beams, rafters, and trusses—not to fell trees—and was made in a variety of sizes and shapes, with the handles usually quite short and often curved.



2 ROAD TO THE MILL

Let us continue south along Old Sudbury Road to Bow Road which together formed Mill Road—one of the principal streets of the Plantation. Just behind the present houses on the northern side of this route, tradition states that the settlers dug crude shelters or caves into the side of the hill for their first dwellings.

Having arrived here in September, there would be little time for building shelters, catching game and fish, and storing food for the winter ahead. Although timber was abundant, there were few tools for cutting, and perhaps only a few broad axes and saws were among them. At this point, digging into the earth with hand-made tools would be easier than making a log cabin. Perhaps a few caves or “poore wigwams” were awaiting them, abandoned by Indians or by a scouting party that had already been out exploring.

We can only imagine the hardship of the men, women, and children who huddled together that first winter, because no diaries, letters, or records have been found. The first records begin in 1639 concerning the work at hand—assigning lands and responsibilities within the new settlement. By April, the General Court ordered that the “newe plantation by Concord shalbe called Sudbury,” and this is the date attached to the beginning of the town. Before long, a deed with Karto and other Indians was signed for the land.

As springtime neared, the pioneer group was joined by arrivals from England on the ship *Jonathan*, along with others now ready to make the move from Watertown. Spring was their busiest season, and plowing and planting the common fields took precedence over house building.

By summer, these planters rejoiced in the knowledge that they could grow crops successfully and were ready to organize their house lots and streets in a more permanent way. In September, the General

Court approved the request of “the inhabitants of Sudberry” for a larger committee of seven men to lay out its lands (the three earlier named, plus Edmund Rice, Walter Haynes, George Munnings, and John Parmenter), who also served as commissioners for the first year. The plantation was named Sudbury, probably in deference to its minister, Edmund Brown, who served in that parish in England. Several others among the first inhabitants also came from that parish.

There were about 50 original house lots laid out on the east side in a pattern of clustering, with a few exceptions. This was in line with the Colony belief that new settlements should group within one-half mile of the fort or meetinghouse for protection, a Colony bylaw not always followed. For a frontier town like Sudbury, it remained a practical consideration, as they later discovered in King Philip’s War.

The house lot was a gift of approximately four acres, and its location was determined by the drawing of lots. Most of the householders were also proprietors of the land grant. There were several, however, whose voyage was paid by others and who were listed as servants until they paid off their passage in work or reached a certain age. John Rutter, a carpenter, age 22, and Robert Davis, 30, both came over as servants with Peter Noyes. By the end of 1640, Davis had been granted a house lot, and in the next year, John Rutter’s house lot was identified in the town records as being near the “Clay pitts.” In several cases “servants” later married into the sponsoring family and became proprietors.

Twenty-four house lots were situated along this Mill Road, facing south, with twelve on either side of the meetinghouse, making it indeed the “center.” A second principal road, Bridle Point Road, started from below the eastern end of Mill Road, near the present Library, and went in a westerly direction toward the River. then southerly across Mill Brook. Eight house lots were on the southern, protected side of the ridge (removed when Raytheon developed its

property). As Bridle Point Road continued southward, crossing Mill Brook near the river, one additional lot of eighty acres was granted to the pastor, Edmund Brown. The third settlement road was part of the route we followed as the early “Watertown Trail.” One section of this route, called East Street, had eleven house lots located along it, nine from the present Claypit-Concord Road intersection towards “Baldwin Ponds,” and two together on the east side of this intersection (Thomas Noyes and Brian Pendleton). Off East Street, Northwest Row—no longer recognizable—went in a northeast direction toward one of the Common Swamps (near Concord Road and Glezen Lane) and had five more lots of irregular sizes, including fifty acres to William Pelham across from Walter Haynes at the end of the Row. A cart path (not far to the west of present Concord Road) connected Haynes’s lot with East Street at the point where the Noyes and Pendleton lots were laid out, and along this path George Munnings’s lot was designated. Within a few years, new house lots were granted along the Pine Plain.

It is difficult to determine exact locations and owners of these early lots, as in the early days the town records served as deeds and these lots were recorded without description. The settlers’ book of “platts” and a book of grants have not been found. Some original proprietors did not build houses here. Property changed hands often and the boundaries recorded were of a changeable character (“bonny red oak,” etc.). Nevertheless, many of the lots have been traced, especially those that have stayed in the same families for years, such as the Maynard, Parmenter, and Rutter families along Mill Road and the Curtises along East Street. The site of the Noyes and Pendleton first dwellings have been identified from descriptions and relics at the spot. We know that Brian Pendleton had a house built as early as July 1639, because it is mentioned in a deed recorded by Governor Winthrop at that time. George Munnings and others of the plantation “Nannit Doe” (sic) bought of the Indian Karto (otherwise Goodman of Goodman Hill) the Sudbury lands including two miles each way from “the now dwelling of Bryan Pendleton.” These first inhabitants certainly had no training for the rugged

experiences that awaited them, having left a country of mild winters, where fields and vales and woods were intensely worked over. They brought with them only the barest essentials of clothing and furnishings and only a few implements with which to tackle the wilderness work. Most of their equipment would be handmade with sturdiness rather than appearance their guide. Each man brought at least one weapon with him, and the wife would have considered her cooking utensils her most valuable possessions in passage from England.

These wilderness farmers soon learned to be jacks-of-all-trades, and most built their own houses. Unfortunately none of the first dwellings remain, but descriptions for this period show them to be simple wooden frame cabins, with a thatched roof of grass or sedge. A fireplace in the one large room would be the only source of heat. There was usually an attic or loft overhead used by the older children and for storing grain. Since timber was plentiful, it was a wooden house, because granite, although equally abundant, was too hard to break up. Loose fieldstone might have been used for lining the walls. When all the timber was cut and notched for fitting together, the heavy job of raising it and framing the house would be shared by a number of families.

Fires were a problem, especially because of the thatched roofs that could easily catch sparks from the chimney. The chimneys themselves were fire hazards at first when they were built of wooden frames, and mud or clay (which dried out) was used to hold them together. Houses began to last longer when shingles were used for the roofs and brick or stone for the fireplaces. However, fire buckets continued to be a household necessity and every household was required by Town Meeting order in 1666 “to have sufficient good ladder . . . which may reach to the Tope of his hous,” where fires usually began.

As families grew and leisure and finances allowed, houses were either torn down and larger ones rebuilt with some of the same

wood, or additions to the original might extend in several directions. Houses seemed to be easily moved from one place to another—with the help of oxen-drawn sleds in winter.

Many of the families that settled here were young and were continually adding to their number, and a family of ten was not unusual. Edmund Rice had thirteen children, nine of them boys who would soon need their own homesteads, so it was no wonder that Rice was constantly buying or leasing new land and building new houses. One of the houses he built (in 1650) had these specifications in the deed:

“ ... 30 foot long, 10 foot high, 1 foot sill from the ground, 16 foot wide, with 2 rooms, both below or one above the others, all the doors, walls and staires with convenient fixtures, and well planked under foot and boored sufficiently to lay corn in the story above head.”

The houses were built close to the road for convenience in clearing the land and in travel, especially in winter. As the back of the house lot was cleared, a kitchen and herb garden was planted, usually by the housewife. Seeds for herbs and spices were brought over to New England for cooking and medicines, and as dietary supplements. Cuttings of fruit trees were also imported, and before long apples, pears, and quinces were found on almost every lot.

Puritans had a great fear about drinking the water, since it had been a source of pestilence in England. The springs discovered were considered very valuable as pure water. Probably they used brook or river water only for cooking and washing (which was seldom) and for beverages they stuck with milk, ale, and beer for some time—until cider became the most popular drink. With time, wells were dug on the lot.

It is ironic that Sudbury's settlers brought with them from England a certain distrust for the local water. They highly prized the underground springs, but tended to limit their beverages to milk, ale, beer, and cider. It was not until individual wells were dug that the early residents came to fully appreciate the water in the Sudbury River Valley.



Most of their social life revolved around shared work. In addition to “house-raisings,” there were “log-rollings,” “road-breakings” and “stone-clearings” when land would be cleared of brush and stone, and roads of snow. Some old stone walls are still visible along Bow Road and we may well wonder at the number of man-hours that went into the chore. The first day of planting or pasturing on the Common land, or the days of harvesting, would be times of celebration to relieve the tedium of daily work and the gravity of church, meeting time, and militia drills.

At the eastern end of Bow Road was the site of the first public house in the town. Jonathan Parmenter, Jr. received permission from the General Court in 1653 to open his house as an Ordinary, or Inn, which could provide drink, food, and lodging for travelers and a location for community social gathering. Strong drink was common among the colonial dwellers, but intoxication was not only frowned upon, it was a punishable offense. It was here at the Parmenter

Ordinary that the Cow Common controversy was considered by a Colony-appointed council and a Church synod committee in 1655. Parmenter submitted a bill of £17 5s 12d. for “entertaining both the council and cmtee appointed to end their differences” which the General Court directed the Town to pay.

In the earliest days, when Jonathan Parmenter, Sr. was living here, the road was extended to provide access to the mill (at which time it became Mill Road). It is still possible to see the outline of where it curved in a northeast direction toward Plain Road.

3 THE MILL

Leaving Bow Road, we turn north to Plain Road and follow the dirt road that is on the eastern side of Mill Pond until we reach the mill site at the southern end of the Pond.

One of the Plantation’s first decisions was to provide a gristmill “to grind the town’s corn.” Locating a miller was a priority since the slow, laborious task of pounding out the grain by hand was too time-consuming and could not supply their needs. The Sudbury planters were successful in persuading Thomas Cakebread of Watertown and Dedham to join them in early 1639 with the promise of becoming the town’s only miller. He was also granted land for the mill, upland for a house, and meadow land above and below the mill—all totaling 100 acres or “thereabout” in the vicinity of Mill Brook.

With the help of townspeople and oxen-drawn teams, this area called Pine Swamp was cleared in 1639, and Cakebread was assisted in the building of a wood-framed mill. The mill was to be situated where the brook could be dammed at the point of a natural falls with about a ten foot drop—needed for adequate power. The natural springs in the area, plus the two gravel ridges on either side of the stream (with good water storage), made this an ideal site for a gristmill.

Cakebread Mill was of the open-wheel, overshot type, so that water ran by way of a sluiceway over the top of the wooden wheel and circulated it in a counter-clockwise direction to cause one grindstone to rotate against another fixed grindstone, which crushed the grain. Local wood was plentiful for the building, especially pine and oak, and the grindstones could have been local granite as well—perhaps taken from Goodman, Nobscot, or Reeves Hill areas. The shafts that rotated the stones one against the other with the water movement might have been the only imported parts, as iron was not mined locally.

The settlers brought their own seed over to the Colony, but their favorite grains—especially wheat—did not grow well at first. They turned to the native corn out of necessity. The settlers were able to take over the vacant cornfields of the former inhabitants, use the Indians' seed, and profit from their growing habits. The English even copied some of the Indians' many ways of preparing and using corn or "Guinny wheat," and added a few variations of their own, such as johnnycake, corn dumplings, and hasty pudding with Indian cornmeal.

No part of the corn was wasted. After the grain was carried to the gristmill by the children, they returned home with both the ground cornmeal and the leftover kernels that could be used for the animals. Ears could be stored for winter feed. Shelled cobs dried out made a substitute for wood—especially good for smoking meat. The husks made dolls. Dried kernels could be used for games and for counting votes in Town Meeting (corn affirmative, beans negative). Corn was considered such a staple item on the market that its price regulated other prices and could even be exchanged for legal currency and for payment of taxes. Rental of town meadows was often in Indian corn.

Thomas Cakebread did not live long in his new community and died in 1643. His medical knowledge and known abilities as a military leader (Sudbury's first Captain of arms), as well as his contribution

as the miller, made him a valued member of society who would be sorely missed.

Luckily for the town, Cakebread's son-in-law John Grout moved in, bringing his young family from Watertown after his wife died. Grout was to stay on, remarry, and take over the miller's trade, which he carried on successfully for many years. The gristmill stayed in the Grout family for several generations, but the name of Cakebread Mill seems to have stuck—perhaps because of the appropriateness of the name.

John Grout was given permission to pen water for the use of the mill in 1644 along with a section called Cranberry Swamp, just north of Whale's Bridge. A neighbor in the area, Philemon Whale, had built the bridge over Mill Brook at Plain Road near his house. Even after he moved south of Five Paths and married the Widow Cakebread, the bridge continued to keep his name. No one seemed to stay widowed very long in frontier times, which was a practical solution to loneliness and caring for a family and homestead.

If needed artisans were not already within the settlement, the methods of attracting them with "gratulation" or the offer of land and other rewards, proved workable. Usually there was a contract for a stated period of time, but in many cases the individual would stay on beyond the deadline to become a respected member of the community.

After a miller, a blacksmith was most desirable, since farm and kitchen equipment and horseshoes all needed his skills. A townsman, Richard Sanger, listed as a servant of Edmund Goodenow when he arrived in 1638, was ready by 1646 to become the town's smithy and he was granted land along with a four-year contract. The records indicate that "Richard Sanger removed his habitation to Watertown" at the end of 1649, and his land reverted back to the town. It was not until 1661 that the Town Books indicate the seeking out of another blacksmith to live in Sudbury. Mr.

Thomas Stevens of Charlestown, ironmonger, accepted the contract in 1663, which provided him with land and timber for his smithy shop. Joseph Graves followed him in 1667 and also received land and privileges.

As the Plantation advanced beyond the pioneer stage, the abundant local resources began to be used in more specialized ways. The woodland surrounding them was first cut for homes and tools and for heat in a sparing way since the work of chopping trees with their few tools was difficult. As tools multiplied, so did the uses for wood. Pitch pine was first cut for its pine knots for candles (candlewood) and later for its pitch for tar making, and there are few left today. Laws limiting the cutting of timber on town land had to be enacted. As early as 1645, Edmund Goodenow was given power as constable to fine anyone taking timber on the Common without permission, and many later laws were concerned with setting aside timber lots and preventing illegal cutting on common land.

Wooden barrels were such an appreciated item in each household that town coopers were in demand for making and trimming casks. In 1664, Elias Keyes was granted timber and a building as well as hoop poles for carrying on the cooper's trade in town.

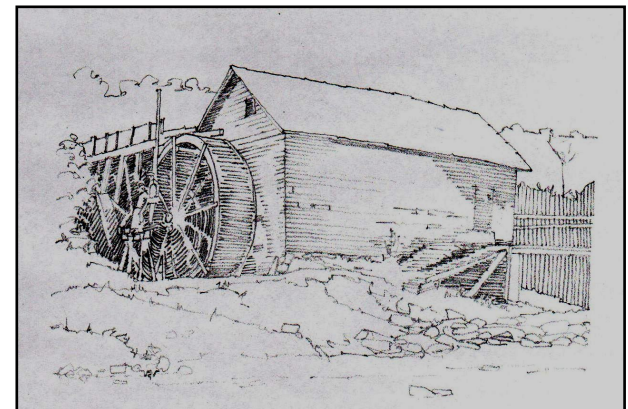
Clay was another local resource that grew in demand. The original digging site for the Sudbury colonists was along Mill Brook not far north of the site of the Cakebread Mill. Above and below the present Claypit Hill Road intersection with Mill Brook, a valuable supply of clay for making chimneys and bricks and filling in cracks of houses was discovered. Undoubtedly, this brook area had been an earlier source for the local Indians who were known to make pottery and bricks and who probably fished here as well, since the Indian path, "the Watertown Trail," went right by. In the early days, there were references to the "clay pits and brick kilnes" near John Rutter, presumably belonging to the townspeople for their use. In 1672, Joseph Parmenter was granted liberty to dig clay and burn a kiln and

use common land wood to burn the brick. Perhaps brick-making was beginning to be a local industry.

Other brooks in the township were looked at more closely as the need for additional mills was felt. Hop Brook on the west side would produce several mill sites, including the second gristmill. Thomas and Peter Noyes, Jr. were granted land and timber to build the mill in the South Sudbury area by 1659, as well as valued meadow rights. The first town-sponsored sawmill was located just above the gristmill. At least one other early sawmill was operating on northeast (now Hazel) Brook, and additional supplies of clay were found in this vicinity as well as elsewhere. The settlers began to make increasing use of available resources in the town in their attempt to remain self-sufficient.

A gristmill remained in use at this Mill Pond until the 1880s. Some of the wood from the Cakebread Mill was supposed to be in all subsequent gristmill buildings until the last was largely destroyed by fire in 1890. Old "Uncle William" Grout, one of the last millers, had the middle name of Cakebread! After this burning, the remainder of the mill was torn down, and an ice house took its place that remained in use until the first part of the 20th century. Since that time, the pond has continued to be important to townspeople for skating, fishing, and other quiet recreation.

This drawing depicts a typical seventeenth-century water-powered mill. The Cakebread Mill was most likely simpler, though still employing the basic design and concept shown.



Before leaving the site of the Cakebread Mill, we can note that an early path extended from the mill over the ridge to the east to join at Pine Plain with the Watertown Trail. Several house lots and planting fields were in this area, but before long the road was abandoned. We continue south on the dirt path to Millbrook Road and by turning right, we arrive at the Public Safety Building and Wayland Center.

4 TOWN GRANTS AND BOUNDS

As we arrive at Wayland Center, it will take a real effort for us to imagine this busy intersection as the wilderness it was in 1638 and soon thereafter. No east-west road was built for a long time because this area had several brooks crossing it and was especially swampy as the land dipped toward Mill Brook and the Great River. This central portion of the east side, from this intersection area to the Watertown border, was common planting and pasturing land for over seventy years. The two original trails of the settlement that followed higher ground—the upper route (Watertown Trail) or the lower route (Old Connecticut Path)—remained the main highways to the interior or coastal areas during this time.

Considerable attention was paid to road building and maintenance in the first years. The early records deal often with new cart paths, meadow paths, and “highways” that would be the responsibility of everyone. One of the town’s first orders in April 1639 stated: “. . . that every Inhabitant in this towne shall come forth to the mendinge of the hyway repair” upon a summons by the surveyors. Five shillings would be forfeited upon default. By joint consent in 1641, the required work was as follows: the poorest worked one day; for every six acres of meadow land a man owned, he worked one day.

At first, the new town worried about local routes that connected its settlers with the meetinghouse, the mill, and each other. By 1648, it

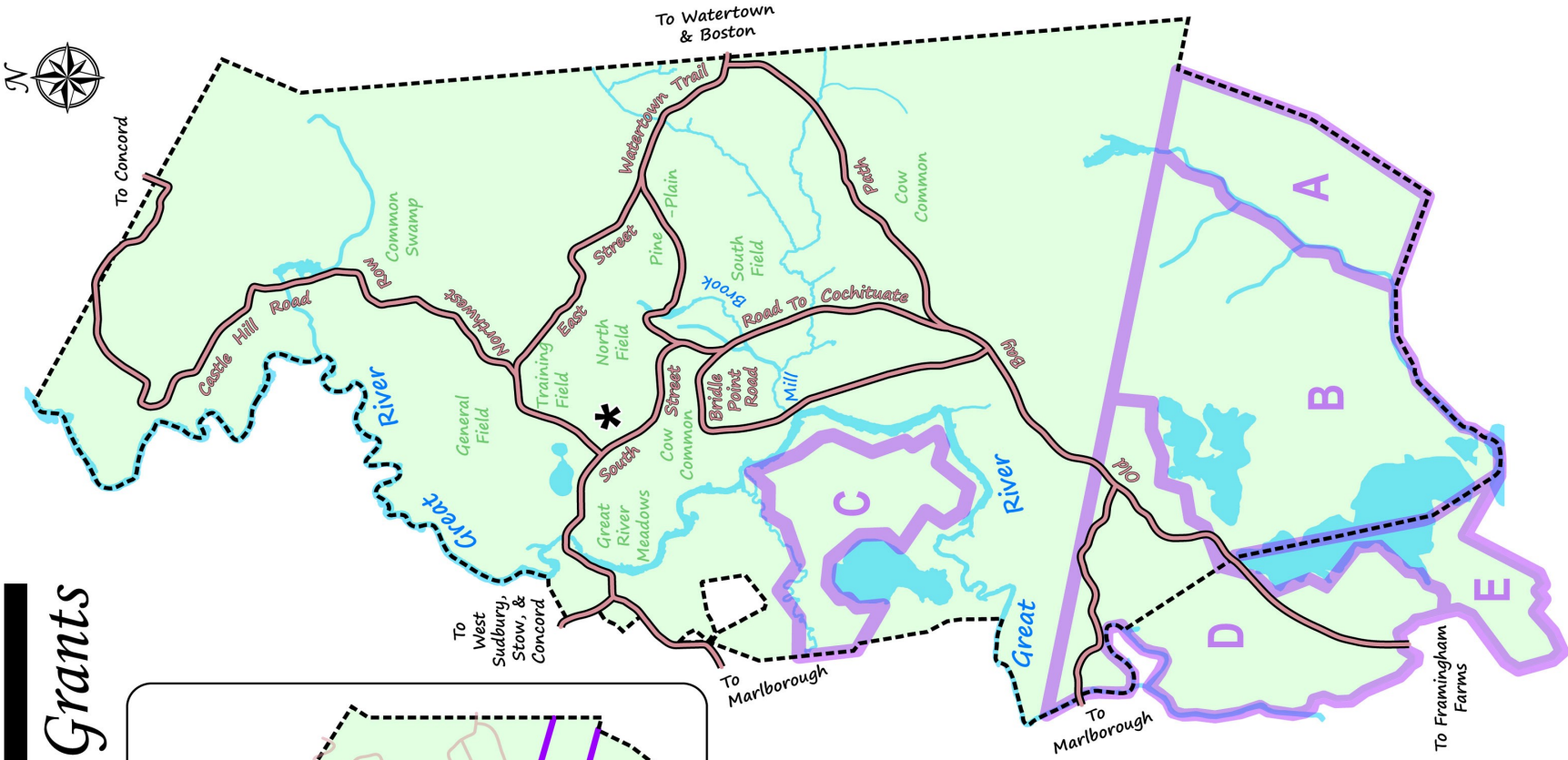
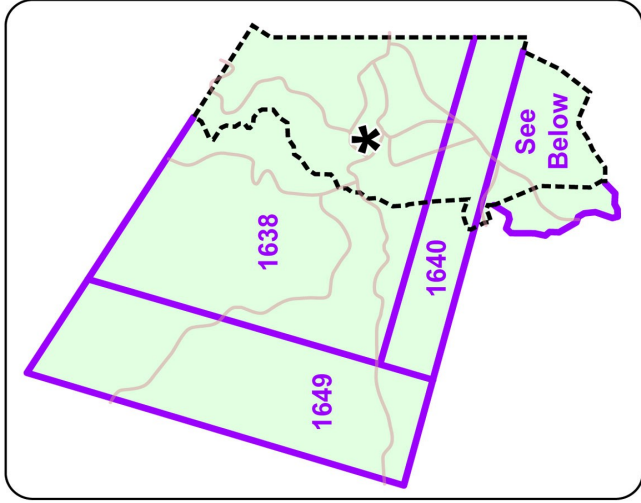
was ready to improve its links with bordering towns. At that time, the Great Trail of the Indians (Old Connecticut Path) became officially recognized as a byway of the settlement when the way from “Watertown to Dunster’s Farm” was laid out. In the same year, Edmund Goodenow was appointed to agree with Concord about the laying out of the way between Sudbury and Concord. As new townships became established to the west of Sudbury, townsmen were involved in establishing roadways connecting them—first Lancaster in 1653 and then Marlborough in 1660.

Laying out a road then might not have meant building a new one, but rather accepting or improving an old one, perhaps involving the widening of an old Indian path. The designated width might have been anywhere from two to thirty rods (thirty rod highways divided the land in the New Grant) wide, usually three rods or approximately forty-eight feet.

Farm land soon opened up in the southern end of the east side of the town, in Farm End. Bridle Point Road originally connected with the meadow and plowlands there, but a shortcut was soon established that followed present-day Cochituate Road until Five Paths, where it joined Old Connecticut Path. A few house lots were established in this southerly direction.

Just south of Mill Brook along this bypath to “Cochituatt,” Thomas Goodenow built a homestead, perhaps attracted by the spring that is still visible today by the side of the brook. The most notable and earliest house lot south of the original village settlement belonged to its minister, Edmund Brown. Apparently he did not draw his house lot “by lot” as the others and received the unusually large amount of eighty acres. Known as Brunswick (“Brown’s Castle”), this estate was east of the Sudbury River and above Mill Brook meadow on what is now Sandy Burr Golf Course. Usually the minister was located next to the meetinghouse and close to his congregation, but Brunswick was distant and not easily accessible.

Sudbury Land Grants



- *** First Settlement
- Present Day Wayland Boundary
- Transportation Route

- A** Mr. William Jennison's Grant
1638 -- 200 acres
- B** Mr. Dunster's Farm
1638 -- 200 acres
- C** Mr. Herbert Pelham's Farm
1639 -- 400 acres
- D** Mrs. Glover's Farm
1640 -- 600 acres
- E** Rice Grant
1652

The section of Bridle Point Road along which Brown located was eventually continued above the meadow until it came out near the present Five Paths (the missing fifth path). One house, built ca. 1690 along this path by Peter Noyes, Jr., is still standing on what is now private property. Before turning to join up with Old Connecticut Path, Bridle Point Road soon developed a spur to reach several early home sites in Farm End, including Edmund Rice's situated near a spring. A marker south of Five Paths was erected by Rice heirs to commemorate his pioneer efforts in the settlement of the town.

Beyond his allotments in the common meadows and fields of the Sudbury proprietors, Edmund Rice also farmed large sections outside the southern boundary of the town. To understand how Rice and his sons could scatter into so many distant areas, in seeming contradiction to the compact settlement theory being promoted by town policies, it is necessary to know more about the early grants of land.

There were three territorial grants for the settlement of the town, and five additional grants associated with the town, but granted to individual proprietors. The original grant of land in 1638 to the proprietors of the plantation was supposedly for five miles square. However, in 1640 they requested and were granted an additional mile on the southern boundary to make up for a deficiency discovered in laying out the original grant. The final town grant of two miles on the western border was negotiated for Sudbury in 1649 by Edmund Goodenow as deputy to the General Court.

The five territorial grants to individual proprietors were made by the General Court for services rendered the Bay Colony. These individuals were expected to be attached to Sudbury and to settle and pay taxes here, unless the Colony declared otherwise.

The first grant in 1638 to Capt. William Jennison, in the Pequot War, was for 200 acres south of the town grant near the Watertown-

Dedham (Weston-Natick) border. Mr. Herbert Pelham received the land we call Pelham Island (along with his father-in-law, William Walgrave) in a 1639 grant. Pelham, a "gentleman" who financially backed the Colony, became the first Treasurer of Harvard College and remained in Cambridge. In 1649, another grant of 200 acres along the western boundary near the Assabet River went to William Brown, whose family had invested in the Bay Colony. His brother Thomas Brown received 200 acres in 1640, near the Framingham line.

Also in 1640, Elizabeth Glover received a gift of 600 acres (which, when surveyed, turned out to be 960), on behalf of her husband Josse, who died in passage from England while bringing a printing press for use by the Colony. Glover Farm was situated west of Cochituate Pond and north of Cochituate Brook. At the same time, Henry Dunster, first President of Harvard College, was granted the remaining 600 acres east of Cochituate Pond, lying between Glover and Jennison, called the Pond Farm. These three grants essentially comprised what we call Cochituate today.

