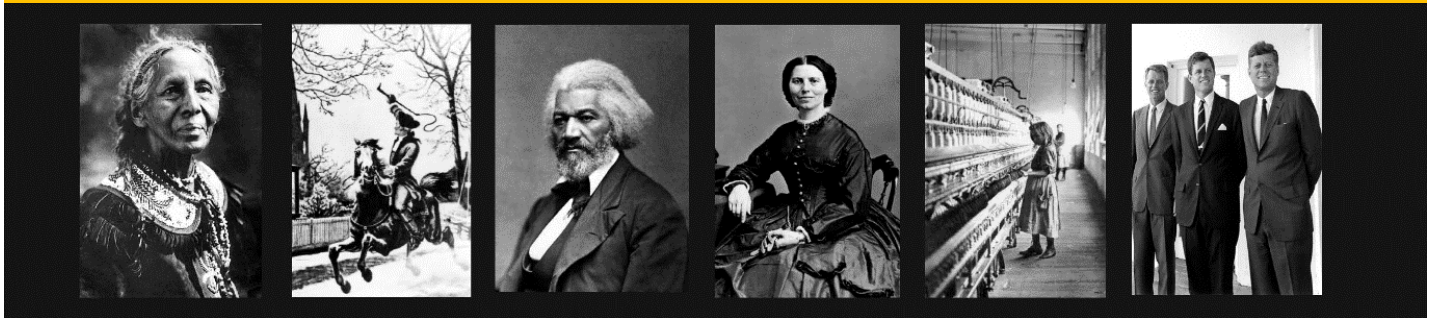


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Romancing the Stone: Invented Irish and Native American Memories in Northampton

ROBERT E. WEIR



Abstract: *A six-foot stone sits atop a hillock off West Street in Northampton. Local lore holds that this is the former site of Gallows Hill and the place where two young Irishmen were hanged in 1806 for a murder they probably didn't commit. There is a plaque upon the stone honoring the two. Not everyone is convinced, however; some think the rough monument venerates the Maminashes, a local Native American family. Other theories also exist. This article explores the truth about the monument. It is a case in historical detection and folklore but, more importantly, an examination of historical change and how historical memories are constructed and recovered. Movie fans will recognize the title, "Romancing the Stone," as the name of a major 1984 Hollywood blockbuster. Dr. Robert E. Weir is a Northampton resident and a retired history professor who most recently taught at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.*¹

* * * * *

When I moved to Northampton, Massachusetts in 1985, my daily drive into town took me down West Street, past a six-foot rough-hewn stone sitting atop a dome-shaped knoll near the crest of Hospital Hill.² I was told that the hillock was once called Gallows Hill and that the stone marked the spot where two Irishmen—Dominic Daley and James Halligan—were hanged in 1806 for a murder they did not commit. For years thereafter, I duly informed students at Smith College of the ghoulish events that once took place within sight of the campus equestrian center, an inaccuracy which I am now quite embarrassed to reveal.

Years later, several locals told me a very different story: that the hill was actually dedicated to Joseph Maminash, a Native American man who fought in the American Revolution. Accounts differed as to whether the monument was honorific or the marker of his reinternment site. And then came other tales: that the stone was erected by bored workers, that somebody at the Northampton State Hospital (NSH) had ordered it, or that it was just a highway marker.

Such discrepancies are irresistible to a social historian with a subfield in folklore such as myself. The narrative gulfs tell us we have entered the realm of folklore, as do the “variants,” a folklorists’ term for conflicting details within the same narrative. Variants alert us that the original story was probably transmitted orally. One can draw lessons from how tales are told, who tells them, and how they change over time. Historians, however, generally demand more tangible evidence. As I began to investigate the truth about the West Street monument, my challenge was to combine oral tradition, deduction, and documentation.

What follows is a narrative about different kinds of “truth.” The reality of the West Street monument is relatively banal, but what the stone reveals about the construction of historical memory is far more enlightening. It is also a case study in the art of historical detection and how tall tales can open the gates of history. I will start with synopses of the two dominant tales—Daley and Halligan and the Maminash family—told in reverse chronological order, as the Irish connection has become primary. In each case, I will explain why neither narrative is true on deductive or evidentiary levels. I will then turn to the paper record to reveal that the monument is in fact associated with a project aimed at improving the NSH, a hospital dedicated to the well-being of the mentally ill that was constructed in 1856. Finally, I will discuss lessons to be learned from twice-told tales and constructed memory.

DALEY AND HALLIGAN MEET THE HANGMAN

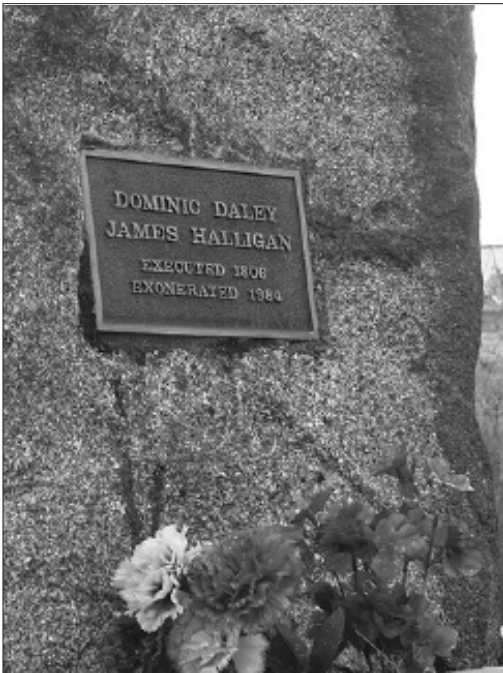
Today, a simple bronze plaque on the monument reads:

Dominic Daley
James Halligan
Executed 1806
Exonerated 1984

Until Governor Michael Dukakis issued his 1984 pardon, no marker formally suggested that this was the spot where, on June 5, 1806, thirty-four-year-old Daley and twenty-seven-year-old Halligan were in any way associated with the knoll in question.³ The two were hanged for the robbery and murder of Marcus Lyon, a crime that occurred in Wilbraham, which is today located in Hampden County, a change that occurred in 1812.⁴ Before that year, Northampton had been the region's primary administrative and judicial center, which partially explains why a reported 15,000 people gathered

to witness an execution at a time in which the town had just 2,500 residents.⁵ Sensationalism and xenophobia explain the rest.

At the time, consensus opinion was that justice had been served. Now, most commentators parallel the Irish duo to Sacco and Vanzetti, who were executed 121 years later. The presumption in both cases is that the men were arrested, convicted, and executed primarily because of their ethnicity and beliefs.⁶ It is certainly true that the willingness of most locals to accept the Daley/Halligan verdict without question reflects prevailing prejudices in early nineteenth-century



Plaque with Plastic Shamrocks

(Photo by Rob Weir)

New England.⁷ The 1783 Treaty of Paris confirmed the independence of the United States twenty-three years earlier, but Western Massachusetts retained many of its Anglo-Puritan ways, including contempt for the Irish and a deep fear of Catholicism.