The boundaries between these individual grants and town lands were not clear at first and it took some time for the laying out of the lands and setting bounds. In the case of Mrs. Glover, she married Henry Dunster in 1641, died in 1643, and her farm was not laid out until 1646 while Dunster was serving as administrator of her estate. By 1642, Dunster must have had his farm laid out, because he leased it in that year to Edmund Rice, and again in 1653. Mrs. Glover's son, John, came into possession of her farm in 1647, when Edmund Rice rented it for a period of ten years, agreeing to build a house there and make a fence between the Dunster and Glover farms. Rice then went on to purchase the Jennison land in 1657 and finally, with the purchase of the Dunster Pond Farm in 1659, he was unquestionably the largest landowner of the original grantees. In spite of the fact that he came from open field country in England, he soon became one of Sudbury's most aggressive individual land-owning farmers. Having nine sons with land needs may have had something to do

with it. By 1660, Edmund Rice, the father, left Sudbury with several of his sons to help found Marlborough. Sons that remained in Sudbury settled in Farm End and “Cochituate.” Henry, an original proprietor along with his father, moved away from his Plain Road house lot to land Edmund received from the General Court outside Sudbury in what is now Framingham.

The Stones were another enterprising and land-loving family from Sudbury. John Stone, active in the first years of the Plantation, removed to a section called Otter Neck, west of the Sudbury River in Saxonville, in 1646. Stone acquired land at first by squatter's rights and later by buying land directly from the Indians, and from other grantees who received land from the General Court. Two of his sons established farms near him by 1666. The influence of the Stone family grew, especially with their control of the great falls at Saxonville. Like the Rice family, Stones also became active in the founding of Marlborough and other towns.

The number of Sudbury farmers or “out-dwellers” who had moved to the western side of the town in what became Framingham in 1700 grew because of additional grants or because portions of land were sold to others, e .g. John Bent bought land of Henry Rice. The “out-dwellers” were expected to attend meeting, pay taxes, and participate in Sudbury town responsibilities. Their isolated location made them vulnerable to Indian attack. During King Philip’s War, they were temporarily evacuated, but not before the family of Thomas Eames was killed by the Indians.

In spite of the scattered settlements on both sides of the river to the south and a limited amount of movement to the western side of the town, the center of population remained near the original settlement center on the east side. The Two-Mile Grant on the western border was slow in being surveyed and then, because of political considerations, even slower in being divided. Out of 48 130-acre farms (granted in 1658), only about 10 were occupied at the time of King Philip's War.

No additions were made to the boundaries of Sudbury after the Two-Mile Grant, other than the formal annexing of the southern farmers (Cochituate) to Sudbury on the east side in 1723. The west side even diminished in size when Framingham in 1700, and much later Maynard, incorporated portions into their new towns.

5 MEETINGHOUSE

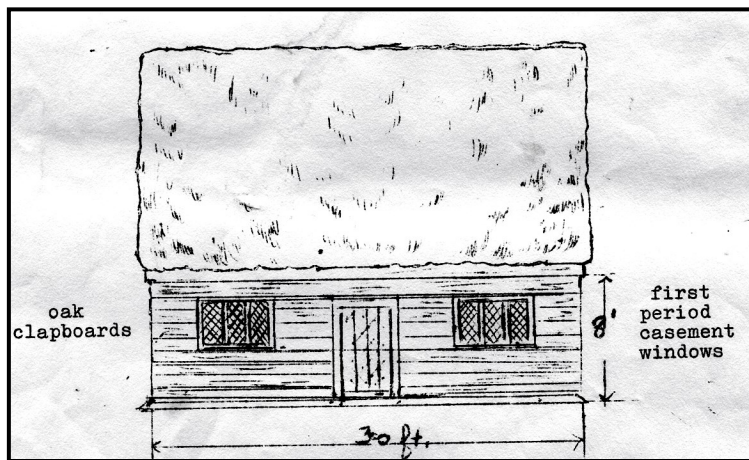
We return to the original village center location by way of Old Sudbury Road. The portion from the railroad station to Bow Road was not built until 1773. In the early days, Bridle Point Road served to connect this area with the center, the minister’s house, and the Great River meadows. The old road crossed land here and went over a ridge toward the river. Part of the ridge was removed when a Raytheon plant was built, and none of the early house lots are still visible.

Arriving at North Cemetery, we can appreciate why this site might have been chosen for the first meetinghouse. Walking a ways up the cemetery roadway to the marker of the meetinghouse site, we can view the broad meadows and “Great River” to the west and south. This would be an inspiring location for a house of worship (Puritans did not like to use the term “church”) and a strategically defensible one for a meetinghouse. Near the marker, three meetinghouses were erected—in 1643, 1655, and 1687—where townspeople gathered for over 70 years. The Indians had earlier favored a location higher on the hill for their hallowed burial ground site.

In the first days, the town’s organization was more secular than religious, and more economic than political. Originally this was a proprietorship of farmers forming a plantation, and many of the early written records were concerned with making the plantation a success agriculturally. These Puritan farmers knew, however, that planning and administration in civil and religious matters would be

needed to produce unity and order within a town framework. They all shared the same Puritan ideals about community service, social perfectionism, and religious purity, as well as corporate proprietorship. The indications are that this original group briefly had the agrarian utopia they were seeking.

In 1638 and 1639, land divisions and agricultural management were their first priorities. By 1640, they were ready to organize the church, and a Puritan covenant (not yet found by town historians) was signed by a majority of the townspeople. Edmund Brown was installed as the town's first minister and William Brown served as the first deacon. In 1642, a contract was made between the town and John Rutter to build the first meetinghouse "thirty foote longe twenty foote wide eight foote between joynte . . . to be made ready to raise the fourth week in May next." The work was on schedule and "all inhabitants that hath a houselot" were ordered to help raise it. The rate for its payment was according to the amount of meadow and upland and "all manner of cattle."



The first meetinghouse was constructed in 1643. Edwin B. Goodell, a 20th century architect made a sketch that, according to his notes, was based on facts and conjecture.

Payment for and the arrangement of seats in the meetinghouse was the subject of further town vote in November 1645. As in land affairs, the highest rate and preference went to those highest in social and property status. Some adjustments could be made and committees were set up to settle disputes arising out of the seating arrangements.

Throughout the Colony at this time, the women sat apart from the men at worship services. Children were also segregated, the young girls usually sitting with their mothers and the boys with their fathers, unless they were put in a separate area with someone appointed to watch over them.

Some matters previously assigned to church authority in England were settled in town meeting, along with civil and proprietorship questions. It was agreed that births, deaths, and marriages were to be recorded by the town clerk. The selectmen were to inspect families to see that they upheld good moral and religious standards and encouraged the reading of the Bible. The minister was to be paid by town taxes (either in money or by commodities raised) by all the inhabitants—not just church members. Edmund Brown was to receive these commodities at every quarter's end: "Wheate, pees, butter, cheese, porke, beefe, hemp, and flax." Ministerial lots were town lands rented toward payment of the minister's salary.

The inhabitants were called to worship services by the beating of a drum, the first bell not being installed until the third meetinghouse (1687). The sermon lasted two to three hours with a break at noon. In particularly cold weather, the congregation might adjourn from the unheated meetinghouse to a nearby house or tavern for warmth and food at noon. Everyone in the town was required by Colony law to attend service—even the "Sudbury out-dwellers" who lived outside the bounds but were associated with Sudbury. Residing in what is today Framingham, they must have had to start many hours before to reach the meetinghouse on time. It was up to the tithingman, a Sunday constable, to see that people got to church and

once there, that they stayed awake. His long pole with a fox tail or feather at one end and a blunt wooden end at the other could either tickle or jolt a snoozing parishioner into attention. There was strict observance of Sabbath laws, but in 1655 John How had to be “appoynted by the pastor and the select men to see to the constraining of youth from the profanation of the lords day in the time of public exercise.”

There were few distractions within the plain meetinghouse, with windows placed high. The only adornment was outside the entrance door, where notices were posted on births, deaths, marriages, elections, meetings, and Colony laws. Here too were wolf or fox heads or a collection of blackbirds, for which the town paid bounty. Horses were hitched to tie-ups out front, and after a few years stocks were built to keep the inhabitants on the narrow path.

It was a “town church” that resisted outside authority in religious matters. Mr. Edmund Brown was not only the “town minister,” he was a farmer, hunter, and trapper with a great stake in land policies—being one of the plantation’s largest landowners. Initially he took little part in town meetings, and his name was rarely signed to any town votes. But the pulpit and politics became more and more entwined to the point that some of his parishioners were staying away from church during the “Cow Common” and “New Grant Lands” controversies. He was refusing to baptize children of non-church members, which further infuriated many Sudbury townsmen. Edward Johnson listed 200 in the congregation of men and women in 1651, with 50 to 60 church members.

Perhaps Edmund Brown had reason to feel his position in the church was threatened. During the 1640s, a debate had been going on to determine how much power each congregation should have and how much should be entrusted to a synod or group of ministers. An attempt to establish uniform standards for all congregations resulted in the Cambridge Platform in 1648, in which Brown took part. Although the General Court approved the Platform, Sudbury’s

representative, Walter Haynes, voted against it on behalf of his fellow townsmen.

In the instance of the Cow Common controversy and land disputes involving the minister’s land, it was Brown who sought support from the General Court and his fellow church heads. One of the three clergymen who came to Sudbury to help settle these disputes was Peter Bulkeley, minister of Concord, who may have spoken for Brown as well when he wrote in 1650 of the insolency shown in the speech of men. “Truly, I cannot ascribe it so much to any outward thing, as to the putting of too much liberty and power into the hands of the multitude, which they are too weak to manage, many growing conceited, proud, self-sufficient, as wanting nothing”

It was through town meeting that Sudbury townsmen sought to become self-sufficient. The same drum that called them to worship and lecture day where they listened, also called them to town meeting where they spoke up on matters concerning them. In the first years, the names of only a few men keep reappearing as a Council to dispose of town affairs, or as selectmen, or as commissioners to divide the land, or to decide on small causes: Peter Noyes, Edmund Goodenow and his brother Thomas, Edmund Rice, Walter Haynes, William Ward, William Brown, and Jonathan Parmenter. Brian Pendleton was a leading townsman until he left in 1647 (apparently at odds then or later with Sudbury over payment of taxes and land values). Another early leader was George Munnings, who had negotiated the Indian deed of 1639, and may have had a falling out before leaving for Watertown and Boston.

These early names that appear often may have been the only “freemen” entitled to hold office under a General Court definition of the title that required church membership and their approval. In 1647, the term “freeman” and town meeting voting qualifications were broadened by the General Court. As early as 1645, Sudbury had decided on its own term of “free townsman,” who could vote on all local questions because of being an original proprietor or by

taking an oath of fidelity. Over fifty townsmen signed this oath, many of them being sons who had come of age. New names soon began to appear in the town records—such as Stone, Bent, Parmenter, Griffin, and Ruddock—and by the end of twenty years, two-thirds of the original proprietors of the settlement had served as selectmen. The number and kind of town officers grew, and in 1655 thirty-eight officers were listed. In addition to today’s known posts of selectmen, clerk, highway surveyors, fence viewers, and invoice takers (assessors), other officers seem particular to that day: pound keeper, tithingman, drumbeater, hogreeve, fishreeve, and divider of the shot.

With the growth of the town, taxes grew as well. First there was payment to Karto and other Indians for the deed; and the salary of the minister. Next came the building of a meetinghouse, a bridge, and roads. Officeholders were first paid in land by “gratulation,” but soon salaries for clerk and additional officers were added to town expenses. Taxes could be paid in goods, and collection must have been a complicated affair.

The town was released from paying the Colony tax in its first year, but was expected to pay it in 1640—an especially heavy tax year. Usually new towns were released for three years, and Sudbury refused to pay the tax, the inhabitants pledging to stand suit in their resistance. The Court did not force the issue and in later years, Sudbury paid the “country rate” peacefully. On the whole, relations between Sudbury and the parent Bay Colony were harmonious. In 1641, the General Court had enacted a Body of Liberties that stated that towns had the right to enact laws concerning their own welfare as long as they were not repugnant to the public laws of the country. Sudbury interpreted this right broadly.

When the General Court granted Colony lands to proprietors, it set a pattern and tone, which it continued to do when uniform policies were expected. But it was usually behind in civil matters, with towns continually requesting increasing autonomy over local

affairs. In military matters, however, it was a different story. The towns were ordered to prepare their defenses, build a fort or watch tower, provide officers and ammunition, and supply men as guards and fighting men when needed. Sudbury as a frontier outpost was expected to serve as a bulwark for the entire Colony. The Colony records repeatedly give directions to Sudbury about troops and garrison houses. As King Philip’s War approached, Sudbury was mentioned in eleven orders during 1675-76.

During this period, when military preparations increased and lands and lives were threatened, the town records continued to be about town business: repairing the “Causey,” leasing meadow lands, and collecting taxes. These people were determined to be responsible for their own town.

6 OLD TOWN BRIDGE

The Old Town Bridge is our next stop. Heading toward the Sudbury River, we turn right on the old road to the left of the Wayland Golf Course entrance. This route used to cross to the west side of the river before the flood of 1955 damaged the causeway and Canal Bridge on the west bank. Rather than rebuild these, a new county bridge was erected, taking a more direct route to the west side.

The bridge at the east bank that remained standing after the flood is the four-arch stone bridge built in 1848 on the site of many previous “Old Town Bridges.” A DAR marker recounts significant events in our town’s history that took place at this bridge location.

For the early Sudbury planters, who lacked equipment and skilled technicians, the actual building of a bridge was no easy task. Each spring the Great River flooded, and the first bridges were often washed away by the swollen waters or in need of repair. Since all male inhabitants were expected to attend town meetings as well as

weekly church meetings, the bridge was an essential link between the two sides of town. It is no surprise that funds for bridge building and mending appear frequently in the town meeting records.

The first record of a bridge at this site was in 1641, when it was voted to leave two rods wide in the meadow from the bridge “at Munnings Poynt to the hard upland.” The following year, Ambrose Leech from Watertown was engaged to build a cart bridge twelve feet wide and three feet above the high water mark. The town contract included payment in land in gratulation and rights of town commonage. It provided that “the towne doe fell and crosscutt the timber and sawall the plank and carry it all to place, and when it is ready framed the town doth promise to help him raise it.” This was reportedly the first frame bridge in Middlesex County.



The first cart bridge in Sudbury over the river was built at this site about 1642—reportedly the first frame bridge in Middlesex County. This four-arch stone bridge replaced a wood bridge in 1848.

It must have been a hard winter, because in February of 1643, Thomas Noyes was contracted to run a ferry for townspeople for one year, collecting two pence for each passenger. By the following year, a new bridge was built according to specifications spelled out in a contract with Timothy Hawkins of Watertown. The cart bridge was to be five rods long and twelve feet wide, one foot above high water mark, with a middle arch fourteen feet wide. The payment was thirteen pounds in corn and cattle, with no free lands involved. Henceforth, Sudbury would be more careful about rights of commonage and town assistance. This time, Timothy was to fell, cut, and saw the timber himself, and the town had only to help in carrying it to the place. In 1645, the General Court allowed £20 for this bridge and the way at the end of it when made “passable for leaden horses.”

In 1661, Peter Bent, a townsman, erected a new cart bridge “for horse and man and laden carts to pass over.” The western lands of the Colony were opening up to settlement, and this bridge was along the main route to the interior. Because of heavy outside use of this bridge, Colony support was again received in the amount of £20. A new bridge was not needed until 1674 and was finished just prior to King Philip’s War. At this time, twenty-four stakes were set upon the causeway to aid travelers who often lost their way into the marsh on either side.

The Sudbury farmers were making increasing use of their meadow and farming strips on the west side. After the “Two-Mile Grant” lands finally opened up in the late 1650s, more homesteads were being established along the western border.

This general western trend can also be noted in the new settlements of Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, and Brookfield. Along with those new villages being established in the Connecticut River Valley, the amount of open land westward in the Colony was decreasing. The Nipmuck Indians were in danger of losing all of their territory.

The Nipmucks were originally on good terms with the Puritans, and the few who were living in the Sudbury area when it was first established were friendly and cooperative. The complimentary name of “Goodman” was given to Karto, who lived on Goodman Hill and “sold” the land to the Sudbury proprietors. Tantamous or “Jethro,” who lived with his family at Nobscot, may have gotten his English name for his good advice. Another local Indian called “William of Sud” was Nataaus, whose home was supposedly on Nonesuch Hill (Reeves Hill). Some members of these Indian families joined the Sudbury congregation on Sundays, and Edmund Brown was involved in missionary work in Natick with the Rev. John Eliot.

In the early days of the plantation we know the Sudbury people were indebted to the Indians in many ways. The settlers followed in their footsteps on paths and made use of cleared Indian sites and agricultural knowledge. They would never become as resourceful as the Indians in their use of the waterways for travel, trapping, and fishing, but they did copy their river boats made by hollowing out a log. An early statute imposed a fine for anyone found stealing another man’s canoe.

Being more land-bound, it was essential for these Sudbury farmers to find fording places along the river where they could cross on foot. The Indians had already located the driest, sandy-bottomed spots along the waterways and several early crossing spots may be attributed to them: here at the Old Town Bridge; another at Bridle Point at the present Route 20 Bridge; across Mill Brook along the Bridle Point Road to the south; and at the location of Stone’s Bridge, where a “toll” bridge was constructed by Samuel How in 1674—just south of the town bound. One additional fordway went across West Brook between Pelham Island and Sand Hill, but it came into disuse when roads to the west opened up. Called “Indian Bridge” in early deeds and records, it apparently was not much more than a log across a narrow part of the brook.

Although the General Court in 1642 declared the Colony to be in an emergency state for war with the Indians, Sudbury people had no cause for alarm for some time. They preferred to mind the town’s business rather than to prepare for hostilities—especially since the few local Indians were friendly.

By the late 1660s, however, events throughout the Colony were moving inexorably in the direction of total conflict. A new generation of settlers had grown up which was less worldly, educated, and tolerant and more expansionist in land policies. It was a time when superstitions abounded and any movement of the Indians began to be suspect.

The Indians of 1670 saw their territories shrink and their culture diminish. For many of them, force seemed the only way to regain lost lands and dignity. Although Colony laws forbade the trading of firearms with the Indians, many of them were equipped to fight on the white man’s terms once a leader—such as King Philip—appeared on the scene to organize them.

Massasoit, Great Sachem of the Wampanoag Indians, had honored a treaty with the English until his death in 1662. His son Philip did not share his father’s trust of the white man, and when he became sachem, he set to work in an effort to mobilize different tribes to reclaim lost Indian lands.

At the same time that military preparations were being stepped up on both sides, a countermovement to Christianize Indians was also gaining ground. Through the efforts of men like John Eliot, who began his Indian missionary work in 1646, territories were set aside for the “Praying Indians,” who enjoyed the teaching and protection of the English. There were three such territories in the vicinity of Sudbury: one at Natick; one at Nashoba (west of Concord); and one at Wamesit to the north (Chelmsford). These areas increased the Indian activity in the Sudbury area. Several events were to take place, however, that undermined the missionary efforts. When the

war finally erupted, Christian good will lost out and most people grouped all Indians together as the enemy.

At heart, the issue was not a religious one, but a question of irreconcilable approaches to the land. The English felt they bought their lands “legally” from the Indians and were only protecting their rights and property. The Indians believed a deed meant giving up fishing or hunting rights in a particular location, but not all rights to the land that belonged to everyone, just as the rivers, streams, and the air belonged to all. The Indians soon found themselves without territories, except for the missionary reservations. To King Philip and others, these reservations meant subservience to the white men.

After three of his Wampanoag tribe were sentenced to death by the English courts in June 1675, King Philip began to move. The first conflict took place in Swansea, where Philip was routed after heavy losses on both sides. In an effort to paralyze the Indian leader completely, the English took the offensive in December 1675 with a surprise attack on Kingston, Rhode Island, Philip’s home territory. Richard Adams of Sudbury was wounded in this fight. An estimated 1,000 women, children, and old men were killed, but Philip and his men escaped and moved westward to join forces with the Nipmucks in the Connecticut River Valley. Initially there was only sporadic mischief in small bands, which kept the inhabitants in a state of

King Philip (or Metacom): Chief Sachem of the Wampanoag; son of Massasoit, the chief who befriended the Pilgrims and celebrated the first Thanksgiving with them. From June 1675 until his death on August 12, 1676, Philip terrorized the Massachusetts and Rhode Island colonies. This drawing of Philip shows him holding a gun—an item illegally bartered or stolen on a raid.



suspense and rising hysteria. Then these tribes let loose in savage hit-and-run attacks in all parts of the Colony. The fury of all Puritans was aroused by the atrocities and unconventional warfare of the Indians.

Twelve towns were destroyed by April 1676, when the attack on Sudbury began. Events leading up to this time had prepared the citizens for the worst and they were determined to save their land.

Sudbury men had been serving elsewhere during the early part of the war, providing scouting troops, garrison men, and guarding families in remote areas, such as the Natick bounds. But soon the town itself was threatened, and appealed to the Colony militia to release its men from service, “considering our condition as a frontier town . . . and the town being so scattered whereby the burden lies very hard on a few persons.” At the end of 1675, Edmund Brown was writing the military authorities that “our woods are pestered with Indians.” The town was now busy fortifying the meetinghouse, and the minister’s house was also ready to serve as a garrison house. On the more scattered western side, four garrison houses and a blockhouse were fortified.

Sudbury citizens felt safer when Lt. Ephraim Curtis returned home to head the Sudbury Rangers. During peaceful times, he had been on good terms with the Nipmuck Indians and knew their Algonquin language and territory. In 1673, he left his family home by the training field and established a pioneer home in the area that became Worcester. When the war began, his homestead was burned by the Indians and he escaped back to Sudbury, where he assumed an active role fighting his former “friends.”

Curtis was sent as a scout on a peace-seeking expedition to the Quabaug plain in July 1675, with Captains Hutchinson and Wheeler of Concord, hoping to avert a Nipmuck-King Philip alliance. The group was ambushed in the Brookfield area, and Hutchinson and many others, including Shadrach Hapgood of Sudbury, were slain.

Wheeler escaped with the remaining men to the Brookfield Garrison, where they were besieged by the Indians. Curtis got through the enemy lines in a daring escape and reached the Marlborough Garrison in time to have a rescue party remove the men from Brookfield.

After Brookfield fell, Northfield, Springfield, and Hadley all lay in ashes and abandoned. Lancaster was hit and only a few escaped. The belongings of the dead were brought to Sudbury and Concord, a grim reminder of the nearness of the fight. Mrs. Rowlandson, wife of the Lancaster minister, was taken prisoner and witnessed several other village attacks, which she would later describe from her pious point of view—including the Indian preparations for and later reactions to the battle of Sudbury.

After Marlborough was first attacked on March 10, 1676, Sudbury became more alarmed about the “approach of the Enemy neare our Town, made apparent by a late firing neare us & constant smoke every day about us.” In a letter to the Colony military, Sudbury, fearing a surprise enemy attack, asked for men to assist Ephraim Curtis in meeting the Indians beyond the western bounds in its own surprise attack.

On March 27, Lt. Ephraim Curtis and twenty Sudbury men picked up Lt. Brocklebank and twenty additional men at the Marlborough Garrison. Together, they surrounded an Indian force in its sleep, killing many, including their leader Nataaus, or “William of Sud,” who used to be a member of the Sudbury congregation. This offensive action on Sudbury’s part may be one reason why Philip was so determined to subdue this town.

7 HAYNES GARRISON

Crossing over the new county bridge, we can see in the distance Green and Goodman Hills, which provided the backdrop for the Indian attack on the west side of Sudbury on April 21, 1676.

The Indian offensive that began in February 1676 had resulted in the fall of all those villages west of Sudbury, including Marlborough, which was burned down after a second attack on April 19, leaving only the Garrison House. It was sure knowledge that Philip would strike Sudbury next, so its Garrison Houses were well fortified and inhabitants in the outskirts were being rounded up for safety within them.

On the night of April 20, King Philip’s plan unfolded. His troops of over 1,000 were to spread out in 20 detachments into strategic areas to attack all of the western part of Sudbury at once. While this was being accomplished, certain detachments would cross the causeway and bridge to the east side and finish the conquest of the town.

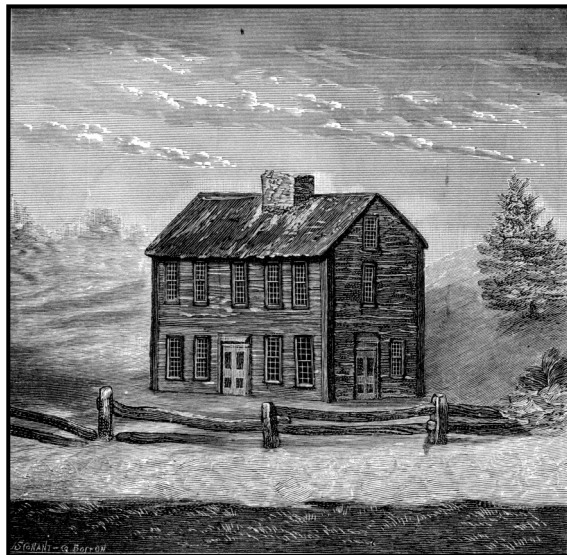
There are few original records of the Sudbury battle that fill in the details of that fierce struggle for the town. However, the “Old Petition,” signed by thirty-four families on October 11, 1676, does outline the losses “sustained by firing and plundering their estates” in an appeal to the Colony for funds (reprinted in the *Annals of Sudbury, Wayland, and Maynard* by Alfred S. Hudson). Several military reports were filed by the Colony officers with troops from Watertown, Roxbury, Milton, Rowley, and elsewhere, who came to Sudbury’s aid. But the full story we can only imagine, from both the Indian and the inhabitants’ point of view.

At dawn, about ten to fifteen houses and barns in the outlying areas of the “Two-Mile Grant” and the Lanham region were set fire and the western Garrison Houses were all attacked at once. Thomas Plympton, who was assisting a farmer Boon and son to

safety at this time was killed with them. Most of the intense fighting took place around the Goodenow and Haynes houses located near the approach to the causeway and bridge on the western side. The Goodenow Garrison, home of Edmund Goodenow, was along the road to Marlborough (Old County Road at Route 20), where there is a marker today. The Haynes Garrison belonging to Deacon John Haynes was just north of the homestead of his father, Walter Haynes (who died in 1666), on the old meadow road we call Water Row. By turning right off Old Sudbury Road after the bridge, we can visit this battle. A DAR marker locates the site on the left side of the road.

The house foundation is still well preserved and reveals a 42' x 25' house with a single central chimney. From information left by John Haynes, we know it had a broad, low-studded front. The second floor facing the hill had rooms bricked about four feet high to prevent Indian shots from penetrating while anyone was asleep. When the house was demolished in 1882, its oak beams and woodwork were still in good condition, and the well-fortified walls were almost impossible to tear down. The well behind the house is still visible, but the retaining wall has disappeared. The

Haynes Garrison: for about eight hours on April 21, 1676 this garrison house withstood a fierce Indian attack and safely protected many Sudbury families until relief came from Watertown, Concord, and Marlborough.



scene is not too changed today for us to imagine Indians on all sides attempting to burn the house, while the soldiers and families within offered their utmost resistance.

There is a story that a flaming hay cart was hurled down the hill toward the house but was somehow deflected and hit the barn instead, removing a hiding place for the Indians.

“The Old Petition” recorded that: “. . . ye Enemy with greate force & fury assaulted Deacon Haines house well fortified yet badly situated as advantageous to ye Enemy’s approach & dangerous to ye Repellant yet (by ye help of God) ye Garrison not onely defended ye place fro betweene five or six of ye clock in ye Morning till about One in Afternoon but forced ye Enemy with considerable slaughter to draw off, Many Observables worthy of Record hapened in this assault, vist: that noe man or woman seemed to be possessed with feare; Our Garrisonmen kept not within their Garrisons, but issued forth to fight ye Enemy in their skulking approaches: We had but two of our townesmen slaine, and yt by indiscretion none wounded . . .”

The holding off of the Indians by the vastly outnumbered Sudbury defenders was an incredible feat. The Petition shows the townspeople were aware of the significance of this day’s struggle as they pleaded: “. . . let not ye unworthy Instruments be forgotten, was there with Us any towne so beset since ye warr began with twelve or fourteene hundred fighting men, various Sagamores from all parts with theire men of Armes & they resolved by our ruine to revenge ye releife which Our Sudbury Volunteers afforded to distressed Marlborough in slaying many of ye Enemy & repelling ye rest. The strength of our towne upon ye Enemy’s approach it consisted of Eighty fighting men. True many houses were fortified, & Garrison’d & tymously after ye Enemy’s invasion and fireing some Volunteers from Watertown & Concord & deserving Capt. Wadsworth with his force came to Our releife, which speedy & Noble service is not to be forgotten.”

The fate of Capt. Samuel Wadsworth of Milton and his men was not as fortunate as those within the Garrison Houses. Wadsworth arrived at Marlborough too late to assist that town, but upon hearing of the alarm in Sudbury he doubled back, taking with him Capt. Brocklebank of Rowley and fresh men from the Marlborough Garrison. The Indians were following his movements and led him into a trap. The Wadsworth men were surrounded and ambushed at the base of Green Hill.

Philip is known to have engineered this battle where the approximately 50 men of Wadsworth's contingent were vastly outnumbered by up to 1,000 Indians. Those not immediately killed fought bravely to the top of Goodman Hill in a long hand-to-hand battle, taking many Indian lives along the way. In desperation, Philip set fire to the woods, and only about a dozen of Wadsworth's men were able to escape to the security of the Noyes Mill, which miraculously had been missed by the Indians.



At the end of 1675, the Rev. Edmund Brown had written to the military authorities that "our woods are pestered with Indians." After surviving the fierce battle on April 21, 1676, Sudbury was never again subjected to Indian attack.

A force of about 200 Indians was positioned on the east side to burn and loot, when the signal for attack was received early in the morning. According to the Petition: ". . .Ye Enemy was by few beaten out of houses which they had entered & were plundering, and by a few hands were forced to a running fight which way they could; ye spoyle taken by them on ye East side of ye river was in greate pte recovered."

The homes in the center area were easiest to defend near the fortified meetinghouse. Perhaps dwellers from the north and east areas found sanctuary here, while the minister's home was probably the garrison house for many of the southern families and "out-dwellers." On the east side, burning was reported all the way to the Watertown (Weston) border, and about twelve homes in the vicinity of Mill Brook, East Street, and the Pine Plain were fired. Damage was also done on Pelham Island and a few isolated areas to the south.

When seventy-five-year-old Capt. Hugh Mason arrived with his Watertown group later in the morning, he was able to assist the east side in driving the Indians back over the bridge and securing the causeway to prevent re-entry from the west side. Mason then led his remaining men in an unsuccessful attempt to come to the aid of the beleaguered Wadsworth. His men were surrounded by Indians when they tried to ascend Green Hill. They fought their way back to the Goodenow Garrison, which they helped to defend successfully throughout the rest of the day.

Looking back to the east side from the Haynes Garrison site, we can understand the strategic importance of securing the causeway and town bridge and the reason this Garrison was "advantageous to ye Enemy's approach." The fact that it was high water level at the time of the battle made the causeway the only available passageway to the other side of the town. With woods all around and a hill rising behind the House, Indians had good cover for storming it from several directions. The meadow in front allowed the Indians to get a jump on anyone attempting to aid the bombarded Garrison. Before

Mason's men arrived, a detachment of eleven men from Concord was ambushed in a nearby swamp before they could reach the Garrison and all but one were killed. The military report of this ambush, as well as Mrs. Rowlandson's "Removes," indicates Indian squaws were involved in this fight as decoys and perhaps helped to swell the number in the war party elsewhere.

Smoke was seen on both sides of the river all day. By nightfall, the sound of guns and Indian war cries had subsided. The Garrison Houses had not succumbed. Philip had not been successful in his crossing to the east side. In spite of the terrible damage he inflicted, the heavy losses he incurred (reportedly over 100 men) must have been a fatal blow to his plans to send the white man back to the sea.

Philip regrouped and headed westward, and the Sudbury area was never again subject to Indian attack. Indian raids kept up sporadically elsewhere throughout the remainder of the spring and summer, but the major attention of the Indians would have to be paid to planting crops for its starving population. For all intents and purposes, King Philip's War was over. When Philip was killed in August of 1676 by one of his own men, the War was considered officially at an end.

The defense of Sudbury was costly to the English as well. The day after the battle, a group of men from Charlestown under Capt. Hunting arrived with a contingent of Praying Indians assigned to fight with them. John Eliot and Daniel Gookin had finally been able to persuade colonial authorities to let a number of trusted Indians be released to aid the colonists' cause. They missed the battle, but the Indians, disguised as the enemy should Philip's men still be hiding in the area, were to look for the dead. They reportedly buried over thirty white men in a common grave near the Green Hill massacre site, including the two captains. Members of the Watertown troop searched for the bodies of the Concord men, and those recovered were buried together on the east embankment of the Old Town Bridge.

A final tragic note about the Indians of the Sudbury area. Even those Christian Indians in reservations like Natick who professed loyalty were rounded up after the war began. They were placed on Deer Island as a security precaution, where many of them froze or starved to death. One of those "secured" in Watertown awaiting movement to Deer Island was old Jethro, who managed to escape with his family to Nobscot. He was betrayed by his own son, Peter Jethro, who led authorities there, accusing him of the killing of the "out-dwelling" Eames family. In September 1676, Jethro was executed. There is no record of any Sudbury men coming to the defense of their old friend.

For the Sudbury planters, there was probably little time for worrying about justice for the loyal Indian, or for mourning their own losses. After the smoke of April 21 had died down, there were homes to be rebuilt and mouths to be fed. Like the Indians, they were already late with their clearing and planting. With one eye to the west where new Indian attacks might originate, the other watched over the daily chores as some attempt at normal activity resumed. Here on the west side, many who had braved the wilderness twenty to thirty years before would have to begin again, among them the Haynes and Goodenow families in this Water Row area.

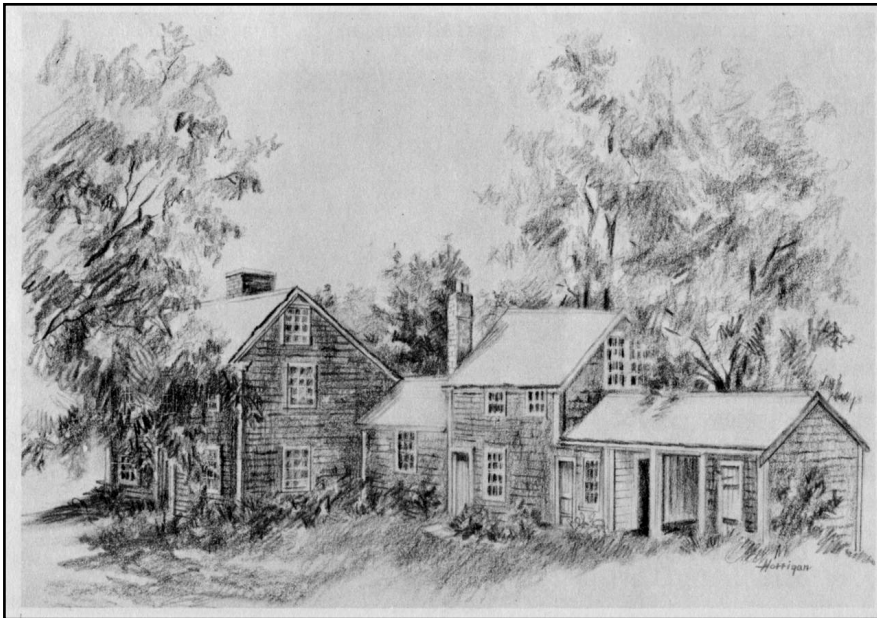
Returning to Old Sudbury Road and crossing onto the Wayland portion of Water Row to the south, we can see the old house at 3 Water Row. Tradition says it belonged to John Goodenow. After the first home was burned by the Indians in King Philip's War, the present one was built within a few years, using some of the charred timber from the original homestead.

At the crossroads of Water Row and Old County Road, we turn left onto River Road to return to the east side. We follow along part of the long causeway that extended all the way to the Old Town Bridge, —a source of constant concern in peace as well as in war. By 1677, the Sudbury settlers would again turn their attention to bridge and causeway repair, erection of a new sawmill, and the building of

palisades around the meetinghouse. Soon thereafter, they would bury their first minister, Edmund Brown, two years after King Philip died. The Colony saw fit to reduce its taxes for one year, and twelve Sudbury families were awarded £7 4s each (out of £270 requested for thirty-four families from the Irish relief fund). By 1687, the town must have been fully recovered financially, because it took measures to erect its third and most substantial meetinghouse.

Sudbury had weathered the most serious threat to its existence thus far—attack from outside by the Indians—having already survived a split from within over the division and use of common lands, and

even earlier, having successfully challenged the wilderness in the settlement of a town.



Tradition says this house at 3 Water Row belonged to John Goodenow. After the first home was burned by the Indians in King Philip's War, the present house was built, using some of the charred timbers from the original homestead.

TOUR II

INTRODUCTION

Our second tour takes place at the time of the Revolutionary War, 100 years following the end of the struggle with King Philip, and again we will be called upon to imagine scenes and landmarks no longer visible. Until near the end of the war, Wayland was still the east part of Sudbury, until it became the separate town of East Sudbury in 1780. To better understand the Sudbury landscape, people, and actions during the Revolution, a review of events leading up to that period will be helpful.

The many changes in the town of Sudbury during these 100 years were more of degree than kind. No longer a frontier settlement of 200-300 people, Sudbury had become the second largest town in Middlesex County (behind Charlestown) with a population of around 2,000. Vast lands were cleared for farms to grow crops and raise cattle, so that the town appeared more open in 1775 than during the early settlement period (or today). Unlike Charlestown and other more urban centers like Boston or Salem, its population was widely scattered on homesteads, with no merchant or wealthy class. Sudbury remained basically a self-sufficient, rural farming community.

The growth in population was due almost solely to intermarriage of the original families rather than to new migration. Nearly everyone was related, and “uncle” and “cousin” were common terms of address. The town was still exclusive in its attitude toward outsiders or “foreigners” who were not allowed to enter the town unless sponsored by a town citizen. Numerous court actions were taken to warn unwelcome strangers out of town.

During the earliest period, Sudbury was primarily concerned with its own growth and survival. In the 100 years that followed, self-

autonomy remained a major concern, but it became increasingly difficult to concentrate on domestic problems alone. As England asserted more authority over the Massachusetts Province, it almost continually called upon its towns to fight in wars against France and Spain for control of the North American continent. During the four long and costly French and Indian Wars, Sudbury supplied men, equipment, and money for campaigns—all of which took their toll on the local economy and left many families dependent on welfare. The minimum necessary repairs of roads, bridges, and buildings continued throughout these wars, but it was only during the periods of peace that substantial changes were made within the town—such as new meetinghouses, causeway and bridge building, and commitments to education, the poor, and welfare.

The turning point in England’s relations with Massachusetts came in 1684 when the original Massachusetts Bay Colony charter was annulled. Following the unsuccessful civil war in Great Britain and Cromwell’s rebellion, the crown was reinstated in 1660. Charles II tried to make his claim of sovereignty over the increasingly autonomous American colonies stronger through the Navigation Acts, which regulated trade and customs.

Charles II (1630-1685), son of Charles I—who had been beheaded in the English Civil War in 1649—assumed the throne in 1660 when the crown was reinstated. An astute politician, his expansion of the Navigation Acts in 1684 further limited the kinds of goods the Colonies could produce, while at the same time forced the Colonies to purchase some goods exclusively from Great Britain..



East Sudbury, 1776

 House
  Tavern
  School
  Church
  Mill

1 Jonathan Sherman, Jr.

2 Luther Moore

3 Ephraim Sherman

4 Timothy Sherman

5 Benjamin Adams

6 Samuel Griffin

7 Jonathan Carter

8 Micah Goodnow

9 Caleb Moore

10 Deacon William Baldwin

11 Nathan & Jason Bent

12 John Noyes, Esq.

13 Rev. Josiah Bridge

14 Jonathan Parmenter

15 Elijah Bent, Jr.

16 Col. David Curtis

17 Jonas Noyes

18 Zachariah Bryant

19 Meetinghouse & Church

20 Benjamin Poole

21 The Corner Tavern

22 Thomas Bent

23 Samuel Parris, Jr.

24 Jacob Reeves, Esq.

25 Bent's Tavern - John Whitney

26 Edmund Rice

27 Ephraim Smith

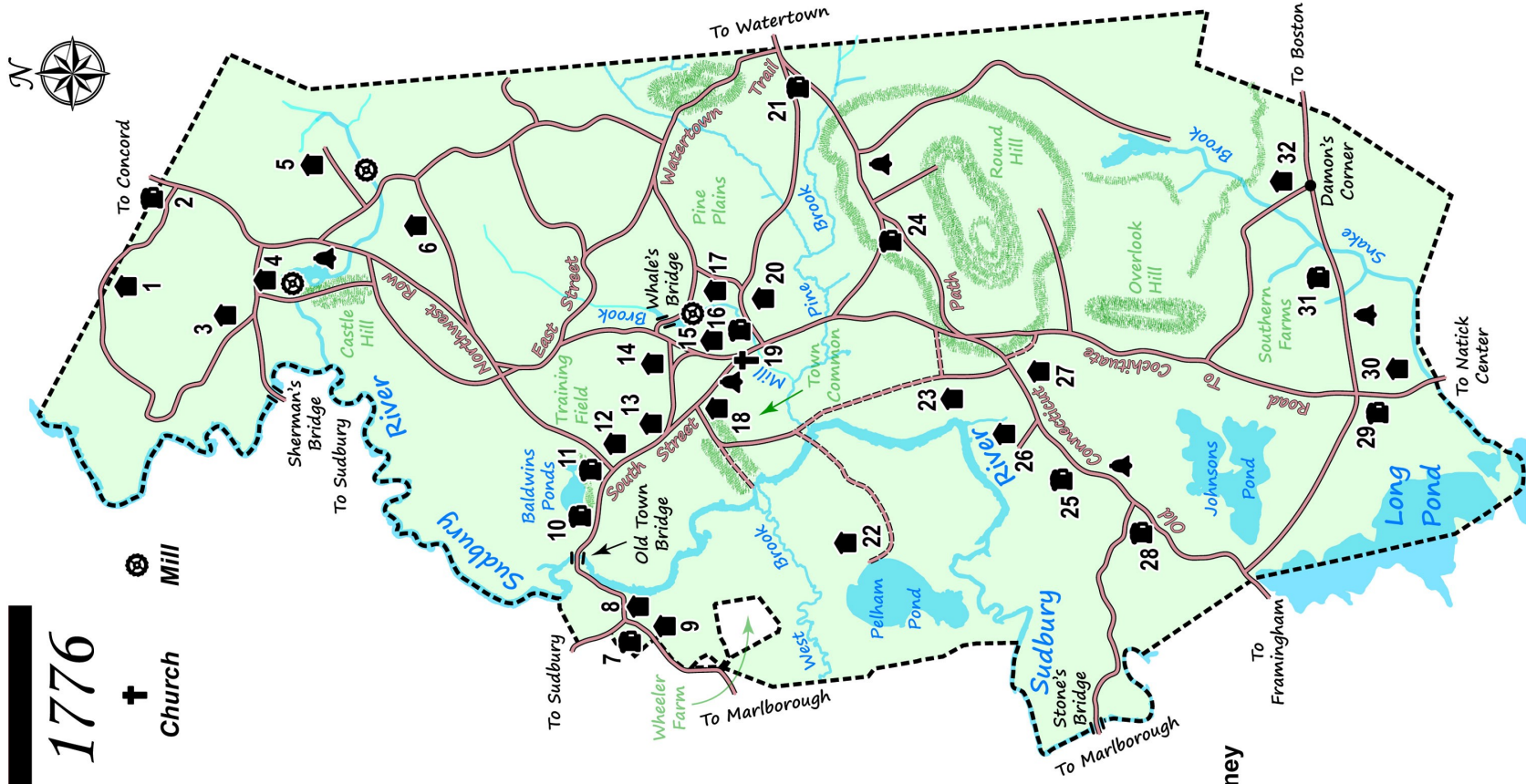
28 Caleb Moulton

29 Nathaniel Reeves

30 William Bent

31 Loker Tavern

32 Isaac Loker



When James II succeeded Charles II for four turbulent years (1685-89, the period mistakenly labeled “The Glorious Revolution”), Sir Edmund Andros became colonial governor and claimed authority over all of the northern frontier, including New England and New York. The American colonists submitted to his military command, but became aroused when he tried to interfere with sacred town structures—the town meeting and the town church. It was greatly feared Andros would assert royal authority on behalf of Bishop Laud’s Anglicanism—old foe to Puritanism. Puritans became even more incensed over Andros’s challenge to their second “god”—land. His policy of charging quitrents on undeveloped lands and of questioning Indian deeds and proprietor’s land titles brought on their fury.

When news arrived of William of Orange’s successful overthrow of James II in 1689, the Andros Rebellion in Boston resulted. The militia took over and a “Council of Safety” headed by former Governor Bradstreet replaced Andros. Peter King was sent by Sudbury as a delegate to this Council to remain until new orders were received from England. The General Court continued to meet, and by 1692 a new compromise charter had been negotiated by the Colony representative Increase Mather, which changed the status of Massachusetts to a royal colony within a Province (Massachusetts, Plymouth, Nantucket, Martha’s Vineyard, Maine, and Nova Scotia). Many old liberties were returned—including recognition of existing land titles and no quitrents—and the legislative body was strengthened in many aspects. But the royal authority was asserted more forcefully through its appointments—including justices and a governor with veto powers. There were indications that independent Massachusetts was to be brought into line.

The first of the French and Indian Wars (King William’s War) extended from 1689 to 1697, and for Sudbury it would be the beginning of a long struggle for the Massachusetts frontier borders against tribes of Indians allied with the French. In the nineties,

Indian attacks came as close as Groton, Billerica, and Lancaster, and the old fears for control of the land returned.

The first offensive battle against the French was planned for the heart of French power in Canada. The Sir William Phipps expedition in 1690 to Port Royal proved to be a military disaster. Among the men who made that long, ill-fated march was a company from Sudbury that encountered bitter weather and smallpox. “. . . It cost many of them their lives . . . in cold and hunger and in tedious marches many scores of miles in water and snow and laying on the snow by night.” A petition to the General Court signed by John Haines, Sr. and nineteen others told of the great charges to equip and care for the men, some of whom returned home so sick they never recovered. Townspeople requested “compensation answerable to our burden, or at least to be freed from further charges by rates.”

There is no indication that this plea was answered, but heirs of the Sudbury men were to receive land in compensation much later. The Sudbury-Canada grants in 1741 deeded lands in Maine (Jay and Canton) to these families.

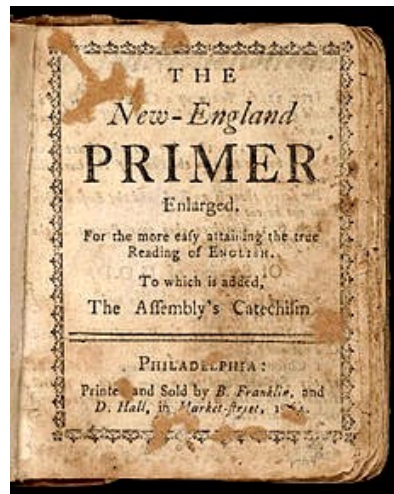
The end of the seventeenth century was a period when little attention was paid to education and superstition was widespread. The Andros Rebellion and Puritan religious upheaval provided the backdrop for the witchcraft “delusions” that took place in Essex County in the early 1690s. When Phipps became the Royal Governor in 1692, he appointed a special commission of oyer and terminer that saw 19 persons hung and one crushed to death within a short time, without the protection of civil law.

A leading figure in the witchcraft controversy, the Rev. Samuel Parris, whose family was involved in accusations that began the hysteria, was dismissed from Salem Village. After traveling around for several years he came to Sudbury where he married Dorothy Noyes and remained, until his death in 1720, a respected member of

the community. It is ironical that he served as the schoolmaster for several years, because many contemporary commentators felt that the only way for Massachusetts to erase this unreasonable chapter from its records was to emphasize education as a way to avoid such “delusions” in the future.

In 1692 the General Court insisted that towns with 50 householders have a reading and writing schoolmaster, and if there were 100 families, a grammar school for teaching Greek and Latin should also be kept. Edmund Brown had left fifty pounds in his will for a schoolhouse, but it was used later toward the building of the fourth meetinghouse. Sudbury was slow in conforming to the educational ruling. Although it took steps to hire a “writeing schoolmaster” in 1692, it was fined for not having a schoolhouse for ten years. In 1702 the town voted to build a log house made of pine.

A page from an early eighteenth century New England primer. The alphabet was learned with homilies about conduct. Puritanism was a part of everyday life and ingrained into young scholars' minds by schoolmasters such as the Rev. Samuel Parris in Sudbury.



The respite from war was brief. The second of the French and Indian Wars (Queen Anne's War, 1704-13) was generally a war of the seas, but Massachusetts again faced the Indian in brutal battles of the frontier. Sudbury had men in campaigns and supplied ranger guards to patrol the borders.

During this time the town was experiencing pressure for change in land policies and meetinghouse locations. Many inhabitants had come to think of the vast “common and undivided lands of the Proprietors of Sudbury” as belonging to the entire town and felt free to cut timber and use other resources of these common lands. Friction resulted and the heirs of the original proprietors organized formally, with backing from a General Court decision in favor of original grantees of the plantations. There was at least one lawsuit and much bitterness must have been engendered as thousands of acres were laid out in several divisions to the heirs or assigns of Sudbury proprietors’ rights (fifty or so families). The amount of selling and swapping of lands that took place during this period was tremendous, as these favored landowners tried to consolidate or sell their holdings. New roads, two training fields, and small parcels of common land were given to benefit the town.

The gradual dispersal of inhabitants to all corners of the town resulted. The western Two-Mile Grant had already marked a movement to that side, and by 1707, western Sudbury felt numerous enough to protest its hardship in reaching the meetinghouse on the east side. A petition for two precincts, with a new meetinghouse nearer their location, claimed that the “flud of watare, which for a very great part of the year doth very much incomode us” and the extremity of water, wind, and ice kept them from reaching the meetinghouse and “. . .we are forced for to seek our spiritual good with the peril of our Lives.”

An even greater number of petitioners protested to the General Court that this was “unseasonable and unreasonable,” with the high costs of the war and other town expenses listed as objections. Israel Loring had just come to Sudbury as the new pastor to succeed the dismissed James Sherman in 1706. By 1721, the second precinct meetinghouse was approved due to the increased number and persistence of the west side petitioners, and in 1722 Loring accepted their invitation to be their first minister. Amid some disagreement,

funds and a location were finally approved (Rocky Plain, known as Sudbury Center today).

When the east precinct installed the Rev. Cook as its new minister in 1723, it had finally resolved its own problems concerning making its meetinghouse more central to its parishioners. The newly annexed southern part (so-called Natick Farmers) had joined the town in 1721 because of an earlier agreement that the east meetinghouse be moved closer to them, and eventually turned to the General Court in 1723 to ensure favorable action. As a result, the town built two meetinghouses, one at Rocky Plain costing 380 pounds and the other (being the fourth building) at Wayland Center costing 400 pounds. This meetinghouse at Wayland Center was constructed on recently acquired common land located near the corner of Cochituate and Pelham Island Roads, just a bit south of Collins Market. The building was to be similar in all respects to the west meetinghouse, except that the steps were to be “handsomer.” Each minister was to receive the same salary. Town meetings were to alternate locations, and for a time ministers exchanged pulpits once a month as peace gradually returned.

Because there was no war in process, the huge outlay of funds for two new meetinghouses was possible. But expeditions against the Indians soon resumed in the eastern part of the Province (Maine). In 1724, Sudbury came to the defense of the Massachusetts outpost town of Rutland—a town with special significance to Sudbury. It had been formed a few years before with many of its pioneers former Sudbury residents. Sudbury’s involvement with Rutland was one in a long line of Massachusetts towns founded by or with the help of this settlement--Marlborough, Worcester, Stow, Grafton, and Framingham.

The third French and Indian War (King George’s War) lasted only four years (1744-48), and Sudbury soldiers were among the troops that captured Louisbourg. Once more border guards were needed to man the forts along the Province frontier, and one troop of horse

from Sudbury under Capt. Josiah Brown had fifty men mostly from Sudbury involved in patrols.

War resumed again in 1754. The fourth and final French and Indian War was the most costly struggle. The town records pay attention to recruitment for campaigns and to ordering equipment, especially snowshoes for the bitter Canadian winter. Throughout this war, Sudbury’s list of casualties grew—as many from sickness as from battle. The Crown Point expedition had one regiment under Josiah Brown (now colonel) and several Sudbury companies served—including one under John Nixon who would later become prominent in the Revolution. The militia companies at home—both the active and the exempt—were enlisted to fight at Fort William Henry in 1757, but the battle was over while they were en route.

At this time, a group of French neutrals was removed from Nova Scotia to other parts of the British colonies, and 1,000 were sent to Massachusetts Bay. Sudbury records show that eighteen were housed here. Many had to be treated for sickness and families were divided, in what was a sad episode of the war.

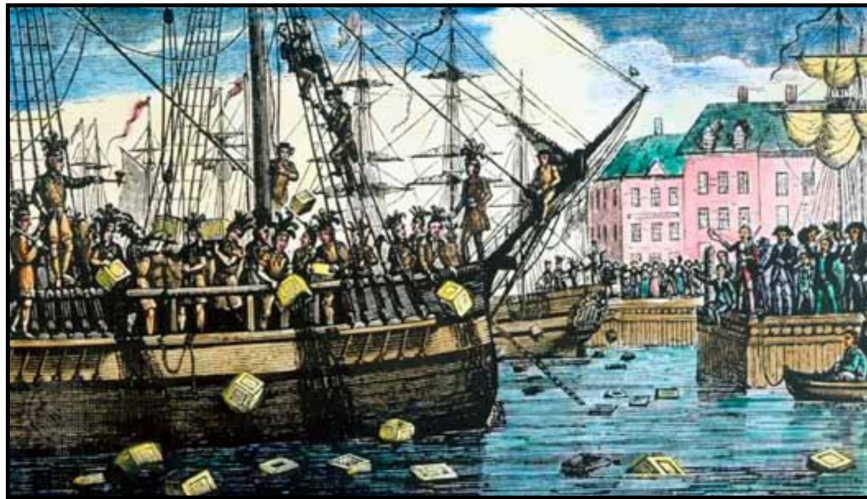
The Treaty of Peace in 1763 left England the primary colonial power in North America. The militia continued to be on the alert and remained available to the towns for emergencies—which the English soon discovered.

It was a time of utter weariness for the colonists who tried to get back on their feet economically. Sudbury turned its thoughts to building schools, bridges, a poorhouse, and a pound. However, the door to the outside world could not be closed, and before long the town was considering a powder house and ammunition.

England was determined to recoup its wartime losses through a mercantile policy that used the American colonies to establish a favorable balance of trade, through regulation and taxation. For ten years, Massachusetts towns were involved in peaceful efforts to fight

these trade regulations and taxes—first a stamp tax, then a tax on enumerated articles such as glass etc., and then finally just on tea. The fact that these taxes were levied without the consent of the General Court became a rallying cry against the English. Sudbury stood solidly behind all efforts to petition against grievances, and when the point of no return was reached and the grievances turned to wartime preparations, Sudbury was ready to fight.

As we join the Sudbury inhabitants on the eve of the Revolution, we find them in a mood of determination to safeguard their rights and to protect their land.