England's King Henry VIII promulgated the Act of Supremacy in 1534, which disestablished the Roman Catholic Church and proclaimed the monarch the head of the Church of England. From this point forward—aside from the reign of Mary I (1553-58)—Catholics were disenfranchised and persecuted within England and most of its possessions, including New England and Ireland.⁸

The Separatists who founded Plymouth Colony in 1620 and the Puritans who set up Massachusetts Bay in 1630 arrived in North America when tensions between English sovereigns and Irish subjects were at fever pitch. Both Separatists and Puritans agreed that “papists” were agents of Satan, even when they agreed upon little else. To be Irish as well was more than most New England Protestants could stomach. When a “Celtic” indentured servant opined in 1662 that the English were “vile rogues and dogs,” a Springfield court ordered him whipped and fined.⁹ There were about a quarter million individuals of Irish descent in Colonial America by 1775, but only about 25,000 were Catholic and as few as 1,200 made their way to New England, where they had not even been able to settle until the Toleration Act of 1689.¹⁰ Massachusetts' religious views were so little changed by the American Revolution that the Commonwealth's General Court provided support for Congregationalist churches until 1834.¹¹

On November 9, 1805, Wilbraham resident John Bliss discovered a stray but well-appointed horse upon the Boston to New York Post Road. The next day, a search party located the body of local farmer Marcus Lyon lying in the Chicopee River. Lyon had been shot, his head was bashed, and his body appeared hastily and ineffectively weighed down with stones. A bloodied pistol recovered nearby suggested that Lyon was beaten to death after being shot.¹² Governor Caleb Strong offered a \$500 reward for the apprehension of Lyon's assailants.

Thirteen-year-old Laertes Fuller, whose family lived a quarter mile from the murder site, advised authorities he had seen two unknown men dressed in sailor garb on the road on November 9, though he originally claimed not to have gotten a good look at them.¹³ Later, though, he identified Dominic Daley; this was shaky testimony given that Daley was clapped in prison irons at the time. Fuller's positive identification was accepted, though defense lawyers established that Fuller was at least two hundred feet away from Daley, if he had seen him at all.

Daley and Halligan were taken into custody at a Coscob Landing, New York tavern where they were awaiting arrival of a boat traveling from New Haven to New York City.¹⁴ Their very Irishness fit the profile of what a criminal would be, and the posse that apprehended them, headed by Josiah Baddwell, was anxious to collect its reward. Upon being arrested, Daley reportedly asked, “For what?”¹⁵ Both denied the charges but admitted having been on the Post Road from Boston. They told authorities that they were bound for New York, where Daley hoped to collect a small debt and Halligan planned to visit a cousin. Both were remanded to the Hampshire County jail, which then stood on Pleasant Street in Northampton. There they stayed until their trial on April 24, 1806, without counsel until shortly before their court date.¹⁶

The prosecution built its case around four pieces of evidence: the defendants’ admission that they were in the area the day Lyon was murdered, Fuller’s identification of Daley, the existence of hidden pockets in the jackets of the defendants, and Daley’s possession of two banknotes similar to others found on Lyon’s body. Of these, the first was not in dispute, though the fact that the two men never left the Post Road suggests they were either overly confident or innocent. As noted, Fuller’s testimony was shaky, and assertions that the internal jacket pockets were large enough to hide a pistol bordered on the peculiar—secret pockets were a common feature among travelers hiding valuables upon their person to deter highwaymen and pickpockets. The banknotes were the most damning evidence. In 1805, there was no single national circulating currency; many banks issued their own notes, and some were hand-drawn, which made them more distinctive.

All of the evidence was circumstantial, however, and no modern prosecutor would go to trial with such flimsy support, nor would a judge rule it admissible. No eyewitnesses directly linked the defendants to the crime, nor did testimony establish that the “similar” banknotes were more than coincidence. Alas, evidential standards were looser in 1805. Halligan’s attorney Francis Blake was correct when he charged that “national prejudice” led locals “to prejudge the prisoners because they are Irishmen.” In an impassioned summation before the jury—Daley’s counsel declined to offer one—Blake challenged:

Pronounce then a verdict against them—tell them that the name of an Irishman is, among us, but another name for a robber or an assassin: that every man’s hand is lifted against him, that when a crime of unexplained atrocity is perpetrated among us, we look

around for an Irishman . . . and that the moment he is accused, he is presumed to be guilty, until his innocence appears.¹⁷



Father Jean Lefebvre de Cheverus
(1768-1836)

Blake's words proved prescient; both men were found guilty and were sentenced to hang.

The days leading up to the June 5 date with the gallows held further indignities. Daley and Halligan requested last rites, but the nearest priest was in Boston. When Father Jean Lefebvre de Cheverus arrived in Northampton, he was denied lodging at Ashel Pomeroy's tavern. Local resident Jonas Clark allowed Father de Cheverus to stay in his home—and was subsequently ostracized for his charity. On June 5, the condemned men were forced to walk from their jail cell to their execution, a distance of over a mile.

By most accounts, Father de Cheverus came to Northampton believing that Daley and Halligan were guilty, but left convinced of their innocence.¹⁸ He heard their spiritual confessions, administered the Eucharist, and delivered a blistering gallows-side sermon that spared no one's feelings:

Orators are usually flattered by having a numerous audience, but I am ashamed of the one before me.... Are there men to whom the death of their fellow beings is a spectacle of pleasure, an object of curiosity? . . . But you, especially, O women! What has induced you to come to this place? Is it to wipe away the cold damps of death that trickle down the face of these unfortunate men? . . . Is it then to behold their anguish, and to look upon it with tearless, eager, and longing eyes? Oh! I blush for you; your eyes are full of murder.¹⁹

It would be many decades before anyone in the area blushed. Even before the two men went to trial, the Rev. Ezra Witter of Springfield's North Church interjected xenophobia into his sermon:

We see the evil attending a continued influx of vicious and polluted foreigners in this country. Many of the outrages we suffer proceed from this source. Who break open our homes in the unsuspecting hours of sleep? Who set fire to our large cities and towns for the sake of plunder? And who rob and commit murder on our highways? We are far from exculpating all of our own native citizens. . . . But . . . we are doubtless justified in saying, that a great proportion of the crimes above mentioned, together with many others which might be named, are committed by foreigners. And that atrocious deed which has so recently congealed all our blood with horror, in this place, is supposed to have been perpetrated by foreigners. Look at the annual reports of the overseers of the prisons and you will find them be principally occupied by foreigners.²⁰

After Daley and Halligan were hanged, Sheriff Ebenezer Mattoon was congratulated for efficiently serving as executioner and Hezekiah Russell was paid \$92.80 for building the gallows.²¹ Attorney General James Sullivan parlayed his prosecutor skills into an upset victory over sitting Governor Caleb Strong in 1807.²² Despite local stories that claim Daley and Halligan are buried upon the hill, there was no "resting place" for the duo; their bodies were dismembered and then taken to a slaughterhouse on South Street. There, the flesh was rendered from their skeletons and their bones were hurled into the woods.

WHAT'S THERE AND WHAT'S NOT: THE ART OF HISTORICAL DETECTION

Daley and Halligan did not die where the monument is located. When historians lack documents, a good starting point is to ask what should be in the historical record but isn't. That question often points the way to different kinds of evidence.

The most obvious absence in this case is that of any written record of the West Street knoll as the site where Daley and Halligan met their fate. Such information was lacking in the living memory account of Timothy Dwight IV (1752-1817).²³ It is also absent from the remembrances of Henry S. Gere

(1828-1914) and from the accounts by Frederick N. Kneeland (1849-1938). Both were civic-minded and attuned to Northampton's past. Gere served in numerous political capacities; he also became owner, editor, and publisher of the *Daily Hampshire Gazette* in 1858 and shepherded the newspaper until his death in 1914. Kneeland was an avid photographer and traveler whose various accounts would surely have included anything of note that had happened on the hill.²⁴

The *Gazette* does, however, comment on changes in the city. In 1866, Northampton got its first Roman Catholic parish, St. Mary of the Assumption.²⁵ By then, Father de Cheverus (1768-1836) had been thirty years dead, but he did not die before seeing the westward spread of the faith, becoming Bishop of Boston, and being elevated to cardinal. Another piece of evidence is literally chiseled in stone: a date carved on the back of the West Street monument, "1878." Northampton was changing, but it wasn't ready to embrace the Irish just yet, and 1878 would have been a very bad time for assertions of Irish pride.