On the evening of December 16, 1773 a group of indignant colonists disguised themselves as Indians, boarded three ships in Boston harbor, and threw the tea on board into the water. Though a seemingly remote event, the residents of Sudbury by a vote at town meeting had earlier condemned the purchase or use of British tea and pledged to prosecute anyone found with the hated symbol in their possession.

1 TOWN COMMON

The small triangle of village green at the junction of Routes 20, 27, and 126 is the remainder of the old town common, which served as the center of the east side of Sudbury and East Sudbury during most of the eighteenth century. From this green, we can look in all directions and try to recreate the village scene as it appeared in 1775.

The town common was a two-acre parcel purchased from Hopestill Bent that originally extended south toward the edge of Mill Brook, west to the present junction of Pelham Island Road and Route 20, north just beyond Collins Market, and east to where the roadway is today. Before making the decision to build the east side meetinghouse on this land closer to the newly annexed southern farm district, other changes occurred to make the area more central. The most important one was the building of a direct east-west road in 1721, which followed the approximate route of Route 20 to the present intersection. Instead of continuing straight across the river as it does today, it turned northward at the green to join up with the old road to the mill (Bow Road and Old Sudbury Roads) and cross the river at the Old Town Bridge. This route became known as the “Upper” Boston Post Road when the first mail route was devised by Benjamin Franklin. There was no road westward along the stretch from the common to Sand Hill because of the very swampy nature of the land, but there was a path that came in from Pelham Island by this time, and the Heard family living there had presumably built their own cart bridge.

With the development of the road, several local shops and industries located near the village center’s most important building—the fourth meetinghouse. When built in 1725 on the common, about where the George Smith House and Store, 31 Cochituate Road, now stands, it contained a few timbers from its predecessor that had been located at the old burying ground. It was considered a fine building, but by the standards of its successor, the First Parish Church across the street, it

was bare and inelegant. The Puritan tradition continued to stress simplicity, and there were no chimney, steeple, or architectural frills for adornment. Plain or no, here many stirring sermons were delivered during the Revolution. The Rev. Josiah Bridge was a highly respected leader at a time when the Puritan church in Massachusetts was still related to the state and in the forefront of the fight against British oppression. There were signs by this time, however, that rigid, orthodox Puritanism was reaching its end.

The meetinghouse still served as the political as well as religious center, and leading up to and during the war years many patriotic town meeting resolutions were wholeheartedly passed. Less unanimity came, however, on local civic issues, which, as we shall see, resulted in the decision to divide into two towns.

In 1775 the Boston Post Road, then narrow and winding, came closer to where the First Parish Church now stands, leaving room for several houses and a tannery between the brook and the road. The home of Benjamin Poole, owner of the tannery, is thought to be located in a wing of the Greek Revival house at 213 Boston Post Road. A little farther east at 202 Boston Post Road is the home built by Jonas Noyes prior to the Revolution. He died in January 1775, presumably of smallpox because soon thereafter a special town meeting was called to discuss inoculation in “the House lately Capt. Jonas Noyes” to prevent the spreading of smallpox. Widow Noyes was left with four small children and the gristmill to run.

Where the church is now located on a gentle rise, cattle could be seen grazing in 1775. To add to this rustic scene, where the Mill Brook intersected the Post Road, it was only partially covered by a bridge. On the southerly side an open drive was left for watering horses and swelling wagon wheels. The spring was still in use just south of the brook and Thaddeus Russell, later captain in the Provincial Army, lived in a house that preceded on the site of the Capt. Edward Pousland house, 41 Cochituate Road.

A second tannery was in operation at the southern end of the common near the brook on land leased by the town. There was also a town pound located on the common about where the Mellen Law Office (built in ca. 1829) is today. In those colonial days, a pound was essential for locking up stray animals that trespassed on farm lands, house lots, and roads. Hogreeves, sheepwardens, and field drivers were important town officers for herding the unruly animals and fining their owners.



After hides were cured in pools with tannin, the leather had to be curried—impregnated with oil or grease—and readied for the use of the bootmaker or harnessmaker or other craftsman. The figures in this drawing show various stages of oiling and scraping the leather with a variety of knives, combs, and buffers.

Immediately across from the meetinghouse and common stood a tavern, built in 1771 by Elijah Bent, which soon became a popular spot in town. Here drinks and friendly conversation were offered local people, as well as teamsters, postriders, and travelers passing through the town. The stagecoach days had not yet blossomed, and traveling was still a well-to-do pastime.

Closer to the road than the present town Public Safety Building with its spacious lawn, the tavern had the appearance of an old-time farmhouse, with two stories (enlarged to three stories in 1825) and a long, sloping roof over the kitchen behind. Hand-forged nails and spikes were used on timbers rough-hewn with ax and adz. Some of the floorboards were twenty-eight inches wide. A barn for horses was to the northwest, and in front its swinging 1771 sign, its watering trough, and the town pump were landmarks for years.

Taverns were a very reputable business then, and innkeepers (several of them being Deacons of the church) were usually from prominent families. The Parmenter, Reeves, and Bent families come immediately to mind as having several generations carry on this trade. The first Bent Tavern had been located along Old Connecticut Path in the early 1700s, run by Hopestill Bent. His son Elijah was the builder and first innkeeper of the 1771 tavern (later known as the Pequod Inn), and his son, Elijah, Jr., and his son-in-law, Col. David Curtis, followed him. Sons Nathan and Rufus ran the Street Tavern, which at the time of the Revolution was located farther northwest of the road to Sudbury near the corner of Glezen Lane.

The men might come to the Elijah Bent-Curtis Tavern during the nooning break on Sundays between morning and afternoon sermons, while the women and children probably found warmth and food at a nearby house—like the Russells—if home was too distant. Town meetings might also adjourn to this tavern if the meetinghouse was too cold on wintry days. Some of the local patriots' committees, including the Committee of Correspondence, met here or at another local tavern. On the east side alone, there were 11 taverns shown on the 1776 map of Wayland (reconstructed by James S. Draper in 1881). They were probably not all in operation at the same time.

Just north of the meetinghouse—about where the railroad station is now situated—stood a small wooden schoolhouse. One of five schoolhouses for the east parish in 1775, this Center School had two rooms. The main room had small wooden desks and a blackboard,

while the second, smaller room was for supplies, such as wood for the fireplace brought by the students. Not until 1796 was a stove and wood supplied by the town.

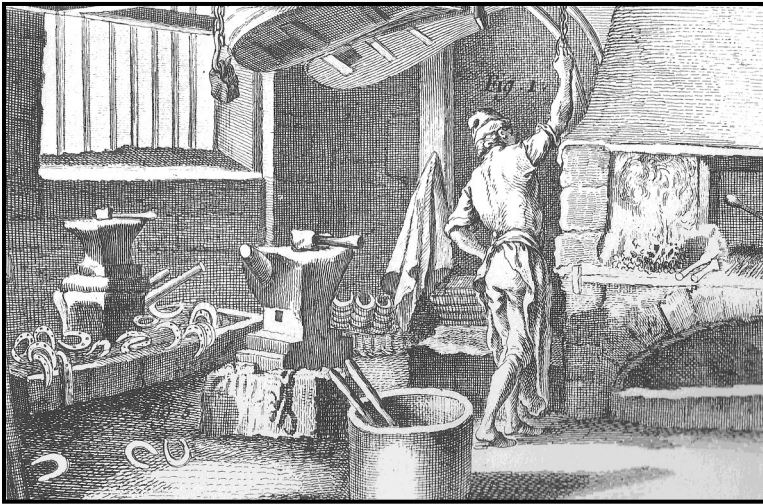
Educational matters were under the supervision of the selectmen. The town was responsible for teaching the rudimentary ABC's to both boys and girls, and each year funds were voted for the reading and writing schools. Separate allocations provided for grammar schools, which taught Latin and Greek to qualify boys for Harvard. Sometimes the same schoolhouse served both purposes, but at different times of the year—the winter term being for grammar school and the summer for the “English” school. The same schoolmaster usually covered all five school houses on a rotating basis.

When brick schoolhouses were voted in the early nineteenth century, this wooden school building was sold to Nathaniel Reeves. Later, Newell Heard purchased it from him and added on to create the “Old Red Store,” which is believed to be contained in the barn belonging to 11 Cochituate Road, still standing south of the parking lot of the railroad station.

On the other side of the road and north of the 1771 tavern (later known as the Pequod House), there was a small house thought to have been built by Jonathan Grout located on the gentle slope. In about 1800, this small structure, dating to ca. 1740, is believed to have been incorporated into the Grout-Heard House—the present headquarters of the Wayland Historical Society. Also on the same property was a shop, probably a blacksmith shop, which belonged to the Grout family who were associated in the early days with the gristmill. The milestone by the walk appears to be one of the Benjamin Franklin originals placed along the “Lower” Post Road, and was moved here from Old Connecticut Path.

At the time of the Revolution, Dr. Ebenezer Roby, Jr. owned land along Concord Road and his home was on the site north of the

present library—where many later generations lived and contributed their talents as physicians and town officials. Across the street from the Roby house was a country store, perhaps the first on the east side, and also a doctor’s office that served three generations of Robys—all respected physicians.



The eighteenth century blacksmith was as much in demand as his seventeenth century predecessor. With the increased use of horses as working farm animals, blacksmith shops, such as the Grouts’ were essential. With its location near the Bent- Curtis Tavern, it most likely served travelers as well as townspeople.

In the triangle behind the present railroad tracks was located the Roby tanyard. Whether all three tanneries in the village center were in operation at the same time is not certain, but it would not have been unusual for the time. Sudbury being a farming community with livestock an important commodity, animal hides were available byproducts once the beef were slaughtered. These small, early tanneries contained pits in which a series of vats of leaches were located near a stream to which they were connected. Crushed bark, usually oak, was placed in the vats of water to produce tannin, which

converted the animal hides to leather. The town sealer of leather would inspect to see that adequate treatment of the hides was provided. If a shoemaker used leftover leather not used for clothing to make shoes, he would also stand inspection for his work. Shoes were not yet commonly worn,—only for “Sunday and go to meeting”—but the east side already had one shoemaker living by the Weston Corner, and soon there would be more.

The wealthiest members of the community, such as Dr. Roby and John Noyes Esq. already mentioned, and those with special standing, such as the pastor Bridge, did not constitute a privileged class, but were usually leaders of the community. Those who carried on such trades as tanning, spinning, carpentry, and shoemaking did not make up a merchant class, either. They were all farmers, in addition to whatever other profession they might have. Everyone remained close to the soil and was dependent upon it for existence.

2 TRAINING FIELD

As we continue northward along Concord Road past the old Roby sites, we pass Bow Road on the left, one of the original roads of Sudbury Plantation. The Colonial house on the left at 1 Bow Road was newly built by Jonathan Parmenter in 1775, and earlier Parmenters had lived at the same location since 1640 as the first innkeepers. Farther north, we turn left onto Training Field Road until it intersects Glezen Lane. Here we stop at the small triangle—all that remains of the almost nine acres set aside as a training field from 1714 to 1804.

The bounds as stated by the Proprietors, who gave the land to the town in 1714, were vague. Pieced-together information tells us that by standing at the northern edge of the triangle, about half of the training field was behind us to the north and northwest, and the other half in front to the south, with Glezen Lane cutting it in half. Glezen

Lane, laid out as a town road in 1796, was probably just a path during the Revolution. The roads that bounded the field on three sides included Northwest Row to the west, East Street to the south (both discontinued after the Revolution), and the road to Concord on the east—which is today’s Training Field Road as it joins Glezen Lane. We can imagine the east side of Sudbury’s militia and minutemen gathering here and taking the route to Concord on that fateful day of April 19, 1775.

Each Massachusetts town had always had a militia, required to train a certain number of days a year by Colony law. Even when the first training field was located in this general area, muster-days of the “trainband” might have been the occasion for a town celebration as the men, aged sixteen to sixty, gathered here for drills amid the sound of fife and drum. In the days leading up to the Revolution, the mood of training days had changed from festive to somber.

By the fall of 1774, the Provincial Congress reorganized the militia to ensure its loyalty to the Patriots’ cause, and its pace for drilling was quickened. At this time, a select group was set aside as minutemen—to be especially fit and ready at a minute’s warning for combat. The minute companies were singled out for special encouragement and new enlistments received one shilling and six pence for training one-half day a week, with officers awarded slightly more. According to the carefully kept records of Capt. John Nixon, attendance was almost perfect. The companies met in even the worst of winter weather, when they exercised on cold barn floors with their mittens on. On better days, target practice was emphasized—probably on the training fields. Earlier Indian raids taught these men to be prepared to fight a moving target. In the first encounter with the British on April 19, the colonists’ guerrilla fighting from behind rocks, trees, and stonewalls proved disastrous to the long columns of redcoats used to fighting their foe face-to-face.

When the Sudbury militia companies were reorganized in October 1774, they met in their respective meetinghouses to choose officers. Three militia companies were organized under Aaron Haynes and Moses Stone for the west, and Joseph Smith for the east. Ezekiel How was elected their commander, to serve within the regiment of Colonel James Barrett of Concord. The minute companies were newly organized from within the militia and John Nixon took command of the west company and Nathaniel Cudworth for the east—both to serve under Colonel Abijah Pierce of Lincoln. Isaac Loker was chosen the captain of the troop of horse that represented both sides of the town. Standing ready for emergencies were the alarm companies—comprising those either too old or exempt from fighting for some other reason. Altogether, there were 352 Sudbury men on the muster rolls.

Most of the names of the officers and men on these lists are familiar in the *Annals of Sudbury*, but one new name worth mention is the captain of the east side, Nathaniel Cudworth. His selection to head the east side minute company was an honor and trust not lightly given, but other than listing his name as the new captain, the records of the town are silent on how and why he got here in the first place. Cudworth led the east company on April 19 with distinction as he did soon thereafter at Bunker Hill, before disappearing from the town records. Originally from Scituate, he received a war pension through the town of Boston, and later settled in Charleston, South Carolina. An interesting footnote to this story took place April 19, 1975, when the selectmen of Wayland presented the mayor of Charleston a plaque and wreath for Cudworth’s grave.

On the east side, this training field was probably the central gathering place of militia and minutemen who answered the Concord Alarm, although some may have gathered first on the common in the center. These men were without uniforms, and arrived in their everyday, homespun farming clothing. They were all to be fully equipped by this time with musket, bayonet, and ammunition consisting of powder and lead balls. On March 21, when Ezekiel

How reported on militia weapons, Capt. Joseph Smith had “75 able Bodied men, forty well a quipt, Twenty Promis to find and a quip them Selves Emedotly, fifteen no guns and other ways un a quipt.” By that April morning, many still lacked authorized weapons and grabbed whatever was at hand—including axes, hatchets, pitchforks, and butcher knives.

For those fortunate enough to have guns, they may have stopped to get ammunition from the powder house, which was supposed to have been located in this training field area, the exact spot being now unknown. At the time of the Revolution, three powder houses existed in Sudbury, one at this location, one at the present town center in Sudbury, and a third near the Gravel Pit and Sand Hill on the west side, which was to become the site of a government storehouse during the war.

The purchase of ammunition was not a simple matter, and it appears that it was acquired through one or more members of the community, from whom the soldiers had to buy their own supplies and the town had to purchase its town stock. There are several mentions of bills from Ezekiel How, Nathaniel Cudworth, and Sarson Belcher for this purpose. Later, when a Continental Army came into being, the towns were expected to supply their quotas of recruits with ammunition.

During the fall and winter of 1774-1775, while Sudbury and other towns were getting local supplies of ammunition in order and organizing their fighting men, the important task of building up for the defense of the entire Province was begun by the Committees of Safety and Supplies of the First Provincial Congress.

After repeated confrontations in Boston and the immediate environs, there was suspense about what action the British might take next. The redcoats took exercises out into the countryside as far as Roxbury and Watertown, giving notice that the military stood ready to quell the rising tide of unrest. The British had already seized

some of the patriots’ military stores in the Boston area and the Cambridge arsenal was raided in the fall of 1774. Reaction then was swift as Middlesex County militia lined the streets from Sudbury to Cambridge in protest, but violence was avoided. In February 1775, when the British troops tried unsuccessfully to seize the supplies hidden in Salem in a surprise raid, it became obvious to the patriots that supply storage farther removed from the Boston area was necessary. A network that included Concord and Worcester as the key depot centers was developed.

The British became well aware of this movement of arms and supplies, because of its spy system that involved first-hand information from Dr. Benjamin Church, among the patriots’ inner circle, and from spies sent out on reconnaissance missions. Two sets of British spies were secretly dispatched to Worcester and Concord between February and April 1775, both of which kept a record of their routes and contacts. When the decision to march to Concord was reached by General Gage, detailed maps and lists of supply locations were available to his men.

From the records of these spies we learn they both stopped at the Golden Ball Tavern run by Isaac Jones in Weston and both were



Couriers on horseback brought the news of British troops marching toward Concord to the neighboring towns. Over 300 Sudbury men responded to the Concord alarm—more than from any other town.

warned to avoid the centers of Sudbury, a town of “hundred percenters.” Since the patriots had their own spy system, these British spies were soon detected and the alarm went ahead of them, making their missions not only difficult but dangerous. By the time they returned to General Gage with their reports, the second mission had confirmed the suspicion of the first—that an attack on Worcester would never be successful through such a militant and determined countryside. Concord was a better target—with fewer patriots and ambush sites along the way.

While these “secret” missions collected information, rumors circulated about an impending Concord raid on March 29. The Provincial Congress, then meeting in Concord, felt it wise to divide up the stores and ship some to the surrounding towns—especially Sudbury and Stow. In Col. James Barrett’s notebooks were the details of shipments of food and equipment to Sudbury, which presumably were stored in the training field powder houses.

This proved to be one of several false rumors as tension and war buildup continued on both sides. When a courier from Concord, Dr. Abel Prescott, did finally bring the true alarm in the early morning of April 19 to Sudbury, the minutemen and militia responded quickly.

We do not know who was originally notified on the east side, but the tradition is that Prescott first reached Thomas Plympton of the west side, Provincial Congress representative, who had the bells chime out their coded signal. It has been suggested that more than one courier reached Sudbury, since Col. Abijah Pierce of Lincoln, Regimental Commander of Nixon’s and Cudworth’s minute companies, was one of the first apprised of the British march. It was a long way on horseback between towns for these couriers, but the word spread quickly. Sudbury answered the Concord and Lexington alarm with over 300 men—more than from any other town on the day the war began.



Minutemen were literally ready at a minute’s notice, as shown by this farmer plowing with his musket with him—just in case ...

3 ROUTE TO CONCORD

No one is sure of the exact route the east side minutemen and militia took to Concord on April 19, 1775, but the men undoubtedly took shortcuts from the main path whenever possible. Since the men from the east side were separate from those of the west, who headed toward Barrett’s Farm in Concord, and entered the fight along the Battle Road sometime after Meriam’s Corner, they probably went through Lincoln. From the Training Field, they may have cut out to where Concord Road and Glezen Lane meet today and followed on about the present path of Concord Road to the north. (The southern stretch of this road to Claypit Hill Road was not yet laid out.)

We can take a more leisurely pace than the minutemen, taking note of the old and new areas that they passed along the way. The northern section of the town had increased sufficiently in population

to warrant a schoolhouse of its own, which was located near the northeast brook (Hazel) crossing just northerly of the road we call Lincoln Road. Clay pits were located near the edge of the brook to the west and tanyards plus a sawmill used brook water farther upstream. A second sawmill operated near the Castle Hill bridge, and a coal pit was nearby. These trades all may not have been in existence at the same time, but over a period of fifty years they brought new families into the area that settled on former proprietors' lands along the roads recently built.

The schoolhouse drew children from these roads laid out in the north and east portion, including the road to Concord, the road to Weston (Glezen Lane east), the road from Pine Plain to Concord (Draper, Hazelbrook, and part of Lincoln Road), and the bridge road and the way to the meadow (Sherman Bridge and Oxbow Roads).

Perhaps the summer session of the reading and writing school was not held in 1775, because in May of that year the selectmen received a request from Jonathan Brewer, believed to be the same person as the commander of a regiment that included many Sudbury men, mainly east side, who fought at Bunker Hill:

“I am Engaged in the Present Expedition in Defense of America and as I have no house convenient where I can leave my family I therefore Desire that I may have Liberty to Put Them into the North Schoolhouse on the East side of the town . . .”

No record of the selectmen's answer has yet been found.

Along present-day Sherman Bridge Road were several houses, and on the southwest corner of the intersection of Sherman Bridge and Concord Roads, Ephraim Abbot ran a blacksmith shop. We follow this road to present-day Alpine Road, which leads to the old Castle Hill Road. The old road earlier came out more easterly and can be seen as part of the driveway of the old farmhouse we have just passed at 24 Sherman Bridge Road. This farmhouse was probably

built by Edward Sherman in the first half of the eighteenth century near the sawmill. If we continue down Alpine Road to the conservation land sign, and follow the path to Castle Hill Road and the brook, we can see the sawmill site. The most recent dam at this site was constructed after the floods of 1968 tore apart an earlier one that is still visible, and on careful inspection we can see another and more ancient dam. While the falls of the brook here do not seem like much to us today, this sawmill run by Shermans and earlier by Moores was a chief source of boards for east side houses up to the time of the Revolution.

The pond that the dam backs up is still called Schoolhouse Pond by many. Originally, there was more swampland and less pond in the lowland area surrounding the high ridges—called eskers--along which Castle Hill Road wound its way. The lowland was known as Common Swamp by the first settlers, who valued its good hay and adjacent timberlands. The coal pit in this area was probably just a small charcoal pit, which burned hardwood in a mound, producing “coal” for the blacksmith and for household uses.

Like taverns, mills seemed to stay in the same family for several generations. The Moores were the earliest to develop sawmills in the north—the first being this Castle Hill site which Joseph Sr. and son ran in the late 1600s and early 1700s. Sons Benjamin and John built a second near the corner of Hazelbrook and Lincoln Roads on land presently owned by the Sudbury Valley Trustees. The tanyards along Lincoln Road were the early trade of Bezaleel Moore. By 1775, he was gone, and Benjamin Adams had moved onto Moore Land, taking over the sawmill and building the farmhouse now standing at 34 Lincoln Road.

Following the war, Timothy Sherman was running the Castle Hill sawmill and making bricks, while living in his grandfather Edward's farmhouse. In the early 1800s, both sawmills were run by Shermans.

Oxbow Road seems remote to town activities today, but at one time this way led to valuable meadow lands. Along it, there are two old Sherman houses still standing, one near the beginning of the road (at 206), which has the date 1755 painted on the northern side. By 1783, Ephraim Sherman was living here (both Ephraim and Timothy having served in the Revolution) and from 1831 to 1845, it was the Alms House for the town poor. The second Sherman homestead is at 62 Sherman Bridge Road, where Jonathan, Jr. was living at the time of the war, although the house is believed to have been built by Thomas Barney in the second quarter of the 18th century.

The stretch of Oxbow that wound toward the river, no longer part of the present road, led to the fishing weir, first used by the Indians and later the settlers. As rules for navigable waters were enacted, a permit to set weirs in this spot was needed. In 1737, Jonathan Woodward, who lived along the brook west of the sawmill, was granted permission by the General Court to catch fish in this manner.

In 1743, it was agreed that a bridge was needed in this area, and if the subscribers would erect a bridge, then Woodward and Edward Sherman would agree to a way two rods wide through their land. Similar arrangements were made for a connecting path on the west side, through John Haynes's land. As time went on, the Sherman family multiplied so much in this area that the bridge, road, and schoolhouse all took on the family name.

As we follow Concord Road northward from Sherman Bridge Road, we can note where the Oxbow loop comes out and see the old Luther Moore tavern on the corner at 1 Oxbow Road. Although Luther Moore is not listed on any muster rolls for April 19, he could have been there. He enlisted soon after the battle, and was one of the few east side men who served in the continental army for almost the entire duration of the war.

At this point, we can follow in spirit the march of the east side men to Concord. Word may have reached them of the whereabouts of the

British troops, and they probably were too late to meet the foe at Concord bridge. The west side men had been delayed at Colonel Barrett's farm, where some British troops were searching for hidden military stores, and arrived at the bridge just after the first shots were fired and the British were regrouping. The east companies reportedly headed directly toward the present Route 2A, where they joined the west side men and other patriots gathering by Merriam's Corner, where the running battle against the British began.

It is very hard to locate all the areas along the route at which Sudbury men were noted, as not all stayed as a group and some followed the retreating British, fighting guerrilla-style. However, two battle scenes can be singled out. At Hardy's Hill, Lincoln, Captain Cudworth's east minutemen had hidden in positions from which they attacked the British ranks with heavy fire. It has been suggested that at the "Bloody Angle" (Virginia Road, Lincoln), where a severe engagement left many British dead, Deacon Josiah Haynes and Asahel Reed lost their lives and Joshua Haynes was wounded—all of the west side.

Deacon Haynes was seventy-nine years old (too old to be on the muster roll) and reached the thick of the battle before he fell. Thomas Bent at sixty-nine could not be kept at home either. He was wounded and died three months later, although it is not known where he fell. This was a day in which old and young fought together, sometimes three generations from the same family. From the Pelham Island area, Bent and his four sons saw action, as did Capt. Richard Heard and his four sons.

The retreating British were pursued all the way to Charlestown, where they sought the safety of Bunker Hill and the guns of Boston. At this point or sooner, many of the weary provincial soldiers returned to their farms and duties. Quite a few from Sudbury and elsewhere, however, stayed on in Cambridge, the new patriot headquarters, for up to two weeks, to make sure the British stayed holed up in Boston.

This had been the minutemen's finest hour, but soon their name and function would end as the war became more than a local confrontation. An attempt was made to organize the hordes of undisciplined soldiers, sprawled out all over Harvard College. A Provincial Committee of Safety set up an army command. Soon thereafter, it was determined by the Continental Congress that a continental army would be needed with longer term enlistments. Many minutemen did enlist in the first eight months' service, but others along with militiamen could not consider long absences from their farms during the growing season.

By the time of the next major battle on June 17—Bunker Hill—Sudbury men were included in three companies. Minuteman captain John Nixon, now promoted to colonel, had Abel Holden, Jr. as his adjutant and David Moore as his captain and over thirty Sudbury men recruited. Nathaniel Cudworth was a major in the regiment of Col. Jonathan Brewer, and two companies under Capt. Thaddeus Russell and Capt. Aaron Haynes contained almost seventy more



At Breeds Hill on June 17, 1775, the Sudbury men under Colonels John Nixon and Jonathan Brewer defended one of the most exposed sections below the redoubt and breastworks. Both colonels were wounded in the battle, along with two Sudbury men who died.

Sudbury men. In Russell's group was the youngest enlistee—David Smith, a fifteen-year-old fifer, who was the son of the militia captain, Joseph Smith.

Most of these men saw action at Bunker Hill in a fierce battle in which they fought bravely against heavy odds. Still the poorly organized provincial army—at this time, there were many disaffections when the battle call came, but where leadership was strong, as in the cases of Nixon and Brewer, the troops held firm. The tactical decision to defend Breed's Hill instead of Bunker Hill was one of many disadvantages the patriots labored under. They had dug in at the top of the hill overnight, building breastworks and a redoubt for protection, but they were exposed on several fronts. Cudworth, Nixon, and Brewer were located in one of the most exposed areas and were under strong attack from the waves of British troops landing from Boston. The British were outfought by the patriots and suffered tremendous casualties through two assaults, but on the third, the ammunition failed and the Americans were forced to retreat. Nixon and Brewer were wounded along with several of their men. At least one Sudbury man was killed, Joshua Haynes of the west side, and possibly Jonas Loker of the east died later of wounds from the battle.

There was no turning back now. The war had begun in earnest, and the British quickly discovered that American fighting men were not the pushovers they previously claimed.

We come back to the town scene after these two military encounters involving Sudbury men, and make our way to the Old Town Bridge site by either of two routes: we can retrace our steps to the training field and take Glezen Lane to Old Sudbury Road; or we can go down Concord Road as far as Bow Road, then follow Old Sudbury Road to the bridge.

4 OLD TOWN BRIDGE

Heading westward on Old Sudbury Road, we reach the Old Town Bridge by turning right at the Wayland Country Club and continuing on the old road that leads to the river. The four-arch bridge now standing was built in 1848 with dry-laid stone construction and rebuilt with mortar in 1901. At the time of the Revolution, a wood-frame bridge was here, recently erected by Capt. Richard Heard in 1771. This was one of a long series since 1642, when the first wood-frame bridge in Middlesex County was reportedly built at this site. By crossing the four-arch bridge, we can walk along a section of the old causeway, which today extends to the open, main channel of the Sudbury River.

This causeway was once part of a “long causey” of raised land that continued all the way to the Old County Road. From the beginning, its repair had been almost constant, and it appears from the records that townspeople were looking for a “final” solution. In 1758, after several negative votes by the town, it was agreed to petition the General Court for permission to run a lottery to raise money to rebuild the causeway. The General Court approved the scheme outlined with restrictions, and Col. John Noyes, William Baldwin, and Col. Josiah Brown were the committee in charge of the sale and drawing. The town agreed to purchase unsold tickets. Following the lottery drawing in 1761, townspeople were assessed £27 12s on ticket losses. The lottery was never tried again, and the river waters continued to do damage, even to the rebuilt causeway.

During the 1760s, this filling and raising of land caused complaints from those farmers upstream, who claimed that it acted like a dam and prolonged the drying of the meadows for haying. At some point, a second bridge (perhaps a dry bridge at first) was erected, which was mentioned in the Town Records as the Canal Bridge as early as 1767. Water was encouraged to flow under it, with the result that an oxbow was formed. Whether there was already some

natural outlet or it was entirely man-made is not known, but it surely was enlarged with time. This Canal Bridge in 1775 led to the second section of causeway that connected with Old County Road.

The Sudbury River, no longer called the Great River in local records, varied in flow considerably from season to season and from year to year. Hay was still an important staple in the local economy and farmers were hurt during the “wet years.” Whenever flooding problems were worse than normal, a petition was sent to the General Court for relief, but no plan to control the stoppages or to drain the meadow land proved effective.

This route over the Old Town Bridge was still the main highway westward from Boston, Cambridge, and nearby coastal communities to Worcester, Springfield, and the Connecticut Valley. It was also one of the main routes to Hartford and New York, serving as an early post road for the new mail service established in 1761. Both bridges and causeways took a lot of wear and tear from carts and wagons and “outsiders,” who often complained about their condition. Sudbury in turn complained about carrying the financial burden for repairs and on several occasions turned to the county and the General Court for assistance.

Among the “outsiders” who used this route were postriders, famous “couriers,” and infamous spies. Paul Revere used this route in 1774, as a messenger from the Massachusetts patriots to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia and elsewhere, and later in 1777, as a militia captain commissioned to ride to Worcester with a company of men to bring back captured British troops from the Saratoga campaign. After Revere’s first night in Watertown, he stopped in Weston (Isaac Jones’s Golden Ball Tavern) and next in Sudbury to water horses and rest. Here, a messenger caught up with him from Weston with word that Mrs. Jones had accused his men of stealing. Delayed in Sudbury while he searched his men’s possessions and found nothing, he recorded his anger in his diary.

The first of two groups of British spies earlier mentioned as having found refuge at the same Isaac Jones Tavern in early 1775, had originally avoided this main road to Worcester through Sudbury. Realizing that they needed to cover this section for their complete maps, two of the three spies backtracked, including DeBerniere the mapmaker. They set out during a snowstorm the next day and found that men were still on the lookout for them in Sudbury and they barely missed a “tar and feathering” party in Marlborough. Eluding the angry Marlborough men, they arrived near Sand Hill exhausted and hid in the woods overlooking the Sudbury causeway for a rest before hurrying back to the Golden Ball Tavern and safety. They later learned that only the blinding snowstorm and poor visibility kept them from being captured on the Marlborough-Sudbury Road.

At the time these spies traveled through Sudbury, there were no known Tories to offer assistance. The only Loyalist sympathizer of whom there is record is William Baldwin, whose tavern was located near the bridge by the bend in the road, near the waterworks entrance. Baldwin had family connections with the Sewalls, well-known Loyalists in Boston, and he may have earlier attained the rank of Justice of the Peace through these ties. It was a proclamation of support for Governor Hutchinson, signed by various Justices, that Baldwin was forced to repudiate in the fall of 1774. Just prior to this time, the Provincial Congress became seriously worried about leaks of information within their own ranks. County committees were set up to inspect suspicious Tories and try to get them to recant. Soon thereafter, Baldwin’s statement was reported in the *Boston Gazette*.

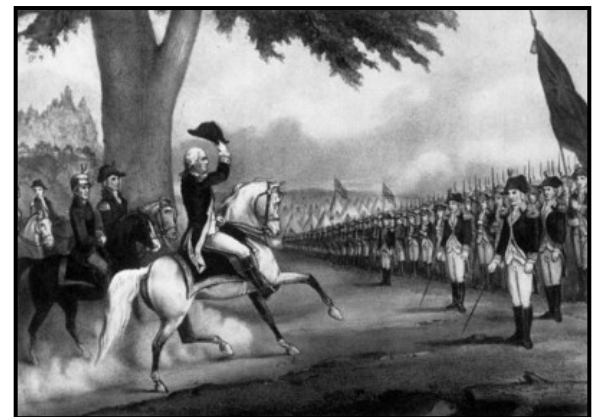
A prominent townsman, Baldwin had repeatedly been appointed to high local offices, including moderator, selectman, and assessor. After his recantation, his only punishment seems to have been denial of these offices for several years, but his services were so highly valued that by 1777, he was again serving in the militia and as assessor.

Other Loyalist sympathizers did not fare so well and in other nearby towns, such as Concord and Marlborough, their property was confiscated and they were forced to leave town. Many headed to Boston or left for England before the war began and those that stayed had an even harder time of it. There seemed to be no middle ground or room for compromise at this junction in British-patriot relations.

Once the war began, many soldiers crossed this bridge, including its best-known officer—George Washington. The Continental Congress selected Washington for the difficult assignment of bringing order and discipline to the highly individualistic New England forces and to raise a continental army. He passed this way en route to assume command in Cambridge in July 1775. One of his first actions was to deal with secret information leaks. The discovery and banishment of Dr. Benjamin Church, high-ranking patriot officer and British spy, was a shock to all.

Activity in this bridge area increased during the war with the location of government storehouses at the west side training field near the rise of Sand Hill. The buildings are gone today, but a stone marker identifies the field that has been purchased as an historical landmark by the town of Sudbury. This supply depot served General

Though appointed Commander-in-Chief of the American forces by the second Continental Congress on June 16, 1775, George Washington did not arrive in Cambridge to assume command until July 2. Many Sudbury men served in the newly formed Continental Army.



Washington's troops after they headed south to New York and New Jersey. The town records show receipts for services of many Sudbury (and East Sudbury after 1780) militiamen who stood guard at the storehouses or who hauled supplies as teamsters, usually to the major supply center in Springfield.

The decision to locate the town's main powder house at Sand Hill was not without controversy. While town meetings rang with conviction and unanimity on questions of taxation and trade restrictions before the opening of the war, no agreement could be reached on the problem of building a powder house and getting a sufficient supply of ammunition stored within. At least eight town meetings from 1771 to 1774 discussed this question, each side wanting it to be built near its own training field. Back and forth it went, with reversals and petitions, until finally a committee was empowered to make the decision, provide materials, and get the job done. By June 1774, John Maynard, Ezekiel How, and Phineas Gleason had built it on the west side and had begun to get in a town stock of ammunition.

The length of debate over the powder house was echoed in other building and spending questions of the day, such as constructing a pest house and locating new schoolhouses, all indicating the growing split between both sides of the river over common property and town facilities.

Even when the split did occur in 1780, there were disputes over the line of division. It was agreed it would follow the Sudbury River until the Canal and Old Town Bridges, but then each side wanted the Sand Hill area with its valuable training field, gravel pit, and town pound. Caleb Wheeler insisted on staying with the west side, the Heards of Pelham Island felt as strongly about belonging to the east. The irregular boundary we have today is the result of the compromise hammered out by several committees.

The west side, or Sudbury, would keep the training field and most of

the gravel pit, Wheeler's Farm, and supervision of the Canal Bridge. The east side, now officially East Sudbury, obtained some lands west of the river up to the training field and on the south side of Sand Hill, including Pelham Island, and would have control of the Old Town Bridge.

Back in the early 1700s before the west side received approval for building its own meetinghouse, which essentially was the beginning of the division of the town of Sudbury, there was consideration of a compromise location of a meetinghouse. If it had been located on the west side in the Water Row-Sand Hill area as was suggested, would future events have turned out differently?

5 STONE'S BRIDGE

We leave the site of the first town bridge and travel to the location of the second, called "Stone's Bridge" today. Our route follows Old Sudbury Road, Cochituate Road, Old Connecticut Path, and Stonebridge Road—all early bypaths of Sudbury on the east side.

Heading back on Old Sudbury Road, we pass several sites reminiscent of the Revolutionary period. The Old North Cemetery contains the graves of fifty-six Sudbury and East Sudbury men credited with serving in the war. Because this cemetery can be visited in connection with any of the three historical tours, a separate chart and description of the entire area is included in the back of this book. Two doors northwest of the cemetery at 71 Old Sudbury Road is the John Noyes Esq. house, built circa 1715. Noyes, a prosperous farmer and many-time town officeholder, was our representative to the General Court on the eve of the Revolution. Farther along at the corner of Old Sudbury and Bow Roads (at 47 Old Sudbury Road) is the old Colonial house on the hill where Josiah Bridge lived. Newly ordained as the east side minister in 1761, he was to serve a long and memorable tenure until 1801.

The stretch that we take from Bow Road to the railroad station on Old Sudbury Road was not laid out until 1770, and at that time the beginning of old Bridle Point Road in this area was discontinued. Until recently a small section of the old road could be seen near the new Town Center entry from Old Sudbury Road. The area including Bridle Point Road was substantially altered with the construction of a new Town Center and housing in the 2010s. Just a bit farther south at 10 Old Sudbury Road is a Colonial-style home (with a later 19th century Palladian-style window above the entry) built around 1770 by Zachariah Bryant, Jr., who was among those east side soldiers who served on April 19. (This house was moved back on its site, added to, and a red barn demolished for the new barn, ca. 2010.)

Continuing south to Wayland Center, then to Five Paths and joining Old Connecticut Path, we soon pass a dirt road on our right—where the end of Bridle Point Road came out in 1775 as the “Fifth Path.” A blacksmith shop run by Joseph Dudley was near this intersection



Benjamin Franklin instituted the use of “milestones” to aid postriders, mailcoaches, and travelers in general. Before he oversaw their installation, travelers had no way to determine how far they had gone. The milestone depicted was moved from its original site on Old Connecticut Path to its present site in front of the Grout-Heard House Museum on Cochituate Road at Wayland Center.

before the war. Directly across from the Fifth Path is another dirt road marked as Herland Way that extends to Cochituate Road. In 1775, this led to the farm of Joseph Smith, east side militia captain. His relative, Ephraim Smith, who also served in the war, is said to have lived on the site of the house at 213 Old Connecticut Path, which contains part of the old homestead. From here to Stonebridge Road, several new farms had opened up to join the old-time Edmund Rice farmlands in this fertile area. The Hopestill Bent house, built about 1710, was run as a tavern, but by 1775, Lieutenant Whitney was living in this farmhouse at 252 Old Connecticut Path. The road curved in here between the tavern and barn. Another house was near the entrance to the high school, where Capt. Jesse Eames lived at the time of the Revolution. A later house built on the same site was moved across the street when the high school was constructed.

The entire area we have been passing through was still called Farm End at this time, but a new name was added by 1775. That portion in the vicinity of Maiden Lane and Stonebridge Road began to be called “Happy Hollow,” perhaps because of the taverns located here. In addition to the Bents, Caleb Moulton, Sr. and Jr. operated “Moulton’s Tavern” during the second half of the eighteenth century on the corner of Stonebridge Road and Old Connecticut Path. No longer recognizable, part of the old tavern is within the present-day package store. In 1772, a new schoolhouse was built for Farm End between the homes of Captain Eames and Captain Moulton near Maiden Lane. Later school buildings were placed across the street. The last one still can be seen at 278 Old Connecticut Path.

Stonebridge Road was probably an early Indian way that crossed the river at a fording place near where the discontinued four-arch stone bridge stands today. The early settlers were well aware of this crossing location, but it was just outside their southern bounds and was not formally part of the town until annexed in the 1720s. Nevertheless, there are references to it in the early records and there was a horse bridge there before long. Samuel How, residing in the Lanham section of Sudbury, built a cart bridge across it in 1674,

which was called “New Bridge” to distinguish it from the “Old Town Bridge.” Subsequent bridges at this spot carried this name for almost two centuries, when it became known as “Stone’s Bridge.”

In 1674, the General Court allowed How to collect tolls to repay him for his expenses for the “bridge he had lately erected upon Sudbury River, above the town.” The Court had the previous year authorized the laying out of a “Highway for the use of the country”—Old Connecticut Path from the Watertown border (Weston), over this bridge and beyond to Marlborough and Quabaug (Brookfield), and presumably both bridge and road were ready about the same time.

The route called the “south county path” remained a well-used one throughout the eighteenth century. A new bridge had been built by the town of Sudbury just prior to 1747, at which time the county authorized a new layout of the road, which altered it slightly here and there. Caleb Moulton was reimbursed for the rum provided when the new bridge was raised.

Up until 1771, only minor repairs were needed, but bad winter conditions may have necessitated the major rebuilding of bridges during 1771-72. Capt. Richard Heard submitted the following bill for the New Bridge at Deacon Stone’s: “. . . 4 days . . . for Framing 10/3—2 days work in the water 8/—Cash p.d. Mr. Dudley 7/8—For Victualling 25 men 13/4—Six Days work at the Bridge 16/—Rum & Sugar 9/4—24 feet Timber 9/9.” A total of £3 14s 9d was paid. By this time, Framingham was sharing responsibility for this bridge and presumably carried out a similar amount of work.

The Deacon Stone referred to was Adams Stone, who lived here during the Revolution southeast of the bridge opposite 191 Stonebridge Road, on the site of the first Stone homestead on the east side. Stones initially settled in the south on the Framingham side, but spread out on both sides of the River. By the mid-1800s, the road took on the family name after several other Stone homes had been built along the road to the bridge.

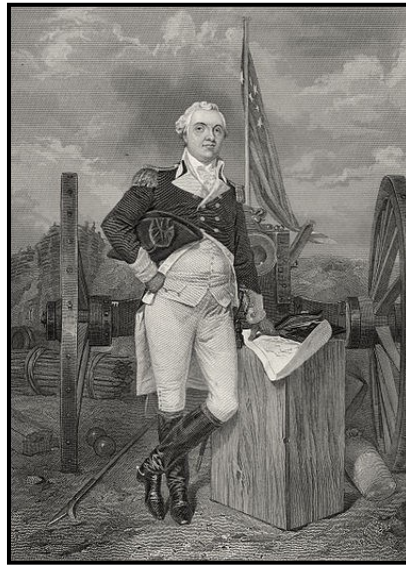
When Hurricane Diane damaged this stone bridge in 1955, and it was to be replaced by a new county bridge, there was an effort to save it as the oldest stone bridge in the town and possibly the state. It was believed then that a stone bridge was here at the time of the Revolution; however in fact it had not been constructed until ca. 1858. A four-arch stone bridge had already been built at the Old Town Bridge site in 1848. Throughout Massachusetts, stone bridge building came into popularity in the mid-1800s, following the opening of several quarries.

We can see that Captain Heard’s newly built bridge was a wood-frame bridge because of payments for wood planking and bridge raising. Contrary to belief, it was this substantial wooden bridge and not a stone one, that Col. Henry Knox crossed with his “noble train of artillery” in the winter of 1776 to provide General Washington with needed cannon and ammunition to complete the siege of Boston. The circumstances and timing of his trek up Stonebridge Road, Old Connecticut Path, and eastward are unclear. The schedule and route as far as Framingham, which was reached on January 25, were well-documented. Apparently, Framingham served as a terminus for the equipment while plans for the seizing of Dorchester Heights were readied. Secrecy of the attack was important to Washington’s plans. Until their moment of need, the weapons were out of sight and safe in fields and the barns of Capt. Simon Edgell of Framingham.

The guns of Fort Ticonderoga had been captured in May 1775 by Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allen who, acting under separate orders from Connecticut and Massachusetts, jointly commanded a militia group from Vermont (then called the New Hampshire Grants). But the transporting of this heavy equipment over difficult terrain defied quick solution. When Henry Knox became Washington’s artillery commander in November 1775, he took on the task of securing the badly needed weapons. It took fifty-three days to move sixty tons of cannon and supplies over water, ice, snow and mountains. After reaching Springfield, Knox went on ahead to report to Cambridge on

January 18 and get orders. It may have been at this time that the decision to detour in Framingham occurred, until mounting pieces and other-preparations were finished. It is probable that some of the cannon were moved out early to be mounted at Lechmere Point in February, as Washington attempted to reinforce hills already in patriot hands to the north and west of Boston.

Henry Knox was a bookseller in Boston until hostilities broke out. Because of his knowledge of military literature, he was commissioned a Colonel and put in charge of artillery. He personally masterminded the transfer of the cannon from Fort Ticonderoga, New York to Dorchester Heights. He later rose to the rank of Major General and was the nation's first Secretary of War in Washington's first cabinet.



During this time of preparation in early 1776, Sudbury men were among several companies serving in Cambridge and Roxbury, including one company under Simon Edgell. It was a period of guarding and waiting for action against the enemy, and also a time of discouragement about battle losses in Canada. A victory was badly needed for the morale of the men. General Washington moved as quickly as he could in the face of discouraging winter conditions and disagreement about a war plan.

Finally, the men and the plan were set. On March 2, the bombardment of Boston, which lasted three days, began from Lechmere Point and other fortified hills. This served as a cover for the real plan—to take Dorchester Heights and then Boston.

Under cover of darkness, the plan evolved in two stages. The first brought an 800-man work party with pickaxes and shovels to dig earthworks and mount platforms for the Knox cannon, which were hauled in by horses. Teams of oxen hauled hay, bundles of sticks, and barrels for the entrenchments. In the second stage, 2,400 soldiers took over the posts with ammunition and guns, ready to defend the fort. On the morning of March 5 (the anniversary of the Boston Massacre), the British were taken by surprise. Their plan to drive the Americans off the Heights was foiled by bad weather. Washington's hope for a quick defeat of the British army gave way to a long period of waiting to see what the British would do. Finally, on March 17, Boston was evacuated and the British set sail for Canada, taking with them 1,100 Loyalists who gave up homes and property rather than "face the mob."

This defeat for the British was only temporary. As they awaited reinforcements in Halifax before they headed for New York (where they expected more Loyalist support than in Massachusetts), the British were encouraged by victories against the American leaders Schuyler, Montgomery, and Arnold in Montreal and Quebec engagements.

The task of moving the cannon from Fort Ticonderoga to Boston in the middle of the winter of 1776 over mountains and across rivers was just one of the heroic feats of the Revolution. Col. Henry Knox led the teams of oxen and horses on the arduous trek. The train of cannon was brought through Sudbury on the last leg of the journey to Dorchester Heights—down Stonebridge Road and Old Connecticut Path to Weston.



Sudbury soldiers were involved in both of the Canadian expeditions aimed at a two-pronged attack on Quebec. The first, under Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, involved a waterway route from New York to St. Lawrence, capturing Montreal along the way. Col. Benedict Arnold had a plan for the second route, following several rivers up to the St. Lawrence through wilderness Maine. Both attempts proved disastrous, but the Arnold expedition must rank among the epic war marches and tragic episodes of the war. Those who survived the icy and treacherous waters, severe winter conditions, and lack of provisions faced a battle against heavy odds at Quebec, and possible smallpox if taken prisoner. Samuel Maynard of Sudbury died in Quebec from smallpox.

There would be other “Canadey” and New York expeditions throughout the war, and death from smallpox and “camp distemper” would take many more lives than the battle lines.

6 SOUTHERN FARMS

Returning to Old Connecticut Path, we head south to Plain Street, passing by land that was once part of the original Glover grant south of the town bound. The Glover lands were sold in 1697 to three Sudbury men—Thomas Brown, Thomas Drury, and Caleb Johnson. It was Johnson who owned the land in this vicinity—between Dudley Pond and the river. His house, no longer extant, is still remembered by old-time residents as being on the left side of the road not far from the pond. Johnson heirs continued to live in this section after it became part of Sudbury and later Wayland. Through marriages, the Dudleys acquired land here, and when they became more numerous than the Johnsons, the name of the pond changed from Johnson Pond to Dudley Pond.

Heading east on West Plain Street, with Lake Cochituate to the south, we can note that this was the main street through the “plain”

of farm lands owned by the “Cochituate Farmers” at the time of the Revolution. This “plain” continued all the way to the Weston border. Cochituate Village was a later development caused by the shoe industry. There was a little activity beginning at the intersection of the road to Natick (Route 27) and Plain Street, where a tavern owned by Nathaniel Reeves and known as the Noyes House was located on the gas station site. Farther south on the road to Natick, William Bent had opened up a blacksmith shop across from his 1775 house (demolished in 1983). But the main activity was at today’s intersection of East Plain Street and Commonwealth Road (not yet a byway in this area), where the small center of the south began—soon to be called Lokerville. When the stretch of Commonwealth Road from Framingham to Lokerville was built in 1828, a triangle of town land was created.

At our stopping place by the triangle, we can reconstruct this area, which consisted of a schoolhouse on the western edge, a tavern to the east run by a Loker, and several farmsteads. Later, some stores and a church would come to this vicinity—the Wesleyan Methodist meetinghouse being located next to the school. The major portions of the Dunster and Jennison original grants were now occupied, due to Rice settlements and marriages. Bent, Loker, Brintnall, Damon, and Rice farms were scattered all along Plain Street and Rice Road.

The Loker family became so numerous that the center and schoolhouse acquired their name. The first Loker who headed south was John, after he married Sarah Rice in the 1670s. John had originally lived on the site to the left of the Old North Cemetery, which was bought by the town for the second minister in 1678. He sold his rights to the land and house, but his mother remained in the west end of the house. She drove a hard bargain with the town before she moved, receiving land and a pension for the rest of her life.

The land between today’s Loker Street and Rice Road may have been part of the Isaac Loker farm during the Revolution. Isaac, one

of John Loker's grandsons, married into the Brintnall family and moved into the homestead at 36 Loker Street, which is today across from the current Loker School. On April 19, Isaac Loker was ready with his horse troop to head for Concord and Lexington. It is reported that he sometimes practiced with his men on the fields near his house. The road that followed today's School Street and Loker Street formerly took a curve and went along what we call Thompson Road to Rice Road—the straight section from Aqueduct Road to Route 30 being added only recently. There was a house foundation along the old Thompson section where Brintnalls lived at the time of the war. Thaddeus Bond located here for a short time thereafter.

Isaac Loker must have been one of Sudbury's prosperous farmers to belong to the horse troop, because these soldiers had to own a riding horse (not a work horse) and equipment, which was considered expensive in those days. He had received a commission from Thomas Hutchinson as a Cornet in the Governor's horse troop in 1772, but resigned this commission before hostilities began, thus retaining the respect of his men who elected him captain.

When the war moved south, Loker, along with the vast majority of townsmen, remained at home to run his farm and tend to local affairs. He served in many capacities, and as constable in March 1776, he notified and warned freeholders and other inhabitants in his

On July 4, 1776 the founding fathers put their signatures to the Declaration of Independence. On July 15, the Sudbury town meeting members' approval of that Declaration was placed in the town records. The ministers of each parish read the Declaration to their congregations.



part of Sudbury to attend town meeting on June 10. The warrant included an item to see if its representative, Thomas Plympton, should vote in the General Court to declare the "Colonies Independent." The vote that day reflected the mood of the town as follows:

"The present unhappy Scituation of our publick affairs by reason of the arbitrary and oppressive Measures taken against us in the american Colonies by the King and Parlement of Great Britain, and all hopes of an accomodation Seemes to be finally at an End: We therefore Instruct you to Give the Strongest Assurance that it is not only the unanemous but the hearty and Sincere Intention of your Constituants that Should the Hono^{le} the Contenantal Congress for the Safety of these Colonies Declare them Independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain they will at the Risque of their all Support them in the Measures."

Under date of the next town meeting, July 15, the approved Declaration of Independence of the United States of America was placed in the records. Ministers of each parish were ordered at that time to read a copy to their congregations before delivering to Town Clerks to record. By the end of 1776, Sudbury along with other Massachusetts towns was considering the contents of a new constitution to be ratified by the state and before long would be examining the articles of confederation. So, the debates began on structure and principles for the new nation, while the specifics of winning the war dragged on.

Men continued to be recruited for war campaigns. There was controversy at the July 15 meeting as to whether it was legal for the town to offer bounty in addition to that granted by the General Court for raising men for particular expeditions, in this case, for Canada. As it became harder to get volunteers from the town's militia, it was agreed that hiring men either from within or without the town would be necessary. Twelve men were appointed to serve on a committee "To engage this town's Quota of Men for the Contenantal Army."

Perhaps those who had already served in the war without bounty began to feel an injustice. By March 1777, the question of equalizing service of men toward the war was brought to the town's attention. Five men were selected by written ballot "to estimate the services of each person in Sudbury in the present war." The services committee submitted a report that was not accepted by the commissioned officers of the town, including Isaac Loker. Over a year of discussion finally produced agreement upon policies for service and payment amounts for particular campaigns. The new committee included militia officers—Col. Ezekiel How, Capt. Isaac Loker, Capt. Asahel Wheeler, Capt. Jona Rice, Capt. Nathaniel Maynard,—as well as Mr. Thomas Walker and Mr. Phineas Gleason (later changed to Glezen). Their report, finally accepted, listed allowances for campaigns and declared: "That those persons who have hired Men to performe any of the above Services at a time when there was an actual Levy for Men, be allowed for Said Services." The same was true of those who paid fines or advanced money for recruitment. Payment would be for actual service time only and would go only to taxpayers. At a subsequent meeting, the town agreed on allowances to be paid to over 400 men and 2 women (Widow Sarah Brigham and Widow Anna Noyes, who probably advanced money rather than served).

The militia officers had been responsible for bringing in the lists of persons who had served, and by the time of the final approval in

Though beautiful to look at, the paper currency issued by the Continental Congress for wage payments and general legal tender became devalued in the wartime economy. The term "not worth one continental" was muttered by many of the new nation's residents.



October 1778, the militia appeared to have been reorganized. For the west side, Captains Jonathan Rice and Asahel Wheeler submitted the muster roll lists, and Captains Nathaniel Maynard and Robert Cutting for the east. On the Cutting list there were several men from the Lokerville area—including seven Rices, three Lokers, five Cuttings, and five Damons.

Before leaving the Lokerville-southern farming areas, we can make one final observation. The intersection of Rice Road and the old Loker Road with Commonwealth Road was at one time called Damon's Corner. At the time of the Revolution, there were four Damon farms located in this area. Thomas Damon, Sr., who married Abigail Rice in 1730 and was the first to settle here, went off to the Concord and Lexington battle with three sons and one grandson. The Damon Farms name exists today in a 1950s residential neighborhood only. Most Lokers have moved away, and Lokerville as a place is only a memory.

7 OLD CONNECTICUT PATH

The final stretch of our Revolutionary period journey takes us up Rice Road and along part of Old Connecticut Path to Five Paths, and back to Wayland Center where our trip began.

Rice Road is today appropriately named after the Rice family—the first settlers in this southeastern area. Thomas and Matthew, sons of Edmund Rice, received lands from the former Jennison grant, bought by their father in 1657. They built their homesteads along this path, perhaps to be near the waters of the brook we call Snake Brook.