Most Western Massachusetts Irish were not far removed from the generation fleeing the potato blight of 1845-52 that created an estimated 1.5 million émigrés.²⁶ Those coming to America encountered virulent anti-Irish discrimination. Typical was an infamous 1876 Thomas Nast illustration for Harper's Weekly with racist depictions of an African American and an Irishman sitting on the opposite sides of a scale and weighing the same. It conveyed a clear message: Irish people were not viewed as "white" within the Gilded Age racial hierarchy.²⁷

Anti-Irish hysteria spiked in the 1870s following a series of unsolved murders in the anthracite coal region of northeastern Pennsylvania during the years 1873 and 1877. These were attributed to an allegedly "terrorist" clandestine Irish and Irish-American group dubbed the Molly Maguires, which was affiliated with the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), a fraternal organization. Most historians now consider the Molly Maguires' activities to have been either embellished or invented outright by coal barons and the Pinkerton Detective Agency, but the conspiracy theories



Back Side of the Monument

(Photo by Rob Weir)



**Thomas Nast Cover Illustration for
Harper's Weekly, December 9, 1876**

surrounding it were widely believed at the time. During 1877 and 1878, twenty individuals associated with the group were hanged for purported acts of violence, most of them of Irish descent. The term “Molly Maguire” became synonymous with Irish perfidy and was invoked to justify crackdowns on labor unions, radicals, reform groups, and immigrants. Given this circumstance along with the decade’s widespread capital/labor conflicts, including a nationwide rail strike in 1877 in which some one hundred lives were lost, 1878 would have been an ill-chosen moment to challenge the status quo in Yankee-dominated New England.

Northampton's Irish did not do so. Had the AOH or the Sons of St. Patrick claimed the West Street hill in the name of Daley and Halligan, as oral legends would have it, James Russell Trumbull, whose 1898 history of the city is the starting point for any researcher delving into pre-twentieth-century Northampton, surely would have noted this. Trumbull scarcely mentions the events of 1806. Though admitting the evidence in the case was "entirely circumstantial," he concludes, "The trial seems to have been fairly conducted, and the verdict just." He does not linger on the external details of an occurrence deemed worthy of little more than a mention.²⁸

Two more works shout out in silence. From June 5-7, 1904, the city celebrated its two hundred-fiftieth anniversary. By then, older Yankee elites clung to power—but just barely. By 1904 Northampton had five Catholic parishes, 15,000 of its 19,000 citizens belonged to one of them, and St. Mary's catered to a mostly Irish body of believers.²⁹ Fewer than 40% of Northampton residents could say that both of their parents had been born in the United States, and fewer still that they had Northampton pedigrees. A full 40% of residents were first- or second-generation Irish and there were large numbers of those of Polish, French-Canadian, or Italian extraction. During the 1904 celebratory parade, a "dapper" Matthew Carroll proudly marched in parades as a "typical Irish gentleman." A special commemorative booklet contained information and homilies from all five of the city's Catholic parishes. That of St. Mary of the Assumption mentioned the Daley and Halligan case and presented the march up Hospital Hill as analogous to Calvary, but most of the remarks were reserved for the slight to Father de Cheverus—whose difficulty in securing lodging in the Northampton of 1805 was described in florid language suggestive of Mary entering Bethlehem. The other four parishes were silent on the case. That wasn't surprising; Northampton had grown more diverse, but not yet more accepting of its diversity. Two of the parishes—Annunciation and Blessed Sacrament—catered to worshippers from the outlying villages of Florence, Leeds, and Bay State, while Sacred Heart delivered the mass in French and St. John Cantius in Polish.³⁰ A more telling absence lies in the booklet section titled "Historical Locations in Northampton." It noted the 1806 hanging of Daley and Halligan, but indicated no site whatsoever.³¹

Surely this would have been corrected by the time of Northampton's 300th birthday in 1954. Just one year after the quarter millennial celebration, an AOH chapter opened in Northampton and established fraternal relations with three active Hibernian groups in adjacent Holyoke.³² Yet, again in 1954, Daley and Halligan get short shrift: the guide to local sites in the commemorative volume for that year makes no mention of their execution



Pancake Plain, Approximate Site of the Gallows

(Photo by Rob Weir)

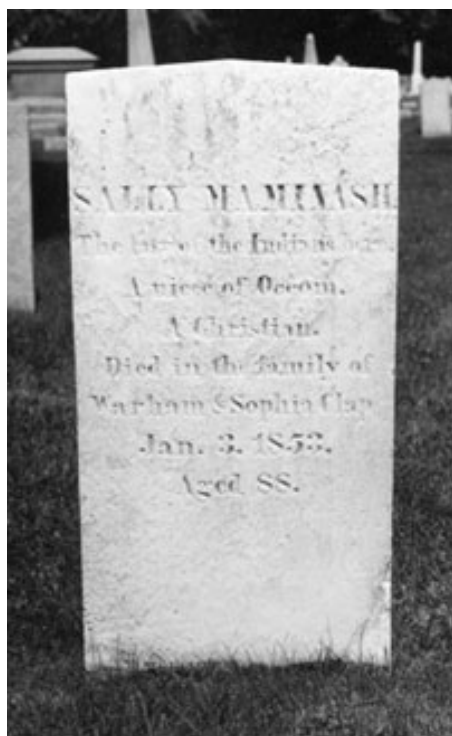
site. This is particularly noteworthy as Richard Garvey, who actively researched the case, penned this section of the book.³³ In short, nothing outside of orally circulated tales connects Daley and Halligan to the site now marked by a monument.

The fact is that plenty is known about executions in the area but none are recorded as having taken place upon a hill. Former Northampton District Court Judge W. Michael Ryan compiled a list of twenty-seven executions that occurred between 1632 and 1898; he reports that, until the 1760s, Northampton hangings were carried out at the King Street jail, with the gallows collapsed and stored when not needed.³⁴ In 1770, the gallows was moved to a “desolate spot,” the unsavory Pancake Plain neighborhood, which lay to the immediate south and west of the future Hospital Hill. After a 1785 hanging, some residents colloquially dubbed the area “Gallows Plain,” because the scaffolding remained standing as a grim warning to miscreants.³⁵ It was taken down shortly after Abiah Converse was hanged on July 17, 1788 for murdering her bastard child, which is why Hezekiah Russell had to build the gibbet that terminated the lives of Daley and Halligan.

Their execution didn't help Pancake Hill's reputation. One writer recalled stories of local boys commandeering a maple tree near the gallows site to conduct macabre reenactments of the Daley and Halligan hangings. Local toughs tossed long ropes over a bough and took turns being noosed and hoisted aloft. The boys called out when they were near their oxygen limit, though poor Medad Edwards' bad stammer nearly led to a fatal delay.³⁶

The precise location of the gallows probably varied, but it usually stood near the point where Pancake Plain intersects with Rust Avenue, roughly where, today, the fenceless left-field line of the baseball diamond on the Ray Ellerbrook Athletic Fields would extend. Pancake Plain also has a prerequisite that the misidentified site lacks: the ability to accommodate the 15,000 witnesses to the demise of Daley and Halligan.