From Damon's Corner, we head north on Rice Road—which parallels the brook much of the way. When we see the pond to our left (Snakebrook Reservoir), we are at the site of an early milldam built by the Rice sons, probably for a gristmill. When Cochituate

village established its own waterworks in 1879, the dam was raised and the enlarged pond became the local water supply. The gatehouse is still standing.

The house at 78 Rice Road, we soon pass by the reservoir, is the only Rice homestead remaining along the path that had at least four at the time of the Revolution. Built in 1810 by Samuel Rice, it occupies a site near where Matthew lived from about 1660 on. Farther north along the brook lived Thomas. From records of damages during King Philip's War, we learn that Thomas lost one hundred pounds' worth of property from firing by the Indians.

During the 1770s, Rice homesteads were located along the southern half of the road, while Cuttings had established themselves in the northern part and also owned much of what we call Mainstone Farm. Capt. Robert Cutting lived along this route with a homestead on the right side of the road (north of the present Church of the Holy Spirit). This was the later location of the town's farm for the poor, bought in 1845.

At the intersection of Rice Road and Old Connecticut Path, we can pause to reflect on the scene in this area at the time of the war. At this time, a schoolhouse was located here for the growing number of families in the eastern part of the town. Situated on the southwest corner, it was opposite the Micah Maynard house. On the Maynard site today, at 68 Old Connecticut Path, a restored nineteenth century house can be seen, built about 1808 by his grandson, Gen. Micah Maynard Rutter. Later schoolhouses in this area were called "Rutter schools." Captain Maynard died during the war, and his widow, Dorcas, was remarried in 1782 to Deacon William Baldwin.

The schoolhouse moved around to several sites, including one on a lane to the hill. Since school children came from as far as the Post Road, some of them probably took a short cut we now call Pine Brook Road. Earlier referred to as Hog Lane, there was a schoolhouse on the western side of the road at one time. From the

Pine Brook crossing of the Post Road to the Weston line, there were several farms. At the corner of Old Connecticut Path, a tavern was built (Coach Grill site) about 1765, known as the "Corner Tavern" which became a stop on the stagecoach route. Nathaniel Reeves, son of Jacob at Reeves Tavern, was the proprietor of the Corner Tavern. Before leaving the corner, we note a DAR marker giving credit to Old Connecticut Path as an early Indian trail and the oldest route to Connecticut. In addition to a farm or two at the eastern end of the Path, there was access to Cutting's Dam along the headwaters to Pine Brook.

Heading from the Rice Road intersection toward Five Paths, we see the long drive on our left to the top of the hill where Cuttings lived in 1775, including Capt. Isaac Cutting, head of one east side militia group at the end of the war. Cuttings owned farm land all along this hill for over 150 years, being one of the early settlers along the eastern portion of Old Connecticut Path in the early 1700s.

The farm land was originally part of the town's Cow Common, which extended on both sides of Old Connecticut Path. It proved better for cattle than people in the earliest days because of its many hilly sections, as well as its remoteness from the village center. Even after this common and undivided land was apportioned among the original proprietors around 1708, it took some time for



Reeves Tavern, built in 1762-63 on Old Connecticut Path is shown as it appeared in the late 19th century.

homesteads to appear. In addition to Cuttings, Hasey was another early name: Nathaniel building on the Micah Maynard site; and Matthew constructing the original part of the Jacob Reeves Tavern.

As along much of Old Connecticut Path, the stonewalls in this area are reminders of old farm boundaries. Approaching the old Reeves Tavern, which is on the right close to the road at 126 Old Connecticut Path, we can recognize one of the Franklin milestones located in the stonewall.

The Reeves family became so well known in the forefront of town government and economy that it might be assumed they were here from the early days of town settlement. But the first mention of this family is in 1762—when they were warned out of town. Soon Jacob was accepted by the town, after being sponsored by John Noyes, Esq. In the next few years, his name appeared on town officer lists and it stayed there until his death in 1794.

Jacob enlarged the Hasey house and it was operated as a tavern by 1764. It was a popular stop along the stagecoach line until 1820.

One of Jacob Reeves's posts during the war was Clerk of the Market, one of two appointed to oversee fair prices within the town. Soon the job became more than two men could handle. The economic problems generated by the war were reflected in rising prices for all kinds of commodities. After conventions were called by the state in 1779 to establish commodity pricing lists, Sudbury, which had been represented at the Concord conventions, voted to accept the prices recommended and to enforce them. A committee was chosen to see that the regulations were fully complied with and to set prices on articles not taken up in the convention. The members, consisting of the Committee of Correspondence and five other individuals—including Nathaniel Reeves—set additional prices in these categories: West India goods, country produce, manufactures, laborers, and innholders. Father and son, Jacob and Nathaniel Reeves, could charge no more than the following for their

tavern services: “Mugg of west India Phlip 15/ New England D° 12/ Toddy in proportion, a Good Dinner 20/ Common D° 12/ Loding 4/ Hors Keeping 24 heures on day 15/ on Grass 10/ keeping a yoak of Oxen a Night 15/.”

The overwhelming march of inflation can be noted in the town expenditures for highways, ministers, schools, and war commitments. For years the ministers were paid £74 annually, when the currency was stable. In December 1779, the town voted £148 regular salary for the two ministers and £2,000 for gratuity. At the same time, £2,000 was allocated for the reading and writing schools, the grammar school support being cut to £1,000, as compared with £30 for each through 1778. The amount needed for the poor was rising at an even faster rate and support of soldiers' families was added to this burden. There was never enough money to hire soldiers. In June 1779, a committee to hire thirteen men for reinforcing the continental army for nine months, and five men for Rhode Island service, received £2,900 and £240 for these two purposes; they returned in July to ask for £936 more to finish their task. To make matters worse, the Continental Congress began making paper currency for wage payments—which soon became worth “not one continental.”

Against this background of rising prices, currency depreciation, and continental commitments, town spending, borrowing, and taxation became the major concerns. Local needs were scrutinized harder than ever at town meeting, and many articles for new schoolhouses and roads passed “in the negative.” The east side began to feel (or its earlier feeling was heightened) that it would be better off managing its affairs as a separate town. Generally speaking, the east side with two-fifth of the population “paid three-fifth of the taxes. The west side was growing at a more rapid rate, producing more children and poor and needing more roads and schools. For example, in 1773 both the northwest and Lanham schoolhouses were built, then in 1774 a new one was approved for near the west meetinghouse, while the east side constructed only one, called the

Farm End schoolhouse (near “Happy Hollow”) during this time. The first move toward a split suddenly came in June 1778, when John Tilton headed a list of petitioners whose article proposed: “To see if the town will vote to Divide the town of Sudbury and make it two towns, and take the Neseary steps therfor . . .” “At this town meeting, held at the east side meetinghouse, it passed in the “affairmetive,” and a committee was appointed to agree on a line of division. No agreement was reached when it submitted its report next October, and a new committee was appointed. Considerable agitation must have been engendered as petitions were sent to the General Court by both sides. On December 6, when the next town meeting was held on the west side, the vote was carried to provide funds to oppose the division in the General Court. The strenuous objections of the west side included fears of a staggering financial load in maintenance of roads, poor, and schools, and the loss of the training field, gravel pit, and pound.

A compromise was worked out between the two sides. At its session on April 10, 1780, the General Court was ready to authorize a mutually agreed upon separation that modified the division line and spelled out equitable financial arrangements for dividing trust funds, ammunition, other joint stocks, and valuables, as well as war debts. The east side gave up some land from its original proposal in an agreement that left the irregular boundary in the Sand Hill area that the two towns have lived with since. But it gained essentially what it was seeking—authority over its own town. As the petitioner for division, it was given the new name of East Sudbury, even though it was the older part of the original town.

Additional meetings would be needed to iron out differences and settle details after the two towns separated, but judging solely from the town records, business went on as usual for both east and west. In the first town meeting for East Sudbury in 1780, Jacob Reeves was among the selectmen elected, as were Capt. Richard Heard, Joseph Curtis, Phinehas Glezen and Capt. Isaac Loker.

After Jacob Reeves’s death, the tavern was carried on by his son, “Squire Jake,” who also held many public offices, including Justice of the Peace, representative to the General Court, and Town Clerk (for eighteen years), as well as church Deacon. As we leave the old Reeves Tavern site and head back to Wayland Center, we pass Reeves Hill on the left, highest elevation in the town (406 feet) from which Indians originally viewed the *Musketahquid* valley, later settlers looked out over their Great River, and today the Water Department keeps a standby water supply.

In the hollow to the right lived the Tilton family during the Revolution, on the site where the early 19th century Isaac Carver farmhouse is today at 140 Old Connecticut Path. The Tiltons, like the Reeves family, were relatively new to town by the time of the separation of East Sudbury, but were quickly involved in town affairs. John Tilton, a shoemaker, headed the list of supporters for a division, which included the names of almost every male householder of the east, with the minister, Josiah Bridge, being one of the few exceptions.

Before turning right at Five Paths, we can take note of the marker that had been placed on the bluff by the state in 1926 and moved to the west side of the intersection during reconstruction in the late 20th century. It is in commemoration of the route of the Knox Cannon.

As we return to Wayland Center, we view it anew as the center of the new town of East Sudbury.

TOUR III

INTRODUCTION

The third tour surveys the development of the two town centers within Wayland in the nineteenth century—Wayland Center and Cochituate Village. We are able to see today many of the original buildings of these two villages, which represent two different aspects of nineteenth century architectural, cultural, and economic life.

Wayland Center took on its appearance of a typical New England rural village during the first half of the nineteenth century, with its village green and white, steepled church representing the traditional values of Yankee farmers. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Cochituate Village emerged as a center for the shoe manufacturing business then thriving in this area, in a movement away from the farms.

These two centers did not spring up overnight, but evolved because of changes within and without the town over a long period of time. Among the major events that affected Wayland's growth and identity during the nineteenth century were: Revolutionary War-time recovery; the War of 1812 that pointed up the need for home manufacturing; the opening of the western frontier; the building of canals and other transportations systems that brought cheaper western produce to market, hastening the decline of New England family farms; the emergence of the railroad as a dominant transportation system; the manufacturing of labor-saving devices and the division of labor that stimulated the Industrial Revolution; the movement away from the farms to the cities; immigration policies that opened the doors to foreign laborers; the growth of a different labor system in the south, which extended slavery within a single, cash-crop economy; the clash between north and south over economic policies and slavery, culminating in the Civil War; abolition and other midcentury reform movements; and the decline

of mill and factory centers in the north in the last part of the nineteenth century. Let us next briefly review how these events specifically affected our town.

The new town of East Sudbury, like other farming communities, took longer to recover from the Revolutionary War than coastal towns where financial resources were concentrated. Petitions for relief from farmers throughout the Commonwealth unable to pay debts flooded into Boston. When grievances were not met, the result was Shay's Rebellion in 1786-87. The rebellion was quickly put down by militia troops, including a contingent from East Sudbury, which marched to protect the courthouse in Concord. The crisis pointed up the need for a more stable monetary system and for a new federal constitution.

Prosperity gradually returned under the Federalists. East Sudbury turned its attention to organizing its local services. The new school districts outlined in 1781 began to get brick replacements for the older, wooden schoolhouses by the early 1800s. The church, still a dominant town institution, served as the center for many activities besides town meeting. A singing school was established in 1795, followed by the formation of the East Sudbury Social Library, under the inspiration of minister Josiah Bridge. New town purchases included hay scales to be set up in front of the meetinghouse, a town bathtub for the use of the inhabitants, as well as a hearse and a house in which to store it.

The increase in economic stability within the town was also reflected in the decision to build a new meetinghouse. First discussed in 1806, a difference of opinion among townspeople over location caused delay in its construction until 1814. During these years, thirty town meetings or adjourned town meetings discussed the matter heatedly, and once reportedly with fisticuffs. Agreement was finally reached to locate it on Wyman's pasture on the south side of the brook and road where it stands today as the First Parish, Unitarian. For the first time, town meetings were to be conducted in

a separate building under a provision made when the old meetinghouse was torn down, sold, and relocated in a building next to the church.

With the dedication of the church, a new minister, John Burt Wight, was ordained in 1815. Reverend Wight was soon in the thick of an ecclesiastical argument brewing throughout the Commonwealth. When he began to side more with the liberal theological arguments of the day (“Unitarian”), the Orthodox Calvinists left the congregation, denouncing the “Boston Religion.” In 1828, the Evangelical Trinitarian Congregational Church was formed by three men and fifteen women meeting in the town hall room next door to the church. In 1833, church and state were officially separated in the Disestablishment Act in Massachusetts.

Economic stability was temporarily affected by the advent of the War of 1812, an unpopular war with New England, which resented interference with its trade with England. The town records do state that East Sudbury sent a few men to serve under a quota, but no patriotic resolutions or discussions can be found. Although, Massachusetts, as a Federalist stronghold, undermined “Mr. Madison’s War” and scoffed at the popular demands for economic and political reforms during the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian periods, all of New England was soon caught up in these reforms. One result was that the movement westward included many Massachusetts farmers—still pioneers.

The period up to about 1835 was the “heyday” of the stagecoach lines that brought bustling activity to towns along the stagecoach routes. East Sudbury, a stop on both the Old Connecticut Path and Boston Post Road routes, had a thriving village center. Its taverns and shops benefited, and in that period such skills as tailoring, hat making, butchering, harness making, and cabinetmaking were represented in the shops, in addition to the traditional town craftsmen, such as blacksmiths and wheelwrights.

In 1835, the town voted to change its name from East Sudbury to Wayland, probably in honor of Dr. Francis Wayland, head of Brown University and close friend of Judge Edward Mellen. Mellen, whose law office on the green was across from his village residence, was a respected lawyer and town official who served as Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. In 1848, Dr. Wayland donated \$500, to be met with an equal amount of town money, toward the establishment of a free public library. When this became a reality in 1848 in the new Town House building (Collins’ Market), it was the first public library in the state. Also instrumental in this library accomplishment was John Burt Wight, who retired from the ministry in 1835 but continued to be active in the town. As representative to the state legislature, he helped draft legislation in 1851 that authorized the establishment of public libraries by taxation.

With the coming of the railroad, the stagecoach days were numbered. Although a few coaches continued along the Post Road for another twenty years, most of the stores closed and other associated activity was ending. The Worcester Turnpike and other new highways had bypassed Wayland, but the loss of activity was not so great until the “iron horse” further rearranged transportation patterns. Wayland felt the loss then so keenly that it spent many years in an effort to attract a branch of the Massachusetts Central Railroad through the town.

It was felt that the railroad not only brought decline to the center, but to the farms as well. The cheaper goods of western farms now being brought to eastern markets was certainly affecting the status of farms. But there were other factors as well. Manufacturing activity was luring away the sons (and some daughters) to factories in less rural areas. Textile mills were popping up all along waterways and shoe factories were mushrooming.

Here in Wayland, waterpower did not amount to anything beyond limited local use. The Middlesex Canal, heralded as a boon to all towns along the Merrimack, Concord, and Sudbury Rivers, proved

to do more harm than good to Wayland. Although some iron ore (bog iron) was shipped northward in barges to the Canal, it never became a real local industry. The dam in Billerica that was raised higher in 1828 than previously for the waters of this Canal did damage to the local hay crop beyond anything brought in by the bog iron. Hay, beef and dairy cattle, and apples continued to be raised and marketed from Wayland, but the number of farms was decreasing.

While the northern end of town with its farms and stagecoach village center was being bypassed by “progress,” the southern end began to grow. What began as a small shop and part-time work for farmers, turned into the Cochituate shoe industry. Due to the efforts of the Bent family, one small shoe center in 1830 became a four-story factory employing 329 people by the end of 1870. By that time, several smaller factories had been built, immigrant workers had swelled the local population, and a city atmosphere was reflected in the village that grew out of this industry.

It was inevitable that the different growth patterns of the two ends of town should result in different styles of life and attitudes. Cochituate Village felt more related to Natick, which also specialized in the shoe industry and which became linked to Natick by trolley tracks. After the shoe industry began to fail at the end of the nineteenth century and Cochituate returned to being more of a residential community, the differences between the two sections of town lessened.

There was no division over the town’s involvement in the Civil War and social reforms of that period. In 1861, the town raised a company of seventy-one men to serve in the war. Throughout the next four years, it met its total quota of 129 with additional men from outside the town, paid with recruitment bounty. Twelve of its own soldiers died during the conflict, four on the battle lines, the remainder in hospitals or prisons from wounds or sickness. The town voted that a fitting memorial to all the men who served would

be a book of biographical sketches, which James S. Draper, Lafayette Dudley, and Edmund H. Sears authored—*Wayland in the Civil War*.

Lydia Maria Child was among the Wayland women who contributed efforts in a Soldier’s Aid Society for Women, which supplied bandaging materials and clothing for hospitals and troops during the Civil War. Mrs. Child, a literary light in the nation during the first half of the nineteenth century, moved to Wayland with her husband, David Lee Child, in 1852 (their house at 91 Old Sudbury Road is still standing). Here she continued her work for social ideals, especially the abolition of slavery. She was joined in this cause by Edmund H. Sears, Unitarian minister from 1848 to 1867, whose inspiring antislavery sermon, “Revolution or Reform,” was widely circulated, although he is today better known for his Christmas carol, “It Came Upon a Midnight Clear.”

In mid-century, the town was caught up in another social concern of the day—temperance. Following the Civil War, the campaign against liquor was at its height as sermons, meetings, and pledge canvasses took place throughout the entire town, and taverns were being denied liquor licenses. In 1889, the town joined the national crusade as it voted overwhelmingly for the Prohibition Amendment.

In the last half of the nineteenth century, Wayland Center found that its attractive rural character and lack of industrial activity was not a complete disadvantage. Summer residences began to be established here by well-to-do Bostonians such as Richard F. Fuller (a Boston lawyer who bought and enlarged a farm on Plain Road, adding a lookout tower in the 1860s for which the Tower Hill railroad station was named), distinguished minister Brooke Herford (whose daughter, Beatrice, later founded the Vokes Theatre), and “gentleman farmer” William P. Perkins (who reactivated Mainstone Farm). The financial and cultural contributions of these newcomers brought added life to the town.

When the trains of the Massachusetts Central Railroad finally arrived in 1881, after many years of negotiation and litigation following a town subscription of stock, Wayland Center anticipated a new period of prosperity as a “commuter” center. Cochituate Village developed a trolley track to connect with the railroad. However, the railroad stimulus as well as the shoe industry did not last much longer. The movement away from local farming and industrial work was accelerated in the twentieth century as new roads replaced railroad routes in popularity and connected Wayland with Boston and other working centers. This is the story of Wayland today as a residential community, known as a suburb.

WAYLAND CENTER

The core of Wayland Center, extending from the intersection of the Boston Post Road with Cochituate Road northward to the railroad station, still has the appearance of an authentic early-nineteenth century rural village center. Its village green, white-steepled church, Greek-columned town hall, and ten other largely Federal period buildings are now preserved within a Wayland Center Historic District, voted in 1965 and accepted on the National Register of Historic Places in 1974.

Our Wayland Center tour covers this Historic District and additional nearby structures also representative of the early and mid-nineteenth century period. The accompanying map provides street and tour site numbers that relate to the written description of sites, made available through inventories of the Wayland Historical Commission.

Two major changes in Wayland Center in the first half of the nineteenth century determined its later character and its present appearance. The first was the construction of the fifth town church, completed in 1815 on its present site south of the Boston Post Road. At this time, the old fourth meetinghouse was torn down from the

village common and rebuilt next to the church as a store, housing the town’s first separate meeting room on the second floor. Several substantial village residences were constructed within the next few years, housing prominent members of the community, such as the Inn proprietor, a local doctor (followed by a lawyer who built the law office on the common across the street), and a wheelwright. Village stores and specialty shops catered to the busy stagecoach traffic.

This activity was followed by the second major change, in 1835, when the village common land was sold to Deacon James Draper. He completed the transformation of the area with the addition of another residence, the remodeling of the old brick schoolhouse into a dwelling, the erection of the community’s first Town House, and the setting out of elm trees to further beautify the village appearance.

The old stately elms have fallen victim to the Dutch elm disease, and some of the original village properties have disappeared. The most prominent building was the Pequod Inn, which used to be a landmark at the corner of the Boston Post Road, where it served postriders, stagecoaches, and other travelers from 1771 to 1928. When it was torn down, the land was given to the town, and in 1958, a brick town building was constructed only to be replaced in 2003 with the present Public Safety Building. Several other buildings were torn down due to age or because of the widening and straightening of roads. Across from the church, a tinsmith’s house and hatter’s shop were located in the first half of the nineteenth century, and a small shoe factory later operated on land now part of the Post Road. A blacksmith shop and a meat store were situated about where Millbrook Road begins today; and a tailor’s shop was across from the Library. The village green once had several stores upon it, in addition to the law office, and its size has diminished with road enlargement.

Despite these losses due to shifts in economic pursuits and transportation patterns, many of the buildings remain that made it the

religious, political, educational, and social center of the town in the mid-nineteenth century.

The tour begins with the twelve nineteenth century properties within the Wayland Center Historic District.

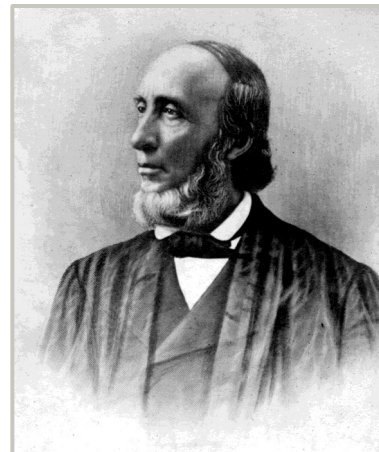


-
- 1 First Parish Church (Unitarian) and carriage sheds
225 Boston Post Road
1814-15 meetinghouse/church
white, clapboard, steepled, Federal

This imposing edifice, an Asher Benjamin design for a rectangular church with a three-door entrance porch and a four-stage open belfry topped with a gold dome and weathervane, was the last town-built, town-owned church in Wayland, and one of the last town-built churches in the state. In 1833, state law separated church and state and the Unitarian parish took over the church building, and later the land it stands on.

The bell was cast by the Paul Revere foundry in 1815. The steeple clock was installed in 1850—about the time that the interior was altered by making the lower floor into a vestry, and the second floor as the sanctuary.

The carriage sheds, which once extended in back of the church as well as on the east side, were built in 1815 and sold or leased to congregants in the same fashion as the pews.



*The Rev. Edmund Hamilton
Sears (1810-1876)*

He was one of the church's most distinguished ministers and the composer of the Christmas hymn, "It Came Upon a Midnight Clear."

-
- 2 “Kirkside”
221 Boston Road
1815, 1888 substantial alterations; dwelling and barn
yellow, clapboard, Colonial Revival

Between 1815 and 1820, after the town built the present First Parish Church, this edifice was moved and re-erected on this site as a store and dwelling with second-story room for town meetings, using frame and materials from the then-unused 1726 (fourth) meetinghouse, which had stood about 550 feet to the northwest (across the present intersection of the Post Road and Cochituate Road). The 1726 structure is believed to have incorporated some parts of the 1687 (third) meetinghouse, which had stood in the North Cemetery on Old Sudbury Road.

The town sold the old meetinghouse to Luther Gleason and Jonathan Fiske Heard to re-use the building as a store (dry goods and groceries) and a dwelling—provided that town meetings be held there for thirty years. This arrangement was the town’s first town hall separate from the church.

Also in this building were held the first meetings of the fledgling Trinitarian (Congregational) Church parish, those who wished a separation from the First Parish, which was becoming Unitarian.

While painted green, this was known as the “Old Green Store.” In 1888, it was remodeled in the Colonial Revival style by Willard Bullard, who had been raised in Wayland, but lived in Cambridge and used Kirkside as a country retreat.

-
- 3 Mark C. Sibley House
30 Cochituate Road
1818; dwelling
yellow, clapboard, Federal/Greek Revival

This house was one of the village dwellings built on land that was considered and rejected as the site for the present First Parish Church. The first owner and resident was Mark C. Sibley, once innkeeper at Pequod Inn. Various families lived here over the years. Deacon Richard Heard lived the last few years of his life here.



Mark C. Sibley House



Kirkside

-
- 4 Judge Mellen House
24 Cochituate Road
ca. 1823; dwelling
white, clapboard. hipped roof, Federal

This house was built by Dr. Ebenezer Ames, well-known physician, who lived here until 1830 when he built another home on Old Sudbury Road (23) and moved there.

From 1831 to 1875, it was the home of Judge Edward Mellen, one of Wayland's most prominent citizens. He was made Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Court of Common Pleas in 1855. The two-room law office on the green also belonged to the Judge who was a close friend of the Rev. Francis Wayland. This may have influenced the choice of the name of the town.



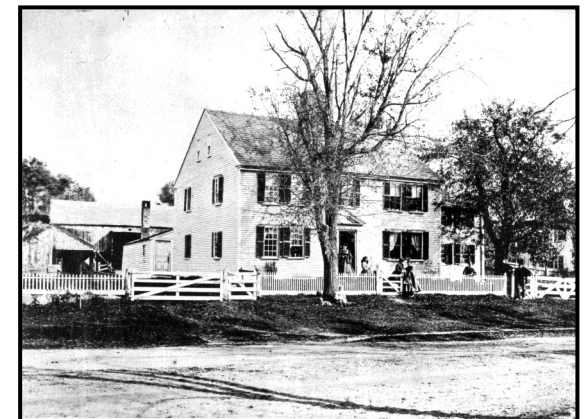
Judge Edward Mellen House

-
- 5 Grout-Heard House
12 Cochituate Road
ca. 1740, 1800 present form; Wayland Historical Society
house-museum
yellow ochre, clapboard, center chimney, ridge roof, Colonial

This house was built as it is now about 1800 by Silas Grout, blacksmith. Architectural historians think that part of the north end appears to have been built around 1740.

In the mid-1800s, it was a double house, one-half occupied by Newell Heard and his wife, Jerusha Grout, and the other half by William Grout, miller, and his sister, Susan. The Heard family occupied the house throughout the nineteenth century to 1955.

The house was moved about one-third of a mile northwest on Old Sudbury Road to make way for the new 1878 Wayland Town Hall, which was built on this site in 1879. In the 1950s the land on which the house sat was acquired by the Raytheon Company. Following the death of the last member of the Heard family living there, Miss Blanche Heard, granddaughter of Newell, Raytheon gave the house to the Wayland Historical Society. The house was moved back to its original site in 1962, after the large Stick-Style Town Hall was torn down.



Grout-Heard House in an 1868 photograph.

-
- 6 Wayland Passenger Railroad Station
1 Cochituate Road
1881; non-profit gift shop known as the Depot
red, 19th century, board and batten construction, Stick Style

The station was built in 1881, as a passenger station for the Massachusetts Central Railroad. After waiting for twenty years, townspeople were delighted to have rail service, which provided many trains daily to Boston and extended to North Hampton. This ease of access helped swell the resident population.

From about 1960 the station saw little use and after the train was discontinued, the town purchased the station in order to preserve it. Now known as the Depot, it is a fine, unspoiled example of rural railroad station architecture of the railroad heyday and is one of the best preserved on the old Massachusetts Central Railroad which later became the Boston and Maine.

Prior to the railroad era, this was the site of the Revolutionary period schoolhouse. After a new brick schoolhouse was built (17) in 1808 the 18th century schoolhouse was sold to Nathaniel Reeves, who added on to it to make a store. Reeves sold it to Newell Heard, by which time it was known as the “Old Red Store.” “Uncle Newell” operated it as a dry goods country store for forty years and served as the town’s first postmaster. In the late 1870s, Lorenzo Lovell moved the old store to his property (7) incorporated it into his barn.

Wayland Railroad Station in late 19th century.