THE ALTERNATIVE NARRATIVE THAT DEFIES LOGIC



Gravestone of Sally Maminash

The stone's inscription wrongly identifies her as "The last of the Indians here"

Now let us turn our attention to the second tale, which associates the stone monument with Joseph Maminash.³⁷ This account is also false, though it sheds some light on why the greater Pancake Plain district was considered shabby even before executions took place there: it was where Native Americans once lived. From the ethnocentric perspective of Northampton's elites, this made it an ideal dwelling place for those living close to the economic and social margins, an appropriate location for the gallows and, later, an asylum.³⁸ In 1781, a "Frenchman" (possibly Quebecois) was hanged there; in 1785, a woman named Hannah Peggin, said to be an "Indian"; and, in 1787, William Clark, who was born in Ireland.³⁹

The Anglocentrism of nineteenth-century Northampton

residents suggests it would have been unlikely for them to memorialize a Native American, though a few factors make it slightly less so. There was, first, the matter of historical distancing. When Joseph Maminash's daughter Sally died in 1853, she was interred in Northampton's Bridge Street Cemetery, where her tombstone bears the inscription: "The last of the Indians here." That was not actually the case, but locals could be forgiven for thinking so, as a strong Native presence had long since disappeared.⁴⁰

Algonquin peoples had populated the Connecticut River valley before the arrival of Europeans, though they did not long survive their incursion. Anthropological evidence suggests that the Nonotucks⁴¹—as local Natives were labeled—were not numerous in what is today Northampton, but a small group maintained a permanent presence on Pancake Plain, where they farmed the terraces above the Mill River and engaged in seasonal semi-nomadic activities related to fishing and foraging. Their Pancake Plain residences would have consisted of bark-covered huts.

Algonquin populations quickly declined after Connecticut was established in 1636. That same year, William Pynchon set up the English settlement of Agawam Plantation near today's Springfield, but his control reached northward.⁴² Everywhere Europeans settled, the number of Natives declined, be it from war, dislocation, assimilation, or especially, disease. The 1704 Deerfield Raid is a signal event in Euro-Colonial history, but the Native attackers who burned the town and caused panic in Northampton sixteen miles to the south were mostly Iroquois peoples from Canada; by this time, there were almost no Natives left alive in the Connecticut River Valley.⁴³

The Maminash family is thought to have been Podunk, indicating that it probably originated in Connecticut.⁴⁴ It should be noted, though, that when the Maminashes lived upon Pancake Plain, Native Americans were already more of a local curiosity than members of a vibrant ethnic community. There was, though, much about Joseph Maminash and his greater circle that commanded respect. His date of birth is uncertain, as is his birth name. That he was christened "Joseph" at some point is a useful starting point. He came to the attention of whites before his death—reportedly in 1767—for his military service and his marriage. Maminash was part of a group of Natives recruited in Connecticut who took part in England's 1745 siege of the French fortress in Louisbourg, Île Royale (today Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia) during the French and Indian Wars.

Joseph's wife Elizabeth—often derisively called "Squaw Betty"—bore at least two children: a daughter Sally and a son also named Joseph. She was said to be quarrelsome and struggled with alcoholism, but she was also the sister of Samson Ocom (1723-92), a Mohegan from the New London

area who converted to Christianity during the Second Great Awakening, became a Congregationalist minister, and converted Natives throughout the Northeast.⁴⁵ Occom won renown for his preaching, piety, and assimilation to white culture. He may well have baptized Joseph Maminash the elder.

Like his father, Elizabeth's son Joseph attracted attention for his military service. At some point before the American Revolution, Elizabeth, Sally, and young Joseph moved to Northampton. When conflict broke out, Joseph enlisted in the Continental Army and joined the 5th Hampshire Regiment under Captain Daniel Shays. He signed up for a three-year term, mustered out, and died on August 31, 1778.

Elizabeth died the next year (or perhaps in 1783), either from alcohol-induced problems or from being stoned to death by local hooligans. She, her husband, and her son were all buried on Pancake Plain. Accounts claim that the Maminash gravesite—erected when Joseph the elder died—bore a turtle clan totem.

Sally never married and supported herself as an itinerant weaver. She, like her famed uncle, developed a reputation for religious piety, joined the First Congregationalist Church in 1816, and remained a member until her death. By all accounts, she was a popular figure in town and she developed affectionate bonds with the Clapp family. When she grew infirm, Sophia Clapp and her son and daughter-in-law cared for Sally in their Elm Street home and buried her in the Clapp family plot on Bridge Street.⁴⁶

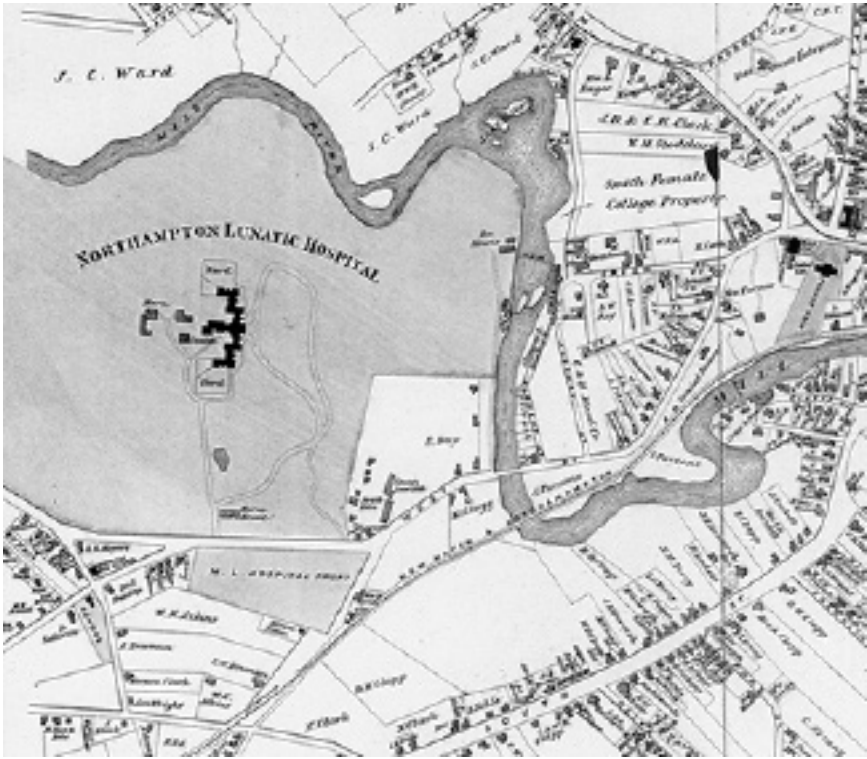
By the 1870s, the historical distance between Native Americans and white Northamptonites was a wide one. Many white New Englanders viewed Natives through the lens of scientific racism,⁴⁷ but it was also possible to exoticize the Native American past and supplement older savagery narratives with romantic ones—especially for those who converted to Christianity and assimilated to white culture such as Sally, her father, her uncle, and her brother. Shortly after the Civil War, scholars⁴⁸ in the emerging field of anthropology followed the lead of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793-1864) and turned attention to Native Americans. They included Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881), John Wesley Powell (1834-1902), Frank Cushing (1857-1902), and Amherst-raised Helen Hunt Jackson (1830-1885). As Margaret Bruchac observed, many New England towns had “Last Native” narratives akin to that of Sally Maminash.⁴⁹

Local legends associating the Maminash family with the West Street monument rest on the fact that the Maminash family grave marker on Pancake Hill disappeared. This gave rise to a charming but nonsensical tale that the monument was raised to honor Joseph Maminash the elder and his noble family. There is, however, no record of anyone making such a grand



Thomas Charles Farrer, *View of Northampton from the Dome of the Hospital*

Oil on canvas, 28 1/8 x 36 in., purchase, Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts (photo by Rob Weir)



Detail of 1873 Map Showing Northampton Lunatic Hospital Grounds

gesture, nor any hint of who would have paid for such a project. Sally died on January 2, 1853—a quarter century before the monument was raised—and the Clapp homestead was sold shortly after Sally’s death. Sophia Clapp, Sally’s benefactor, passed away in 1871—seven years before the monument appeared.

WHAT HILL?

We know that the West Street hill has neither Irish nor Native American associations for two more compelling reasons: no hill existed there until 1878, and the historical record tells us who was responsible for it and the monument. I first began to suspect something was amiss as I examined a painting that hangs in the Smith College Museum of Art: Thomas Charles Farrer’s 1865 View of Northampton from the Dome of the Hospital. It is a hilltop vista that looks toward Northampton from the west. Although its perspective across the Mill River (barely) removes West Street from the frame,

the adjacent terrain seems wrong for the hill in question and the land itself presents differently than it does today. Three more things raised suspicion: the hill's lack of a name, its absence from maps, and its shape.

Northampton has historically slapped a name on every bump on the landscape worthy of being called a hill (and several that stretch the imagination): Brush Hill, Burt's Hill, Knob Hill, Mineral Hill, Round Hill, Rocky Hill, Turkey Hill, and so on. Yet I was unable to find a single mention of a Gallows Hill in any historical record, and those maps showing the elevation misinterpreted as the Daley/Halligan execution spot do not label it in any way. The key phrase is: "those maps showing."

A number of maps at the Forbes Library and at Historic Northampton reveal that there was no hill on the site in question until the 1870s. Northampton maps are often detailed regarding properties and features along South Street and West Street, as these byways for many years joined and were the only ones within the city with bridges crossing the Mill River.⁵⁰ The West Street hill fails to show up on maps produced in 1831, 1860, or 1873—or on pre-1880s bird's-eye or illustrated maps. The 1873 map shows a Mrs. B. Smith residing approximately where the hill would be; an 1884 map shows part of the property in the hands of the Parsons family.⁵¹

By 1895, several changes appear on city maps. Earle Street—named for the second superintendent of the Northampton State Hospital—appears as a West/South Street connector, and one map shows a curved feature that mirrors those found on maps of the hospital grounds: a culvert. Both hill and culvert are clearly visible on early twentieth-century maps. Construction of the Northampton State Hospital began in 1856. As it took shape at the crest of West Street where steeply rising elevation eventually gives way to gentler slopes and flat ground, its buildings were but the first of many changes to take hold on what was soon dubbed Hospital Hill.

To its immediate south and extending westward lay Pancake Plain. Geologically speaking, both Hospital Hill and Pancake Plain are part of a drumlin, a long hill scraped and flattened by glaciers that also deposited the large boulders that have been the bane of New England farmers. The Hospital Hill drumlin gives way to sandy, graveled, and silted land as one descends Hospital Hill toward the Mill River. At a glance, the knoll with the monument looks like the terminal edge of the drumlin, but its graceful cone shape betrays human alteration. A 1981 state historical commission simply asserts, "It is not a natural formation."⁵²

That is correct. Some of the assumptions about the hill come from anachronistic imaginings of the nineteenth century. The hard asphalt surface upon which modern cars journey is named for its inventor, Scotland's John



Dr. Pliny Earle II (1809-92)

Loudon MacAdam.⁵³ Such surfaces have existed since 1820 but were not ubiquitous until the age of the automobile and were not tar-sealed until 1902. Until then, the New England frost line proved a deterrent to extensive macadamizing. Among the most notable features viewed in photos of Northampton from the 1870s are its dirt streets. Until 1900, Northampton's longest section of paved road began on State Street, extended for only a few hundred yards onto Main, and proceeded partway down (Old) South Street. It was so unusual as to be dubbed "the Boulevard."

West Street was not paved, which raises the question of who traveled the street and why. The answer, in all likelihood, is those bound for either the asylum or Westhampton. The very roughness of the West Street monument reminds us that this was neither the age of casual travel nor that of thrill-seeking tourism.⁵⁴ Frederick Kneeland's 1888 work on "drives" in the Northampton area reminds us that a round trip to Huntington, seventeen miles distant, would have consumed most of a day for a trotting horse pulling a carriage. Kneeland also notes that ascending Hospital Street from Main Street entailed a gain in elevation of 182 feet—quite a strain for a horse pulling such a burden.⁵⁵

My first impulse was to accept the story that the West Street stone was a mere highway marker. Massachusetts required that towns "erect and maintain guide-posts on the highways and other ways within the town" that were "not less than eight feet in height."⁵⁶ As the hill stood at the junction of Prince Street and Westhampton Road, mine was a logical, but incorrect, assumption.

It turns out that Dr. Pliny Earle II (1809-92) shaped the hill's destiny and became an unwitting contributor to local folklore. The asylum opened in 1858 under the leadership of Dr. William Henry Prince, but his successor, Dr. Earle, was most responsible for Hospital Hill's physical development. Under Earle's superintendence from 1864 to 1885, the NSH grew in mission and in size, property acquisition being integral to Earle's treatment modalities.

Among his contemporaries, Earle was—depending on one’s perspective—either myopic or visionary. He wrote withering critiques of those who claimed all mental illness could be cured but was equally dismissive of notions that none could be cured, that all those dubbed insane should be incarcerated, or that the mentally unstable could not live productive lives. The last point was crucial. Earle subscribed to methods that fell under the rubric of “moral treatment” and believed that ethical instruction plus hard work reduced a patient’s anti-social behaviors. He often expressed the Victorian view that this approach rendered patients more human and less animal-like.⁵⁷

Earle’s expansion of NSH holdings included his purchase of the Parsons property upon which the monument now stands. Site and city maps from the 1870s show that a brick kiln stood in a former meadow at the base of Hospital Hill and almost directly across from it; moving construction debris across the road to this location would have been a natural thing to do. The steepness of Hospital Hill led to various alterations, including a significant one in 1878. Several feet of lower West Street were removed and the earth was used to rebuild parts of Green Street.⁵⁸ These alterations made their way up the hill, where they collided with Earle’s practical needs and aesthetic concerns.

NSH trustees issued an annual report each September. Amidst Earle’s remarks are consistent complaints of drainage issues and of untidy approaches to the hospital, especially its south side. His 1878 remarks reveal that Earle commissioned nearly two miles of fencing to frame the NSH. He took particular satisfaction that the “irregular and unsightly grounds along the northern edge of the Parsons lot, which forms the southern boundary of the road leading down the hill from the entrance gate, have been brought into seemly shape by a large amount of grading.” Hampshire County Commissioner reports verify that the grading project was extended up Hospital Hill and that sections of West Street were widened and relocated.⁵⁹

In essence, West Street was rebuilt in 1878. Earle wrote:

There is a deep subsoil of clay upon both sides of this road, and in some places it so abounds in springs as to destroy the firmness of the stone posts, which support the iron fence, although they are set to a depth of four feet. To prevent injury from this source, a *cylindrical brick sewer* [emphasis mine], two feet in diameter, has been made on either side of the road, with grated wells for the reception of surface-water.⁶⁰

In October, the local paper reported that Governor Alexander Rice and his “Council, a party of 12, visited the State Hospital.” That account also



Monument in Distance Looking Up from Catchment Pond

The hill was built to funnel water away from Hospital Hill and still serves that function today. (Photo by Rob Weir)

noted the sewer project, and in an easy-to-miss throwaway line, added: “The grounds near the bottom of the hill are being graded and seeded down, and a huge stone monument has been set up.”⁶¹