-
- 7 Jonathan Fiske Heard – Lorenzo Lovell House
11 Cochituate Road
ca. 1820, 1870s alterations; dwelling and barn
white, clapboard, hipped roof, Federal

This house was built by Jonathan Fiske Heard, and was the birthplace in 1825 of Franklin Fiske Heard, noted lawyer and authority on criminal law. At one time it was lived in by Leonard Wood, grandfather of Leonard Wood, Chief of Staff of the United States Army.

In 1874, Lorenzo K. Lovell bought the house and soon purchased the Old Town House (8), which he opened as a country store, and also the Old Red Store (6), which he attached to his barn and used as a carriage house. This addition can be seen at the southern end of the red barn.

After Lorenzo’s death, his daughter, Sarah, continued to live here until her death at over 90 years of age in the early 1970s. Lovell relatives now live here.



Jonathan Fiske Heard—Lorenzo Lovell House

-
- 8 Wayland Town House (Collins' Market)
21 Cochituate Road
1841; market (1976), offices (2013)
white, columned, clapboard, Greek Revival

This building was constructed in 1841 as the town's first distinctly municipal building through the generosity of James Draper who gave the land and building. It has filled many town functions: town meeting place (1841 to 1878), first public library and elementary school.

After construction of the 1878 Town Hall across the street, on the site of the Grout-Heard House (5), the town sold this building to Lorenzo Lovell, who used it as a grocery and general store, and sometimes a post office. He permitted Roman Catholic services and other special programs to be held on the second floor for a time. By the 1920s it was known as Collins Market until being rehabilitated for office space in the 1980s.



1841 Town House as L. Lovell's Market in the late 1800s

-
- 9 Wayland Post Office Building
25 Cochituate Road
ca. 1895; real estate office (1976), offices (2013)
light yellow, clapboard, gabled-front

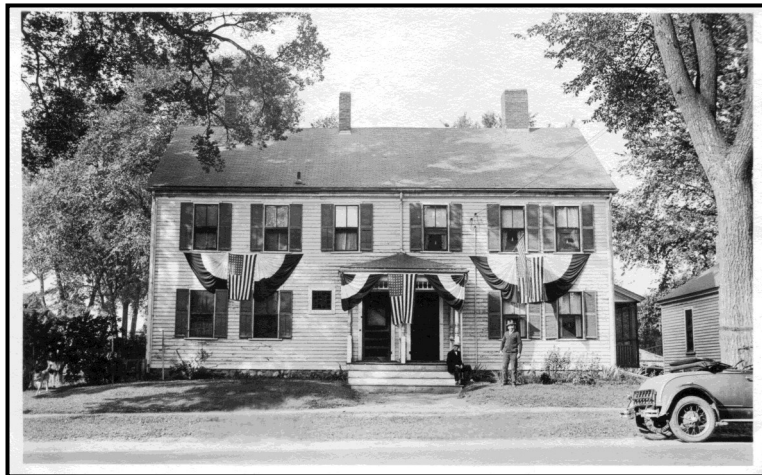
This was built as the town's first separate post office building by Jeremiah Mullen, who owned the house (10) on the south side. His daughter, Hannah was the postmistress for about 15 years. Prior to that time, the post office had been located in various general stores—depending on the political party in power.



ca. 1895 Wayland Post Office

- 10 George Smith House and Store
31 Cochituate Road
1845; dwelling and book shop (1976), medical office (2013)
gray-blue, clapboard, Federal

George Smith built this double house in 1845, and it was used as a store, dwelling, and sometimes as a post office for about fifty years. About 1895, Jeremiah Mullen, then the owner, built the little structure to the north for a post office (9).



1930

The George Smith House and Store



2010

- 11 Judge Mellen's Law Office
35 Cochituate Road--on the green
ca. 1829
white, clapboard, hip-roofed, Federal style, two rooms

This is a typical early nineteenth century village law office, one of twenty-five still in New England and one of five of its type (with two rooms). Constructed for Samuel H. Mann, lawyer, about 1829, it was sold in about 1830 together with the dwelling across the road (3) to Edward Mellen who practiced law here until 1872. As mentioned, Judge Mellen became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas Court. Franklin Fiske Heard (7) studied here with Judge Mellen around 1850.

After Judge Mellen's retirement, the office was used for a time by lawyer Somerby, but remained in the possession of the Mellen family, passing by marriage of a Mellen granddaughter into the Sears family, and was later given to the town.

A certificate placing the Wayland Center Historic District on the National Register hangs in this building, along with a more complete description of Judge Mellen's life.



The Mellen Law Office

-
- 12 Capt. Edward Pousland House
43 Cochituate Road
1866; Unitarian Parish House (1976), residence (2013)
white, clapboard, Italianate style

Capt. Edward Pousland, retired sea captain, built this house in 1866 as a dwelling.

In 1907, Jonathan Maynard Parmenter purchased it and gave it to the First Parish in memory of his brother, Henry Dana Parmenter. It was used as a parsonage until 1953 and as parish house until 1984 when it was returned to residential use.



Captain Edward Pousland House

The remaining properties on this tour are outside the Historic District. As we head south on Cochituate Road to 55, we pass the present edifice of the Trinitarian Congregational Church. The original church, built in 1835, with its vestry and earlier 1828 chapel, was burned down in 1922. The main part of the present church was dedicated in 1928, and additions were made in 1955, the 1970s, and 2010.

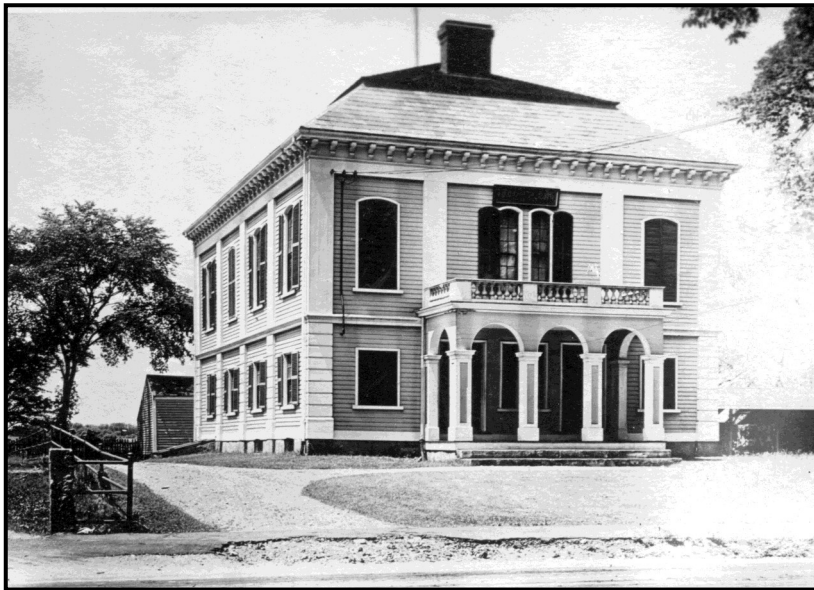


*West side of Cochituate Road looking south in early 20th century.
1835 Trinitarian Church (burned); 1855 High School/Odd
Fellows Hall; 1896 High School (demolished).*

Across the street from the first Trinitarian Church building (then known as the Evangelical Trinitarian Church) was the village townhouse of Horace Heard, built in 1840, and moved to 4 Winthrop Place by 1900. He was the owner of the Green Store (2) for much of the 19th century.

-
- 13 First Wayland High School
55 Cochituate Road
1854; meeting place for Trinitarian Church
white, clapboard, Italianate

This building, a fine example of the Italianate style, was built by the town in 1854 as its first high school. Early principals of this school were Miss Lydia Draper and Miss Anna Dudley. Soon after it was constructed, the town seriously considered placing the library here. In 1896, the high school moved to larger quarters next door (the Annex building, demolished in 1978), and the Odd Fellows (Pequod Lodge) purchased this building.



Wayland High School, later Pequod Lodge of Odd Fellows Hall

Across the street and a little south was the village residence of noted townsman, the Rev. John B. Wight. His 1815 house was moved to the end of Bennett Road around 1908. Farther south from this site and north of Pine Brook, land for the second cemetery was purchased in 1835. It was laid out as the Center Cemetery, which today is called South Cemetery.

Returning to the Center, we take a detour east on the Boston Post Road along a section that once had several shops on the north side and residences on the south side of the road--when the road was located closer to the church. A water wheel along the brook provided power for Ira Draper's shoe shop and the Pequod Inn in the late 1800s.



Pequod Inn, built in 1771 and demolished in 1928, as it appeared in late 19th century.

-
- 14 William Bridge House
213 Boston Post Road
ca. 1833, with east wing possibly 100 years older; dwelling
white, clapboard (main portion), Greek Revival

The oldest part of this house is believed to have been built by tanner Benjamin Poole, who had his tannery across the road in the mid-1700s. In 1833, William Bridge, at age 60, built the main part of the house, abutting it to the early wing. William was the son of the Rev. Josiah Bridge (22). He is reported to have been one of the wealthiest men in the Commonwealth according to an 1851 booklet titled *Rich Men of Massachusetts*. William died here in 1855, and his heirs sold the property at auction.



The William Bridge House

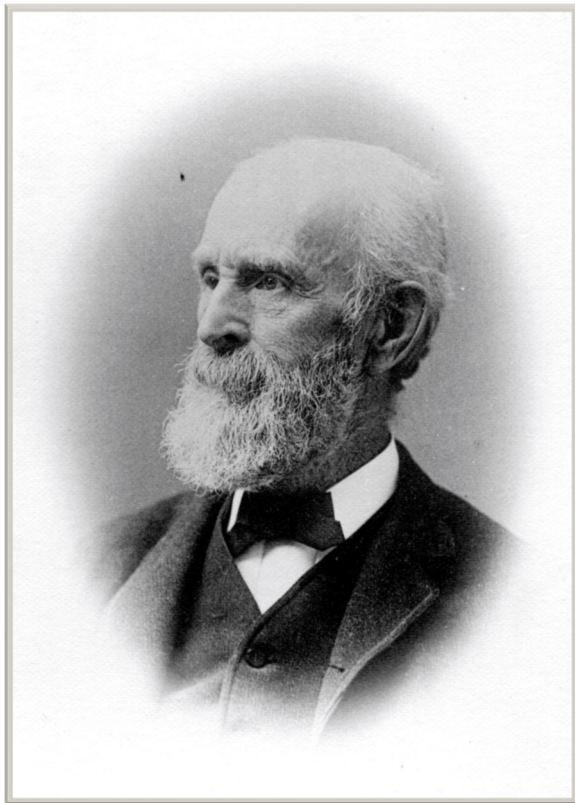
-
- 15 Noyes-Morse House
202 Boston Post Road
ca. 1772; dwelling
gray, shingled, Colonial

This house was built by Jonas Noyes (d. 1775), who also owned the gristmill at nearby Mill Pond. William Wyman married Noyes' daughter and became the miller, living here until 1829. When another daughter, Eunice Noyes, married Ephraim Morse in 1812, half of the house passed into the Morse family. Both sides were occupied by Morses on the 1865 census. Deacon Jonas Morse, who built a store on the common, lived here until 1890.



Noyes-Morse House

Our next detour is to investigate the nineteenth century properties on the south and north sides of the village green that are not in the Historic District. As earlier mentioned, several stores have disappeared from this common land, and a livery stable and store south of the green and near the brook are also gone. When the road was widened, the stables were moved to Millbrook Road, on land in back of the present Public Safety Building.



James Sumner Draper (1811-1896)

-
- 16 Pousland Office Buildings
231 Boston Post Road
offices
233 Boston Post Road
dentist's office
ca. 1873

These two village structures were built about 1873 by Capt. Edward Pousland who lived at 43 Cochituate Road (12), probably for use by village shopkeepers and artisans. They were once similar in structure, with simple rectangular lines, gable end to the road, and blend in with the village appearance around the green. Both buildings have been altered substantially in the last 20 years. The first building (#231) had an old barn attached to the rear, which was used for offices. According to James S. Draper in his street listing (*Annals*), Theodore S. Sherman lived in the second house after it was built and had a shoe shop and store next door.

-
- 17 Former School House
19 Pelham Island Road
1808, office building (1976), hair salon (2013)
stone veneer, brick

The gabled part of this building was originally a schoolhouse—Center School #3—and is said to have been built of bricks from the claypits off Claypit Hill Road. In 1841, the schoolroom was moved to the Town House built that year, and in 1842, James Draper remodeled this brick building into a family home, where Russells lived for many years. Before World War II, it was still largely unchanged when it was the Bigwood residence and they ran a taxi service. In 1956, the West Newton Savings Bank purchased the building and greatly enlarged it. Within the last decade the building has been so radically altered that none of the old brick schoolhouse is visible in what remains.

-
- 18 Frost-Ward House
13 Pelham Island Road
1838; office building
green, synthetic siding, Greek Revival

This two-story village residence, now converted to offices, was built in 1838 by James Draper as a simple and attractive village home. First occupied by the Rev. Leonard P. Frost, the Ward family acquired it in 1843. During this short period, the Reverend Frost was active in Wayland as headmaster of the Wayland Academy, which moved into the second floor of the Town House (8), and at its peak had over 100 pupils. Frost also started a forum or “Lyceum” in the same building.

Wards lived here for about a century before it became an office building.



Frost-Ward House

Between (18) and (10) is a small store and office building which served as the Wayland Post Office from 1948 to 1952.

A final loop on this Village Tour takes us north along Concord Road to Bow Road, then west to Old Sudbury Road, and back to Wayland Center.

On Concord Road, just past the junction with the railroad tracks, is a triangle of land on our left where several town businesses were located for over 150 years. (27) A blacksmith was here during the early Wayland Center period. Dr. Ebenezer Roby and his heirs owned this land, where tanyards existed during the Revolution. On the same side of the street and north of this triangle, several generations of Roby physicians had an office and ran a store until early in the nineteenth century. By 1830, Timothy Allen was running a tailoring business on the store site.

Across the road is the present Wayland Public Library, built in 1900, on land given to the town by the Robys. The large home north of the Library was built in 1888 by Warren G. Roby, Library benefactor, after the original Roby homestead burned the preceding year.



Warren Gould Roby House

-
- 19 Henry Reeves House
20 Concord Road
1816, dwelling
red, clapboard, Federal

In 1816 this house was constructed by Henry Reeves, a carpenter, son of Jacob, Esq. (the “Squire” of the Reeves Tavern) and grandson of the first Jacob Reeves who built Reeves Tavern. Henry lived here with his family; his daughter, Mary, remained until about 1900.

Its twentieth century architect-owner, Edwin B. Goodell, Jr. took care to preserve its nineteenth century features and also designed several nearby dwellings to conform to the older architecture of the area.

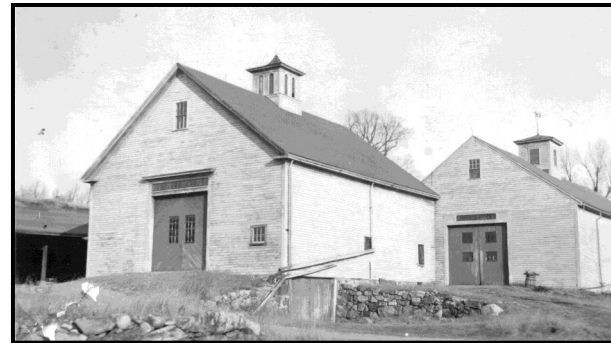


Henry Reeves House

-
- 20 Jonathan Parmenter House
1 Bow Road, was known as 28 Concord Road
1775; dwelling and barn
light pink/beige clapboard, Colonial

This house was built in 1775 by Jonathan Parmenter on the site of the original house of John Parmenter, who settled here in 1639 and kept the town’s first tavern in the seventeenth century. There are old stonewalls on the site and old cellar holes to the west of the present dwelling. Jonathan Maynard Parmenter and his brother had large dairy barns on this property in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The house was owned by the Parmenter family until the 1920s. Jonathan Maynard Parmenter’s will left funds for the Library, a new water supply, and the Parmenter Health Center.



*19th century
Parmenter
Barns*



*Jonathan Parmenter
House*

At 13 Bow Road is located the wooden “Street” schoolhouse, moved in 1854 from 59 Old Sudbury Road, where it had been built in 1841. In the first part of the nineteenth century, a brick “Street” schoolhouse was near the outlet of Baldwins Pond. When the district began to include the center area as well, this wooden schoolhouse was built closer to the Village and the old brick one was turned into a residence by James Draper for Deacon William Baldwin in 1841. This wooden schoolhouse was used by the town until early in the twentieth century, when it was converted to a residence.

21 Elisha Rice House
17 Bow Road
residence
ca. 1800

light grey-blue, colonial, clapboard

Wheelwright Elisha Rice built this house soon after he moved here in 1800. Into Rice’s house there may be incorporated a house or a shop of an earlier vintage. Well into the nineteenth century the house continued to be occupied by village artisans. Three successive cordwainers lived in it until the 1840s.



*Elisha Rice
House*

Farther west along Bow Road, on land occupied by the Rutter family for many generations, stands a renovated old red barn. The barn is probably part of the old Rutter homestead, although the present house is much newer.

22 Parson Josiah Bridge House
47 Old Sudbury Road
ca. 1761; dwelling
yellow, clapboard, Colonial with Colonial Revival porch

This house was the home of the minister, the Reverend Bridge, from 1761 when he came to Sudbury until his death in 1801. His sons, William and Aaron, kept a store in part of the house from 1790 to 1815.

It is possible that the date of the house is around 1740, when the previous minister, the Rev. William Cook, was helped to rebuild his house after a fire.



Parson Josiah Bridge House

Returning to the center on Old Sudbury Road, we pass fields and former Raytheon land (now part of the new Town Center and housing development) that was used as farm land throughout the nineteenth century. The old Bridle Point Ridge and road of the same name were located in this area across from the Ames House (23).

-
- 23 Dr. Ebenezer Ames House
15 Old Sudbury Road
1830 dwelling and 19th century barn
red, clapboard, two wings, Federal

This house was built for Dr. Ames in 1830 when he moved from his first home (4 - later Judge Mellen's). It was planned as a double residence for himself and for the first minister of his recently organized church--the Trinitarian or Orthodox church--which broke away from the First Parish in about 1828. The north wing of the house was used as a parsonage for many years.

Dr. Ames, a well-known doctor and Trinitarian Deacon for thirty years, lived here until his death in 1861. A married daughter then resided here.



*Dr. Ebenezer
Ames House*

-
- 24 Zachariah Bryant, Jr. House
10 Old Sudbury Road
dwelling and rebuilt barn
ca. 1770
light yellow, Colonial Revival, clapboard

Zachariah Bryant, Jr., the original owner, went to the Battle of Concord and Lexington from this house. It was then a farm home located at the corner of Bridle Point Road. It was later moved a little south and it became a village home as East Sudbury and Wayland developed.

The structure is the original—the front door and windows were altered in the early 20th century and the whole structure was moved back away from the road in 2010.

In the nineteenth century, it was the home of James Francis, political figure in town and brother of Lydia Maria Child.



Zachariah Bryant, Jr. House

-
- 25 Luther Gleason Village House
7 Old Sudbury Road
1828, dwelling
taupe, clapboard, hip-roofed, Federal

This house, built by Luther Gleason as a farmstead, stood one-half mile north on Old Sudbury Road. It was moved to this site as a village house by Luther Gleason, Jr., about 1846, after his father's death in 1844. It had several owners and occupants in the nineteenth century, one of them (from 1855) being Miss Cornelia Mudge, an aunt of Miss Blanche Heard (5).



Luther Gleason House

-
- 26 Nathaniel Reeves, Jr. House
5 Old Sudbury Road
1815; dwelling
white, clapboard, hip-roofed, Federal

Nathaniel Reeves, Jr. died at thirty-four of typhus fever, the year he built this house, but his family kept it until the end of the century. Sylvester Reeves, a cousin, married his widow. Sylvester Reeves, Jr., who designed the town seal in 1874 and held many town offices, lived here in the second half of the nineteenth century with his sister, Caroline.



Nathaniel Reeves, Jr. House

-
- 27 William Rice Dudley House
1 Old Sudbury Road
ca. 1848, residence
grey, clapboard. Greek Revival

The present house, built in about 1848, was the dwelling of William Rice Dudley until his death in 1886. An early house, perhaps originally a store, was previously occupied by the Rice family on this site.

Dudley's daughter, Lucy Anna Dudley, was a well-known teacher and administrator in Wayland. She lived in her childhood home until 1908.



William Rice Dudley House

-
- 28 Warren Hunt House
2 Old Sudbury Road
ca. 1844; dwelling
light yellow, clapboard, Greek Revival

This village house, built by Warren Hunt, was occupied by a number of families during the nineteenth century, including several Dudleys. Benjamin Dudley lived here for some years before building the adjacent house at 6 Old Sudbury Road in 1872--the same year he died.

The front, Greek Revival part of the 2 Old Sudbury Road residence is the original house, and several twentieth century additions have been made at the rear.



Warren Hunt House

COCHITUATE VILLAGE

The tour of this Village must be more general than that of the north because its properties have not been researched to the same extent as those in Wayland Center. We can still get a feel for the nineteenth century village life that centered around the shoe industry by walking along present-day Main Street between East and West Plain Streets and Commonwealth Road (Route 30, called Lake Avenue in 1887, and more recently Pond Street) and by detours onto several of the smaller feeder streets off Main Street.

The pictorial representation of Cochituate Village in 1887 (referred to as a Bird's Eye View to distinguish it from the 1889 Atlas/ map showing building footprints and owner's names) will serve as a departure point for viewing the bustling, thickly settled industrial village at the height of its prosperity. Today, the large factories are all gone, along with most of the grand Victorian homes of the factory owners, but we can imagine their appearance from this old bird's eye view. The authenticity of its reproduction is vouched for by old-time Cochituate residents; furthermore there are enough buildings remaining to affirm the appearance of the village in the late 19th century.

By 1887, a public water supply was established that carried water from Rice's Pond (called Snakebrook Reservoir today) in wooden pipes to Cochituate Village. Horsecars were bringing laborers to and from the nearby center of Natick, and within the next few years, electric lights would be installed and eight electric streetcars would be needed to carry the Natick factory workers. "City life" was reflected in the circulation of a newspaper, the convenience of sidewalks, and the use of a lockup—especially needed for the brawling immigrant bachelors after payday on Saturday night. This scene contrasted sharply with rural Wayland, where the livestock continued to outnumber the people.

In 1880, the population of all of Wayland was 1,962, but the exact numbers of the Cochituate district are not available. It represented at least half then, and at the beginning of the twentieth century, it would account for two-thirds of the town total. Although its numbers were swelled in the daytime by outside laborers, many of the 557 wage earners who worked in seven shoe industry establishments (U.S. Census figures, 1880) within the Village were residing in houses or tenements along its main streets.

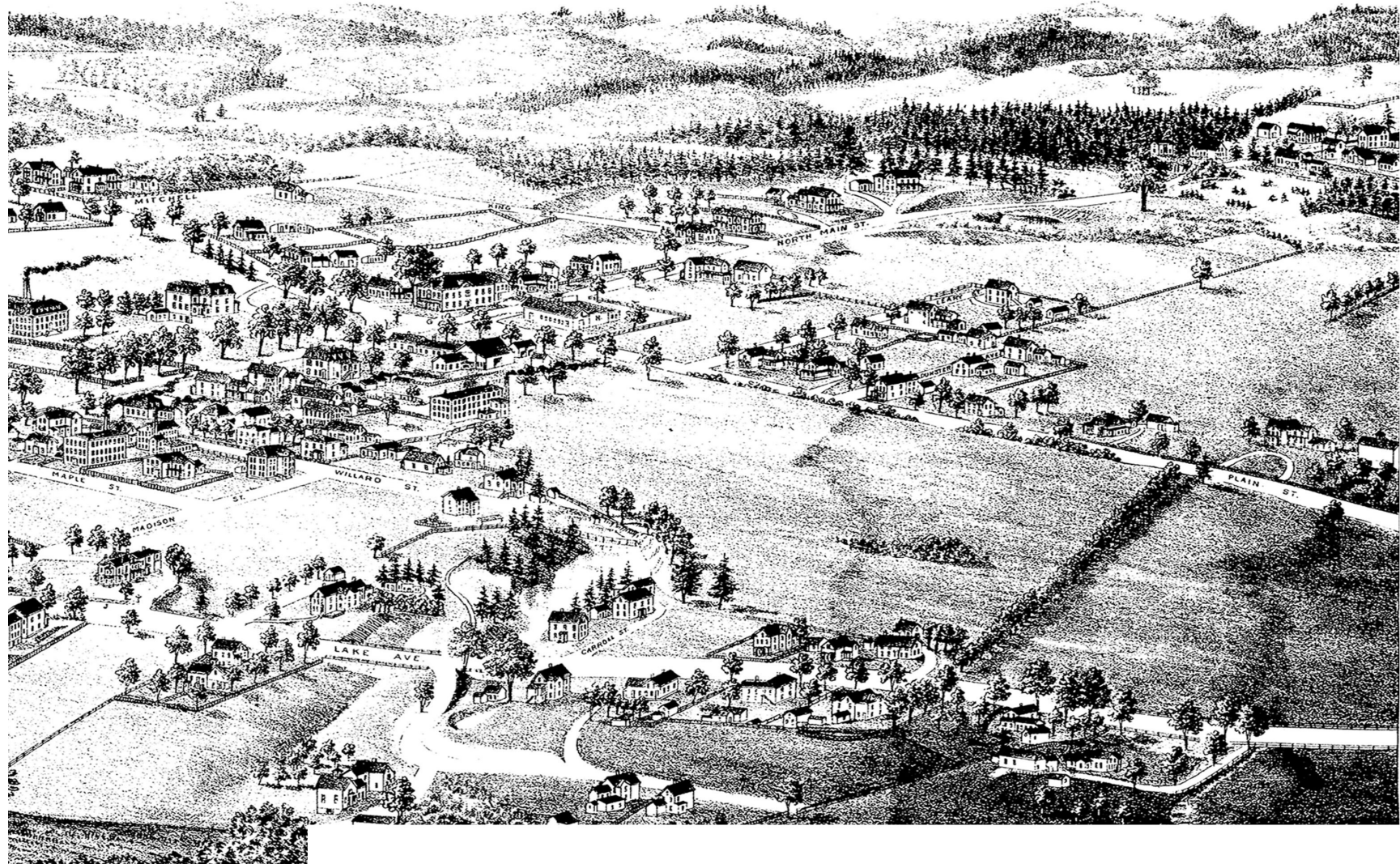
The 1887 Town Directory lists Bents, Deans, and Griffins as factory owners. For twenty years prior to that time, the census figures show that many additional, small establishments were in operation that came and went, or changed hands. At first, the old-time names of Loker, Dudley, and Draper appear, but soon the lists include the names of Hammond, Lyons, Corman, Leary, Howe, and Bryant.

The largest factory of the Village was indisputably the Wm. & J.M. Bent Shoe Manufacturers, being run by sons of James Madison Bent in 1887. Located on the corner of Main Street and Lake Avenue (now Commonwealth Road) (Routes 27 and 30, where the former car repair shop, now shops including Starbucks), it employed over 300 workers in the 1880s. Although this factory was significant in output, the total number of shoes manufactured in the town never competed with the amount from such large shoe centers in the state as Brockton or Lynn. Because the major impact this factory had was on the growth and change of the southern end of town, its evolution up to 1887 deserves special notice.