Here is the definitive proof that the hill was part of a grading project and that the monument was Earle’s attempt to make the approach to the asylum more impressive. It also puts to rest the tale that workers placed the stone upon the hill as a joke.⁶² Into the 1960s, NSH workers told the story that Earle contracted Rust Avenue resident Curtis W. Braman to pull a large stone from the woods and place it atop the new knoll. This may be correct, though it seems more likely that Curtis’s son did the grunt work. Curtis, a mason, was born in 1817 and therefore would have been sixty-one in 1878, a bit elderly to retrieve such a heavy burden from the woods. His 32-year-old son

George Allen, a teamster, was the more likely candidate for stone hauling, with his father perhaps overseeing the masonry involved in securing the rock atop its brownstone base.⁶³

MONUMENT TO MEMORIAL: REMEMBERING THE PAST

In the end, our mystery monument marks the spot of a sewer project—hardly a thrilling revelation, but not without significance. Hospital Hill has been altered numerous times—drastically so in 1878, again in the 1890s to create Price and Earle Streets, in 1910 for new road construction, in 1941 when the Mill River diversion project was completed, and from 2008 forward, for the construction of luxury homes, condominiums, and office space on the former State Hospital grounds.

The landscape has been altered, and so too has historical memory. It helps to consider the subtle differences between a monument and a memorial. The terms are often used interchangeably, which is appropriate in most cases. Technically, though, “monument” is the broader category of which a “memorial” is a subcategory. Monuments can be grand memorials, but they can also be as prosaic as a marker to start or end an avenue or approach. As one authority puts it, “A monument is an architectural element and a memorial is a memory signifier.”⁶⁴

The West Street marker is a prosaic monument that now functions as a memorial. In the strictest sense, it is “invented tradition” for those who think it marks the spot of a significant historical event, but it’s also akin to faux signifiers such as Bunker Hill or the Bennington Battle Monument.⁶⁵ Dr. Earle intended the monument to be an impressive entrance to the NSH, but today it is best considered as both a portal to the past and an object lesson in recovering historical memory.

The first lesson is about how the hill became Irish. Daley and Halligan didn’t die there, but tales of the 1806 hangings provide a needed corrective to historical accounts of Irish immigration that fail to address the anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish discrimination that were common before the arrival of the Famine Irish some forty years later. For future generations, though the site of the actual execution sits about a third of a mile away, the monument conveniently appropriates a different tale: that of Irish assimilation.

We have seen how Northampton’s social and religious profile changed in the ninety-eight years between the hangings and the town’s 250th celebration in 1904. Acceptance of change took longer and came shortly after Northampton celebrated the 300th anniversary of European settlement

in 1954.⁶⁶ By then, the city had elected mayors with Irish ancestry and had adopted several Irish fraternal organizations, but the 1950s saw deeper expressions of Irish pride.⁶⁷ Holyoke—twelve miles to the south—held its first St. Patrick's Day parade in 1955, and Northampton citizens became regular fixtures at that event. Attorney, former mayor (1950-51), and future district court judge Luke F. Ryan was among locals interested in Irish-American history and played a central role in appropriating the West Street monument as a memorial to Daley and Halligan. Bill O' Riordan, an active figure in regional Ancient Order of Hibernian activities, recalls being instructed by his father in the 1950s to "tip his hat" to the stone as he passed by.⁶⁸

He picked up that habit because of renewed interest in Daley and Halligan as the 150th anniversary of their ordeal approached in 1956. In 1954, Richard Garvey penned a study of the trial, and nearly all of what was written thereafter asserted the innocence of the duo.⁶⁹ Two years later, Attorney Luke Ryan declared the "martyrdom" of Daley and Halligan and praised the razing of former social, ethnic, and religious barriers.⁷⁰ New folktales appeared, including one involving a deathbed confession that exonerated the two Irishmen and another asserting that Laertes Fuller's uncle was the real murderer. At present, the only evidence presumed for such stories is hearsay and wishful thinking.

We can, however, trace how Daley and Halligan came to be memorialized on West Street. In 1977, Governor Michael Dukakis pardoned Sacco and Vanzetti posthumously, which inspired retired Northampton firefighter John Carlon to seek similar justice for Daley and Halligan. Carlon, Luke Ryan, and his son Michael had long been part of a small group of Northamptonites gathering atop the knoll each St. Patrick's Day. Locals of Irish descent had so thoroughly appropriated the site that newspapers routinely misidentified it as Gallows Hill and incorrectly reported that the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick erected the monument atop it in 1878 to honor Daley and Halligan.⁷¹

Carlon's pardon campaign stalled when Edward King defeated Dukakis in the 1979 Democratic primary and won the November gubernatorial election. Carlon's assertion that the pardon effort was a "moral issue," not a "political football," fell upon deaf ears, with King's legal counsel Dennis Curran issuing the tart remark, "We've got better things to do. It's time to put the nineteenth century to rest and get on about protecting the living from becoming victims of violent crime."⁷² Carlon subsequently *made* the campaign into a political football by enlisting the aid of allies such as Northampton Mayor David Musante, State Representative William Nagle, Jr., and Nagle's aide, Peter Kocot. In 1983, Dukakis defeated King and reassumed the governorship. On St. Patrick's Day of 1984, Dukakis issued

the long sought-after pardon and a bronze plaque was installed on the West Street monument.

I arrived in Northampton one year later, by which time the new West Street narrative was in place. The hill had already been approved as a state historical site thanks to an application from the Northampton Historical Commission.⁷³ The Northampton State Hospital closed in 1986, and in 1994, ownership of the West Street hill and monument was transferred from the Commonwealth to the joint maintenance and protection of the city of Northampton and the local St. Patrick's Association. A 2008 act appropriated \$30,000 to develop the site of the "Halligan-Daley Memorial."⁷⁴

A monument thus became a memorial of the memory-signifier variety. For the historian, the worth of signifiers lies in what they signify.⁷⁵ Lessons abound: the legacy of Puritan particularism, the deeper history of anti-Irish and anti-Catholic prejudice, the changing demographics of Northampton, the development of ethnic identity and pride, justice versus injustice, the politics of memorialization, and the dangers of intolerance. If a humble, six-foot stone sparks such consideration, we are indebted to the glacier that deposited it and the person who hauled it from the woods.

The same case can be made for considering Joseph Maminash and all that he symbolized. His daughter Sally wasn't really the last person of Native American ancestry in Northampton, but her identification as such underscores the rapid and devastating decline of Algonquin peoples in the Connecticut Valley. There is great irony in the fact that Native Americans were not even considered citizens of the United States until a dour Calvinist former Northampton mayor, President Calvin Coolidge, proclaimed them so in 1924.

It is hard to pinpoint when the Maminash/West Street folk tale first emerged. There are whispers of it in newspaper accounts from 1906, so it may have been a byproduct of the Gilded Age interest in Native American history mentioned earlier. I suspect, though, that it took on new vigor at the same time that local Irish-Americans claimed the site. As we have seen, some locals—including NSH workers in the 1960s—doubted the hill's Irish connections. Local interest in Native Americans spiked again in the 1950s, first as a reaction against a cringeworthy brigade of local dignitaries parading in Great Plains war bonnets during Northampton's 300th birthday celebration in 1954; and more positively in 1956, when the Calvin Coolidge Memorial Room was set up in the Forbes Library at his widow Grace's request. One of the features of the room was a Sioux headdress gifted to the president in 1927 for his support for Native American citizenship efforts.⁷⁶



**Hillside Where Native American Lived and Where
a Few Burial Sites Were Located**

(Photo by Rob Weir)

I do not know how many Maminash tales circulated in the mid-1950s; folklorists cannot definitely trace idle conversation, speculation, or barroom tales unless someone takes the time to record them. It is logical, however, to assume that alternative stories flourished as the West Street monument was becoming Irish. As we've seen, the stone was actually the brainchild (and work order) of Northampton State Hospital Superintendent Pliny Earle—a monument to make the entrance to the hospital more hospitable.