In 1825, William Bent began to cut shoe parts in his house (the 1775 Bent house, demolished in 1983), and by 1830 he began to parcel out shoe pieces to neighbors from a small central factory he opened across the street. His brother, James Madison Bent, who began a country store next door, soon joined him in the business. By 1837, the factory had quickly caught on and thirty-one males and fifteen females were employed. James Madison Bent was inventive and soon installed a horse-powered treadmill. More and more kitchens

Cochituate Village, 1887

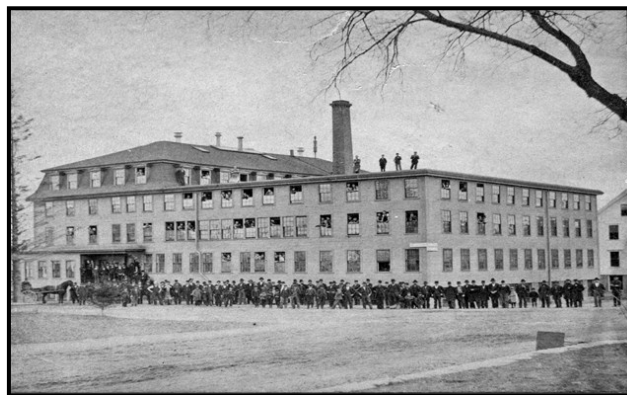




and small shops called “ten-footers” out back allowed local hands to cut, peg, and sew the shoe parts together to make brogans or heavy workshoes for the Bents, who shipped them to Boston, where they were sent to the south by the firm of Potter, White & Bailey. During this time, when the Bents had the only factory in the area and the Bents’ country store, located at the establishment, was the most popular place in this part of town, the area was called Bentville. At the store, town meeting notices were posted. Wages were paid in money or under a barter system by which workers received clothing, food, and household items instead of money.

With the addition of sewing and pegging machines and other labor-saving devices in the late ‘50s, the factory enlarged, immigrant workers were hired, and the work was no longer farmed out. Other establishments sprang up that made brogans and “plow shoes,” such as the Dean, Griffin, and Williams shops, which continued the practice of farming out some of the work.

The Bent factory prospered until the 1880s when it ran into difficulties, first because its exclusive agent, Potter, White & Bailey, went bankrupt, and second because the five sons of J.M. Bent, who took over the business, never had the same skill or success as their father and uncle in this field. The Bent factory turned to making “fine shoes,” but continued to have financial troubles until it was sold to the Deans in 1895.



*Bent Shoe
Factory in
mid 1800s*

None of the factories on the 1887 map (recognized by their smoking chimneys) is still standing today. The Griffin factory was the one on Bradford Street just west of Main Street. After moving around to several locations, the Griffins built here, incorporating the old Lyons factory (formerly located at the intersection of West Plain Street with Main Street—called Lyons Corner). Some of the rubble left after the burning of the Griffin factory once could be seen between the back of the block of stores and the basketball court (former tennis courts) by the Cochituate Ballfield.

The Dean family operated in more than one location from 1870 on. They took over the Hammond shops on Maple Street, as well as a Griffin establishment nearby, which were then united. The Coburn Dean factory was on the present site of the Church of the Good Shepard’s (formerly St. Zepherin’s) rear parking lot. When Charles Dean bought out the Bent factory in 1895, the Williams family purchased the combined Dean factory along Maple and Willard Streets (at Winter Street). Scrap discards from these factories have recently turned up in yard diggings in this area, as they have been unearthed elsewhere throughout the Village.

Aside from Griffin’s, there was other shoe activity along Bradford Street. Between the rear portion of the present Cochituate School and the large dwelling on the south side of Bradford Street, a red-colored factory is remembered by old time Cochituate residents. It does not show on the 1887 map, nor does the large dwelling (today, a four-apartment house). The dwelling is believed to have been the Chessman factory, either built or moved there by the Chessmans, who also purchased the two houses still standing toward Pemberton Road. This factory has often been referred to as the “Beehive,” which was a large, three-storied boarding house with cubicles into which a large number of immigrant workers were squeezed as closely as “bees.” This building was across the street on about the southeast corner of the Cochituate Ballfield. After it burned, it was either torn down or moved across the street and remodeled. Other

tenement houses can still be seen today along Main Street, but none so notorious.

Most of the grand residences of the Bent family, built in the 1850s to 1870s, when their shoe factory was most prosperous, have been torn down.

James Madison Bent had built a summer home on Dudley Pond that was a showplace—a huge parapetted Swiss chalet that overlooked the Pond. By the end of the century, times had changed and the Bents rented the house and adjacent buildings that were converted into a factory run by Bent, Scotland, and Campbell (1895 to 1900). The factory buildings burned, but the house was saved and later moved to West Plain Street (near present-day Bent Avenue), where it fell into disrepair and was torn down about 1927.



*James Madison Bent
(1812-1888)*

On the site of the old Cochituate Motors showroom, now TD North Bank, was a huge Victorian home of James Madison Bent and later his son, Ralph; it was torn down about 1953. Two other large Bent residences along Lake Avenue (Commonwealth Road) have disappeared: the James A. Bent home where Dom's Cleaners now stands; and the W.H. Bent residence, which the Williams family and

more recently the Cochituate Nursing Home occupied, before it was torn down in 1971. Between these two on the 1889 Atlas/Map is the home of Abigail Bent Fairbanks, in use today.

William Harrison Bent also had a summer place in Lokerville, and it is still standing at the junction of Loker Street and Alden Road.

The original Bent homestead (built in 1775) on the southeast corner of Routes 30 and 27 was demolished in 1983. On the 1889 atlas/map, it is not identified, and is believed to have been a boardinghouse for factory workers at the time. Earlier, it had served as a stagecoach tavern and was called the Hawthorne Inn in 1866, and later the Cochituate House.

One factory owner's home that has retained the Victorian elegance of that period is the former Gibbs-Waterman Funeral Home, near the corner of Pemberton and Commonwealth Roads. Constructed by George Damon, it was the residence of Noble C. Griffin in 1889. Griffin built up his fortune by employing local and immigrant workers for low wages and long hours. About 20 years ago it became part of a small condominium development that saved the historic house. The Deans were also noted for poor working conditions. One of the showiest expressions of the factory-rich that can be seen in Cochituate Village today is the Dean Mausoleum in Lakeview Cemetery (a town cemetery in 1871). There are stories of the wagons bringing granite blocks through town for this Mausoleum, the only one of its kind in all four Wayland cemeteries.

Another imposing factory owner's home, outside the Village but worthy of description, belonged to Michael Simpson, owner of the Carpet Company in Saxonville. His mansion, located on West Plain Street near the Old Connecticut Path intersection, was the most elegant in many towns around. Simpson had imported workmen to do the hand carving and fine woodwork. A tower with an onion-shaped dome was a vertical windmill that pumped Dudley Pond water onto the beautifully kept grounds. Built for his young wife,

Evangeline Marr, who supposedly inspired the song, “Bird in a Gilded Cage,” this mansion passed from the Simpsons by the early 1900’s and later achieved a reputation as the Mansion Inn and as a dance hall before it burned down in 1953.

The opulent Victorian architecture as seen in the Simpson mansion and other splendid factory owners’ homes has gone, but there remains some of the grillwork, turrets, pillars, and other ornamentation that we can see on old Village houses today; they serve as a reminder of the taste of that period.

Except for Simpson’s estate, the work on the village stores and dwellings was done by local carpenters, especially from the Loker and Mitchell families. O.H. Harris, builder, had a shop according to the 1875 county atlas, located directly opposite Damon Street in a block of stores. Tradition says that the Fullick family built the Car Barn and that in the process, a small tornado knocked the first framework down, but none of the workmen was hurt. Most of the heavy work of hauling building materials in dump carts was done by “Chuck” Fairbanks and his team of workhorses.

On a less-grand scale than the Simpson and Griffin mansions and the Dean Mausoleum are the factory owners’ homes still located along Commonwealth Road—the Chester Williams’s at 128, with a retaining wall at the sidewalk, and the O.J. Lyons’s at 132. (Another Lyons house is the present 14 West Plain Street, near the old Lyons Corner.) The Chessman family owned a large home at the corner of Shawmut and Main, which now stands at 12 Shawmut Avenue.

Along Pemberton Road, other smaller factory owners’ houses were located and we can note the small shops attached to the back of several of them on the right side of the street, heading toward Commonwealth Road. Deans, Bryants, and Cormans all lived here at one time. Pemberton Road was called German Hill Road on the 1887 map for several German families that had settled along it. (Anti-German sentiment during World War I caused the change in

name.) The Schleicher family lived for many years at 26 Pemberton Road. The two outbuildings on the property were probably used for their shoe business. Almost every house along this road dates back to 1865 or earlier. Later in the century, when shoemaking was no longer the only local industry, the Cochituate Oil Proof Company opened. This factory, which produced shoe glue, was located on the left, at the rear of the house and grounds of 9 Pemberton Road.

There were many other small shoe shop owners and village tradesmen whose homes remain to tell of the village life over 100 years ago. The old Village homes of these people can be seen on a walk along Shawmut, Damon to Stanton, and Harrison to Pemberton Roads. Commonwealth Road is lined with almost all the same houses depicted on the 1887 map, and, in spite of being along a busy highway, has retained an authentic nineteenth century flavor.

The junction of Commonwealth Road and Main Street once had commercial blocks with a pharmacy, butchers and other stores providing local services. Only the block 70 to 76 Main Street remains as the others were demolished over the last 20 years. The



Main Street in Cochituate Village

post office and a branch of the local library once were also located in the block of stores that are no longer extant.

Another concentration of local stores across the street was removed when the Hannah Williams Playground was deeded to the town by Arthur Williams, in honor of his mother in about 1920. All the sons of the Williams family did well in business, several in Cochituate and others branching out in all directions. The Robinson & Jones Coal Office, once located on Damon Street, was part of a once-prosperous Natick business. On the southern end of the Playground site on the upper floor of the Bent barn was the box factory of James A. Bent (and later his widow, Annie), which operated until the beginning of the twentieth century. He would send a team of horses to pick up box parts that arrived by freight at the Wayland railroad station, then nailed the shoe boxes together in his barn.

Before the arrival of the trolleys, and before stores or the box factory were on this site, the Bents had a stable for workhorses to the rear of the present Playground. The Bent horses and wagons picked up leather from Boston, and from its central factory it distributed the parts to the “ten-footers” to be worked on locally. Then the finished shoes were delivered by horse and wagon to Boston to be shipped south. This process had ended many years before the 1887 Village Bird’s Eye period. By 1875, William A. Loker was operating a livery stable and tenement where the parking lot of the new bank is today. A later livery stable belonged to the Garfield family at the corner of Stanton Street and Commonwealth Road.

On Main Street, south of the Commonwealth Road intersection, part of the block of stores between the Bent house and the Sunoco station date back to 1855, including a beer brewery and a stage depot. A blacksmith shop was along this side of the street (about where Sunoco is now located) and across from it was the home of the smith—existing today at the corner of Corman’s Lane. This Lane once led to the home of a small factory owner, J. Corman. At

present, we can see the three-storied tenement house along this Lane, which has been restored as a dwelling.

Across from the Hannah Williams Playground stands the Cochituate Methodist Church, containing the original building dedicated in 1866 as the first church in the Village. The Methodist Society that began in Lokerville in 1850 had a meetinghouse too far removed from this growing center in Cochituate. It was discontinued there and twenty-one families (among them Lokers, Dudleys, and Damons still in the congregation) petitioned for a new church. For a short time, the group met in Loker Hall, which was located on Main Street just south of the present Methodist Church about where a newspaper store, known as Gerald’s Store, was in the mid 20th century. When the new church building was ready, the Wayland Unitarian minister, L.K. Frost, accepted the invitation to preach. By the mid-1890s, the growing congregation was ready to put on an addition, add a steeple and raise the building several feet to accommodate a vestry. The old Fullick residence behind the Methodist Church on Damon Street is now owned by the Church. The Village fire station and lockup were behind the Church along Harrison Street.

Another church was soon needed for the increasing numbers of French-Canadian and Irish families whose denomination was Catholic. At first, these people were forced to walk to Saxonville or Natick for Sunday Mass, but by 1880, they were able to hold their own services, first in the Lokerville School and then in the Knights of Labor Hall. Because there were more French-Canadian than Irish who petitioned the archbishop for a new church, the one built in 1889-90 was in the French style, the service was half in French and half in English, and the priest was French (first Father Rainville, then Father Jacques). This custom was carried down well into the twentieth century. The first St. Zepherin’s Church fronted on Willard Street on land purchased from Alfred Dean, where it was used for parish activities until demolished in the late 20th century. The modern St. Zepherin’s Church (now Church of the Good Shepard), built in the 1960s,

fronts on Main Street across from the Cochituate School. The cemetery for this parish (still in use) was located off Mitchell and King Streets, and a visit there will reveal the gravestones of many of the early French-speaking families in Cochituate. At first, the Irish families preferred to join with the other Irish Catholic families in the northern end of town, who were forming a mission of St. Zepherin's and holding services in the second floor room of Lovell's Store and later in the new Town Hall.

The building now used as a youth house on Maple Street by St. Zepherin's was the carriage house for Charles Dean, Sr., before it was used by the parish priest, Father Jacques, who "commuted" by horse from Natick. Dean's son, Alfred Dean, lived in the present St. Zepherin's Educational Building at the south side of the Shawmut Avenue and Main Street intersection.

There is a story that the dwelling of Charles Dean near the carriage house was torn down in a dispute with the town over tax assessments. Both father and son were at odds with the town over taxes on the old Bent factory and, because of this, they never operated it very long after purchase in 1895, which affected this section economically. Instead, they moved their business to Natick (Whipple and Mill End factories on North Main Street). Charles Dean had become a multimillionaire by the time he retired in 1919. His policy of low wages plus his attitude toward the town did not endear him locally.

The Grade School for the Village was on the same location as the present Cochituate School, but it was farther back from the road, about where the gymnasium is in the present building. There were four primary and grammar schools held in this school, new in 1873, and one grammar school was still being taught at the Lokerville School in 1887. At that time, older students attending high school had to travel to Wayland Center.

Where today's fire station sits, at the intersection of Main and East

Plain Streets, an enormous building, the Car Barn for the Cochituate-Natick Street railway, stood. The horse trolleys in 1884 went to Natick Center; in 1892 they were electric and went to Saxonville, and in 1902, they went to Wayland Center. This trolley network connected with other lines and became so extensive that other centers, like Natick, Framingham, and Newton, seemed close, and Boston was only thirty-five minutes away from Natick. After the shoe industry failed at the end of the nineteenth century, many factory workers were able to remain in Cochituate and commute by trolley to other towns.

The trolleys were taken out of service by 1927 and buses took over, but it was never the same again. Alvin Neale, an old-time Cochituate resident no longer living, shared his reminiscences with the Wayland Historical Society of his transportation-related career. Beginning as a stagecoach driver, he was next the first horse-drawn trolley operator in town; then he drove the electric trolleys; and finally, he was a local bus driver before he retired. Having witnessed Cochituate Village at the peak of its activity, he watched the scene change to the less urban atmosphere of today.

It was common to hear many immigrant tongues in 1887, among them French, German, Albanian, and Greek. The ethnic groups seemed to concentrate in certain areas. German Hill road and French Avenue are reminders of that pattern. The boardinghouses and tenements usually housed one nationality or group of related peoples. It is not clear whether the Albanians were just that, or whether the term covered several peoples of Slavic origin who looked alike to the local people. This group usually arrived as bachelors hoping to later send for families. Their dark complexions, drooping mustaches, burly frames, and unintelligible tongue seemed strange and fearful to many of the old-time residents who remember them.

Recreation for the factory workers was not varied, but there was the Knights of Labor Hall (where Finnerty's is today), where groups

could meet and play card games. Stores and eating places were on the street level. After 1890, the Grange took the building over until it burned down in 1925.



Lyons Corner—Old Knights of Labor Hall

Small shops served home-cooked meals and “liquid refreshments” after the Knights of Labor building changed hands, but taverns appear to have gone out with temperance.

Factory owners, led by the Bents, formed sport teams and bands for their workers. Band concerts were held regularly on the yard of the Methodist Church. The Bent band, sent to participate in the 1875 Centennial celebration at Concord, had won ribbons in factory band competitions. Baseball teams sponsored by different factories competed locally as well as with those of other factory towns, such as Natick and Holliston. The Shoe Peg team of the Bents even played against the Harvard College team in an exhibition game in 1885, winning handily. Its pitcher, Elmer Bent, was so good that he was hired to teach his curve “dropball” to Harvard pitchers. The ballfield was the same as today’s Cochituate Ballfield, only the

teams had become so professional that the entire field had a board fence around it and admission was charged.

With all the waters of Cochituate and Dudley Ponds nearby, recreation should have been available in the form of fishing, boating, and swimming, but these ponds were then restricted as part of the Boston Waterworks system. Lake Cochituate (then Long Pond) was piped along an aqueduct to Boston, and Dudley Pond was connected to it as a standby water supply source. That explains why the concentration of roads and homes along these ponds that we know today, are woods and open spaces on the 1887 map. It was not until after World War I that the Dudley Pond periphery began to be dotted with summer homes, which later became permanent dwellings. By the end of World War II, the boom in housing was reflected in the breaking up of large estates in Wayland, such as the Shaw estate, which became Happy Hollow and Woodridge, and Cochituate began to blend into Wayland. The lands between West Plain Street and Lake Cochituate were also developed. No longer a separate central village, Cochituate was becoming a spread out community in the southern part of the town.

OLD NORTH CEMETERY

Because this cemetery spans all three tours, it is worthy of a special field trip. Located on one of the loveliest spots in town, it overlooks river meadows and Nobscot Hill. Here the earliest settlers of Sudbury Plantation came to bury their dead in unmarked graves surrounding their first meetinghouse.

When the house lots of the first settlers were laid out in 1639, some land was set aside for the first meetinghouse, and the records state one-half acre of land was soon purchased by the town from John Loker for their burial ground. On the southwest slope of the cemetery, near the roadway, a boulder and bronze tablet (A) mark

the location of the first three meetinghouses (1643, 1655, and 1687), which served as church and meeting center for over eighty years. In 1725 came the decision to build the fourth meetinghouse in present-day Wayland Center—to be more central to the newly annexed southern part of the east side—the west side now having its own meetinghouse.

The old burial ground (1) in this area has few stones to remind us of the many original Puritans who settled Sudbury. Only six stones can be located out of the hundred or more settlers who passed away between 1638 and 1700. The uneven ground of this oldest area is undoubtedly where many were buried, and some wills specified that they were to be interred near their church. A local historian, Alfred S. Hudson wrote in 1889 (*History of Sudbury*), “A new grave can hardly be dug without intruding upon an old one.” Each resident in early times had a right to a final resting place here. It was not until much later that families purchased private plots.

The three oldest stones, lying flat, belong to the Goodenow family (B), who were among the original planters who came from England on the *Confidence* in 1638. These were probably local stones, and the cutting and lettering are crude.

The stones from the eighteenth century provide evidence of developing stone-cutting skill and craftsmanship. Some of the earliest ones of this period are (C): How, d. 1713; Stanhope, d. 1702; and Browne, d. 1704. The popularity of death’s heads and crossbones can be seen in many examples, among them the Carter stones (D). Susanah Carter’s (d. 1756) gravestone has a geometric style death’s head, which is probably the work of a member of the Worcester family of Harvard, Massachusetts, where an excellent slate quarry was located. Similar stones carved by this family can be found elsewhere in this cemetery.

Gradually, around the middle of the eighteenth century, gravestones were decorated with cherubs and angels with wings, as seen in the

stones of the Maynard family (E). Here is one family, among many, which lost several children in their youth. Occasionally an angel face on a gravestone exhibits an attempt at portraiture through hair style, mustache, or other distinguished feature.

In the federal period, around 1800, a revival of interest in classical motifs resulted in the use of urns, willow trees, and columns, although older patterns occasionally persisted. On the gravestone of the Rev. Josiah Bridge (F), minister during the Revolution, his initials are inscribed on the urn.

It is fascinating to ponder how the stone carver who crafted Josiah Maynard’s gravestone (G) in 1770 used a pattern not common for another thirty years.

Close to the Maynard family is the grave of Daniel Stone, Jr., d. 1702 (H), with his widow and her next husband buried nearby. An hourglass appears symbolically on stones of this period. Daniel Stone is one of the few smallpox victims buried in this cemetery. It was believed that this dread disease could even be carried after death, and “pox pastures” or graveyards were designated in parts of town, including the Pine Plain near Draper Road and on Pelham Road.

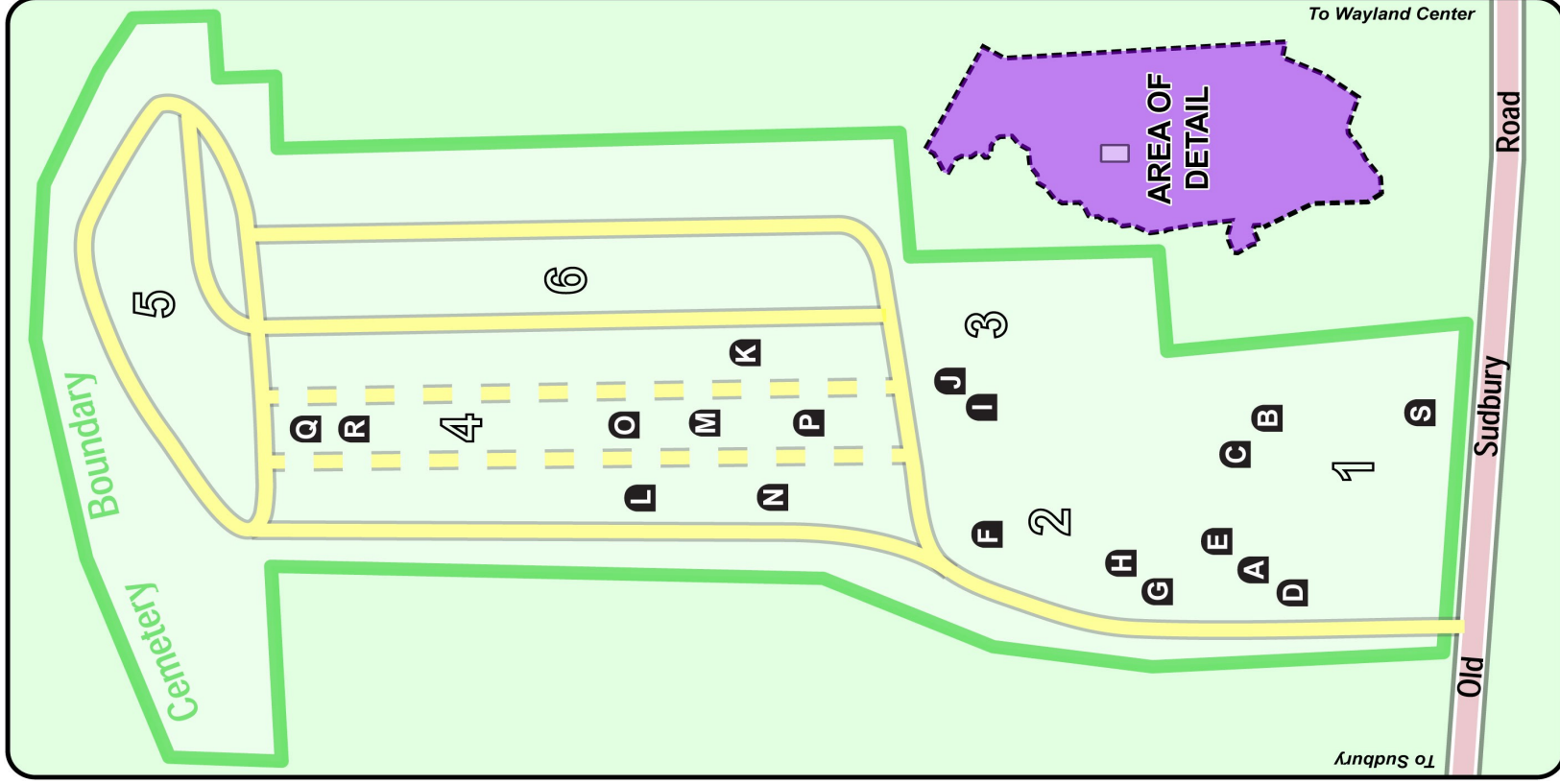
Many of the graves dug just preceding the Revolutionary War are in area 2, which may have originally been Noyes land as a large number of Noyes family graves are here (I). Nearby are the graves of two former slaves of this family, Peter Booz and Flora (J). They are easy to find as they are set at right angles to all the rest, which traditionally “face the East.” A few of the prominent Revolutionary era townsmen are buried near the roadway, including Jacob Reeves, Sr., d. 1794, William Baldwin, d. 1794, and Capt. Richard Heard, d. 1792. Dr. Ebenezer Roby, Jr., d. 1786, is not far away.

Most of our Revolutionary soldiers are buried in area 3, a three-quarter acre parcel bought in 1800 from the Gleason family, who

North Cemetery



- 1 The Old Burial Ground
- 2 Pre-Revolutionary War Area
- 3 Revolutionary War Area
- 4 Town Annex (from Noyes Family)
- 5 Indian Burial Ground
- 6 Additional Area Purchased During 1950's
- A First Meetinghouse Marker
- B Goodenow Family
- C 18th Century Gravestones
- D Carter Family
- E Maynard Family Gravestones
- F Josiah Bridge Grave
- G Josiah Maynard
- H Daniel Stone, Jr.
- I Noyes Family
- J Peter Booz and Flora
- K Reuben Gleason
- L Jonathan Maynard-Parmenter
- M Horace Heard
- N Newell Heard
- O David Baldwin
- P William G. Grout
- Q James Sumner Draper
- R Lydia Maria Child
- S 19th Century Tombs



lived next to the cemetery. The boundary of this addition is indicated by a dry ditch. Memorial flagholders placed by the soldiers' gravestones help us to recognize these men, among whom are the familiar names of Damon, Rutter, Heard, Loker, Smith, Staples, Grout, Rice, Carter, and Russell. The only Wayland (Sudbury) soldier buried in this cemetery who died from war wounds was Thomas Bent, whose wife died on the same day in 1775. They are buried side-by-side in the section (1) just south of the old Goodenow graves.

Before long, the town bought additional land from the heirs of William Noyes (4). This parcel connected the old graveyard with the Indian Burial Ground (5) to the rear, which was already town property. The new Noyes land provided a large area where gravestones were placed between lanes. Today, the lanes are covered over with grass. The oldest single stone in this area is Reuben Gleason (K), d. 1825, which contains a statue atop the stone. Nearby, many prominent Wayland citizens are buried, such as Jonathan Maynard Parmenter (L), d. 1921; Horace Heard (M), d. 1890; Newell Heard (N), d. 1865; David Baldwin (O), d. 1838; William G. Grout (P), d. 1876 ("Uncle Billy," town clerk, miller, surveyor, and ardent Unitarian is buried next to his sister "Aunt Susan," d. 1877, an equally strong Orthodox Congregationalist); James Sumner Draper (Q), d. 1896; and Lydia Maria Child (R), d. 1880.

It has been a tradition since the days of the early settlers that section 5 was originally an Indian burial ground, and it is mentioned by name in early deeds. This may be where the first dead of the Sudbury Plantation were buried before the old burial ground was acquired. Between the roadways are two separate areas with rough, unmarked stones, which could date back to around 1640.

Section 6 is the currently used area and was purchased in the 1950s.

The ceremony surrounding early funerals was simple, in line with Puritan beliefs. Coffins were not used in the first years. A burial cloth was provided by the town to cover the deceased on his way to the graveyard. Records show that new gloves were bought for the occasion of funerals when the body was carried by the hands of friends to the burial spot.

After a bell was installed in the meetinghouse (1687), it rang out when a resident passed away, tolling three times three for a man, and three times two for a woman, followed by the appropriate number strokes for the age of the deceased. Flowers were not used to decorate graves and graveyards became rather overgrown, though paths through them showed that the dead were not forgotten.

In the nineteenth century, tastes and burial customs were no longer so simple. Beginning in 1800, the town spent £50 for a hearse, to be drawn by horses to the cemetery. In 1811, a pall was purchased and in 1816, the town authorized the use of tombs—three of which can be seen near Old Sudbury Road (S).



North Cemetery—Old Sudbury Road