The NSH offers a final reason to romance the stone. Numerous projects aimed at preserving the memory of the asylum and its patients gained urgency when the hospital closed and redevelopment began, including verifying tales of anonymous burials of NSH patients whose bodies were never claimed. At least 181 such internments had occurred, but where? A 1997 study verified the existence of a potter's field, a burial place for unknown or seemingly unwanted individuals, on the northwest side of the former NSH property; it is located on a ridge above the Mill River that was probably once farmed by the indigenous Nonotucks. In 2002, a bench between two concrete posts was

dedicated to the NSH dead, though only a few bodies have been positively identified.⁷⁷

The Pancake Hill gallows claimed its last victim in 1813. There are no memorials to the departed, nor markers honoring the Native Americans who lived there or on the adjacent hill where they buried their dead. One must hike to the bench honoring NSH indigents. It gives one pause. If markers stimulate memory, perhaps Northampton should add to the West Street stone. Would it not be suitable to add brass plaques to memorialize Native Americans and NSH patients to the obverse of the Daley and Halligan monument? Perhaps it's also time to rechristen the knoll "Outcast Hill"?

HJM

Notes

1. The author would like to thank the staff at the Forbes Library, especially Elise Bernier-Feeley. Thanks also to Marie Panik of Historic Northampton, Judge Mike Ryan, Bill O'Riordan, the Meadow City Historians work group, and Bruce Laurie, the last of whom offered encouragement and suggested useful revisions.
2. Hospital Hill is named for the Northampton State Hospital, originally called the State Lunatic Asylum. It opened in 1858 and operated until 1993. Most of the original buildings were demolished by 2007, though a few were rehabbed and converted into housing and office space for what is now called Village Hill Northampton. West Street in Northampton is part of Massachusetts Route 66, a well-traveled, 13.6-mile east-west artery that runs from the junction of West and Main Streets and extends westward to the Berkshires foothill town of Huntington, where it intersects with Route 112/20.
3. Surprisingly, information on the two men is scant and contradictory and neither man appears in Boston Catholic Church records. James Halligan was said to be a bachelor living in a South Boston boarding house, though accounts differ as to whether he had immigrated from Ireland four years prior or within the previous six months. As for Dominic Daley, his very name is uncertain. It does not appear in Boston residency lists, though there were several families with surnames spelled *Daley*, *Dailey*, and *Daly*, all of which forms (as well as *Dalley*) are used in contemporary accounts of his arrest and trial. He was said to have left behind a wife, infant child, and mother in South Boston.
4. Hampshire County was originally set up as a shire county in 1662 as the administrative unit for most of western Massachusetts Bay Colony. In 1812, the county was subdivided into new units.
5. The 1800 U.S. Census reported 2,190 residents, which increased to 2,631 in 1810.

6. Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco were accused of a 1920 robbery and murder in South Braintree. They were convicted in 1921 and executed in 1927. Scholars are divided over their guilt, but few are convinced that the evidence warranted their execution. In essence, they were convicted on the basis of their Italian ethnicity at a time of anti-immigrant xenophobia, and for their anarchist political views. Bruce Watson provides a lively retelling of their saga in his book *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Men, the Murders, and the Judgment of Mankind* (New York: Penguin USA, 2007).

7. Those seeking greater detail on the case are directed to a very comprehensive website developed by Historic Northampton that contains numerous primary sources, secondary accounts, and creative works related to Daley and Halligan. See “The Daley & Halligan Bicentennial Commemoration,” <http://www.historic-northampton.org/daleyandhalligan/daleyandhalligan.html> (accessed January 11, 2017).

8. Henry VIII also assumed lordship over Ireland in 1541, the beginning of very contentious relations between the English and the Irish. Elizabeth I (ruled 1558-1603) established the Plantation system in Ireland, in which English and Scottish transplants displaced Irish lords, and attempts were made to uproot Catholicism by force and through marriage. The suppression of the 1641 Irish Rebellion, Cromwell’s subjugation of Ireland, and the 1690 Battle of the Boyne are among the incidents that rank high on the list of Irish grievances against England. Contempt was certainly mutual. The 1701 Act of Settlement forbids a Catholic from assuming the monarchy, a proviso still in force, though a 2013 act of Parliament allows for the marriage of an heir to the throne to a Catholic but bans the Catholic spouse from assuming a royal title.

9. *Springfield Union*, June 17, 1982.

10. Ronald Takaki, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (Boston: Back Bay Books, 1993); Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: Harper, 1991).

11. Even before the American Revolution, Puritans used the term Congregationalist to differentiate themselves from the Church of England, which they tellingly saw as too “papist” in its rituals and ostentatious trappings. After the Revolution and its rejection of English monarchy, American Anglicans adopted the name “Episcopalian” to indicate that the English sovereign was not the head of U.S. churches. The term “General Court” is an archaic remnant that is still the official name of the legislature. Originally, the General Court was also the highest appeals court within the theocratic structure of Colonial government.

12. “Murder!” *American Mercury* (Hartford), November 14, 1805.

13. Fuller’s reason for not getting a good look changed. At first he said one of the men was carrying a cudgel, but then said he ran home because he was cold.

14. Coscob Landing is roughly where Rye, New York now stands and was a common waiting area for travelers taking a packet boat from New Haven to New York City.

15. Robert Sullivan, “The Murder Trial of Halligan and Daley—Northampton, Massachusetts, 1806,” *Massachusetts Law Quarterly*, vol. XLIX, no. 3 (1964), 211-

224. Sullivan was a justice of the Massachusetts Superior Court at the time this article appeared.

16. Accounts differ as to whether counsel was appointed one week before the trial or a mere forty-eight hours in advance. Daley was represented by attorneys Thomas Gould and Edward Upham; Halligan by Jaboz Upham and Francis Blake. There is no transcript of the trial, but of the four, only Attorney Blake appears to have made substantial efforts to defend his client.

17. Sullivan, 219.

18. We do not know how religious Daley and Halligan were, and Father de Cheverus maintained the sanctity of the confessional, but it is highly doubtful either man would have lied to him given that they were already condemned. Moreover, the tone of de Cheverus' sermon is that of a man convinced a great wrong had been committed.

19. Quoted from the front page of Historic Northampton's "Daley & Halligan Bicentennial Commemoration" website. The details of the arrest, trial, and execution of Daley and Halligan have been culled from numerous superb accounts of the case. In addition to the ones already cited, see Richard Garvey, "The Hanging of Daley and Halligan," in Daniel Aaron and Harold Faulkner, eds. *The Northampton Book: Chapters from 300 Years and the Life of a New England Town, 1659-1959* (Northampton, MA, independently published, 1959), 90-95; Tracy Kidder, *Hometown* (New York: Washington Square Press, 2000). A more complete bibliography can be gleaned from the Historic Northampton website.

20. Ezra Witter, *A Discourse Occasioned by the murder of Marcus Lyon, Delivered in Wilbraham, November 17, 1805* (Springfield: M. Brewer, 1805), 4.

21. This would be about \$1,442 in 2016 dollars.

22. Strong was a leader of the Federalist party and Sullivan represented the upstart Democratic-Republican (Jeffersonian) party. He was reelected as Massachusetts governor in 1808 but died in office. See Peter F. Stevens, "In 1806, James Sullivan Vaulted into the Governor's Office by Prosecuting to the Gallows Two Innocent 'Sons of the Ould Sod,'" *Boston Irish Reporter*, December, 2005.

23. Timothy Dwight IV, *Travels in New England and New York* (London: William Baynes and Son and Ogle, Duncan, and Company, 1823).

24. Henry S. Gere, *Reminiscences of Old Northampton: Sketches of a Town as It Appeared from 1840-1850* (Northampton: Gazette Publishing, 1902); Frederick N. Kneeland, *Northampton: The Meadow City* (Northampton: F. N. Kneeland and L. P. Bryant, 1894). Gere had access to the entire archives of the *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, a paper that has been published since 1786. Kneeland's *Drives in Northampton and Vicinity with Maps* (Northampton: Gazette Publishing, 1888) is also a valuable source for local history, but one searches in vain for mention of anything significant about his jaunts on West Street.

25. Records indicate that a small group of Catholics began gathering in local homes as early as 1834, just 28 years after Daley and Halligan were hanged.

26. No one actually knows how many Irish left during the Great Famine. Some sources routinely state that 1.5 million came to the United States, but that number

is probably closer to the total number of Irish who fled to other shores. The actual number immigrating to the United States during those years could be as low as 800,000, though it is impossible to say for certain because no immigration restriction laws existed at the time and therefore counting was of little importance.

27. This phenomenon has been widely researched, but the classic work is Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

28. James Russell Trumbull, *History of Northampton, From Its Settlement in 1654*, 2 vols. (Northampton: Gazette Publishing, 1898, 1902), 589.

29. In order of establishment, St. Mary of the Assumption opened in 1866, Annunciation in 1876, Sacred Heart in 1886, Blessed Sacrament in 1899, and St. John Cantius in 1904, according to *The Meadow City's Quarter Millennial Book* (Northampton: City of Northampton, 1904).

30. www.saintelizabethannseton.net/about-us/history-of-our-parish.html (accessed January 13, 2017). In a historical turnabout, Catholicism is losing adherents in contemporary Northampton and all five parishes have been consolidated as one, with three of the five churches still open, and rechristened as St. Elizabeth Ann Seaton and holds masses in the former Sacred Heart parish on King Street.

31. *The Meadow City's Quarter Millennial Book*.

32. "A Growing Order," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, August 16, 1905. An article from August 20 notes that the Northampton AOH already had 65 members.

33. Tercentenary History Committee, *The Northampton Book, Chapters from 300 Years in the Life of a New England Town* (Northampton: The Tercentenary History Committee, 1954).

34. One local legend holds that it was stored beneath First Churches on Main Street, about a half block from the jail, but I have not been able to verify this. Judge Ryan, who served from 1990 to 2008, graciously shared his unpublished "Western Massachusetts Executions" with me.

35. Charles J. Dean, "Hospital Hill and Its Riddles of Yesterday," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, November 15, 1958. Dean repeats stories told in 1906. See Note 38.

36. Sydenham S. Ferry, "On Gallows Hill," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, May 1, 1906.

37. There are many alternative spellings of this surname, including *Mamanash*, *Manimash*, and *Mammanache*.

38. According to Ferry, the unorthodox residents included "Ratty" Clark, a widow who supported herself by making earthenware, "Aunt Nab," who made cornhusk mats, and a "Colonel" Swan whose son went out West and was killed by Indians, leaving the colonel with a paranoiac hatred of Native Americans. Ferry also notes that military musters took place on Pancake Plain.

39. Ryan, op. cit. It is telling that, of the fifteen execution victims through 1806 on Ryan's list, two were listed as "Negro," one was of mixed race, one was a "stranger in this country," three were Native Americans, one was French, and three were Irish. From 1813 to 1863, five more people were executed: three African Americans, a mixed-race individual, and a Quebecois man.

40. However, as Margaret Bruchac has documented, even when a Native presence was still visible and known, nineteenth-century historians often wrote this presence out of their histories. See Margaret Bruchac, "Revisiting Pocumtuck History in Deerfield: George Sheldon's Vanishing Indian Act," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 39 (Summer 2011), 30-77. Pages 36-53 of her article offer in-depth background on Native American culture in the Pioneer Valley.

41. European and Euro-Americans often referenced Algonquin peoples by their place names, Nonotuck being the Native word for the lands where Northampton is now situated. The term *Algonquian* mostly references Native languages and differentiates them as non-Iroquoian. Although there was a rudimentary tribal structure among some Algonquin, most were organized along kinship lines and made alliances (or warred) with other kinship bands. Those of the Connecticut River valley spoke various dialects categorized as Eastern Algonquian.

42. Agawam Plantation was originally part of Connecticut Colony even though Pynchon was a patentee of Massachusetts Bay Colony. Charter boundaries were in dispute and Pynchon chose not to immerse himself in these matters until 1640, when he transferred his holdings to Massachusetts Bay.

43. The raiding party also contained a goodly number of Pocumtucs—a then-allied Algonquin people living in Canada whose ancestors once occupied the area around Deerfield.

44. Bruchac, op. cit.

45. He also helped his mentor and patron, the Reverend Eleazar Wheelock, raise a considerable sum to establish Moor's Indian Charity School, a subsidized institution for English language instruction, education, and Christian training. The Reverend Wheelock diverted money from this Lebanon, Connecticut enterprise, moved to New Hampshire, and endowed Dartmouth College with some of the funds. Occom later charged that Wheelock failed to keep his promise to care for his family while he was raising money for Moor's and that Wheelock closed Moor's so that he could curry favor in society by starting a college. Ironically, Dartmouth's athletic teams used to be dubbed the "Indians."

46. Solomon Clark, *Historical Catalog of the Northampton First Church, 1661-1891* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1891). Sally remained true to her uncle's faith in another way: she never left the Congregational fold. There were various schisms in First Church during her lifetime, including that of dissenting Unitarians, and several other new Protestant churches were founded, but Sally resisted their allure. For more see Margaret Bruchac, "Native Presence in Nonotuck and Northampton," in Kerry W. Buckley, ed., *A Place Called Paradise: Culture and Community in Northampton, Massachusetts, 1654-2004* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004). Dean states that Sophia Clapp (1788-1871) was said to have remarked, "As long as I live Sally shall be provided for."

47. Scientific racism was integral to the Social Darwinian views held by numerous middle- and upper-class white Americans. During the 1870s, elaborate theories linked social evolution to the Great Chain of Being, which emerged among the Greeks,

was modified by medieval Christians, and fit snugly into the post-Enlightenment embrace of taxonomy. In brief, all of creation could be ranked from high to low, with humanity near the top of the pyramid, just below heavenly beings. Below human beings came various animals. One could also stratify *within* each category; hence humans—usually identified by “races,” a collapsed term that took into account physical characteristics, religion, nationality, and ethnicity—were ranked from high (closer to angels) to low (more animal-like). Most Social Darwinists ranked Native Americans toward the animal end of the scale, but exactly where depended upon the idealism or lack thereof of the “scientist.”

48. I use the terms “scholar” and “anthropologist” loosely, as some of these individuals were more properly social reformers, advocates, and curiosity seekers. What linked them was their devotion to studying Native Americans with an eye toward uncovering culture, language, and a degree of sympathetic understanding.

49. Margaret Bruchac, “Native Presence in Nonotuck and Northampton,” 28.

50. The Mill River was not a wide or imposing river and could be forded in many places, but pedestrians and horse carts generally used the bridges. It was also, as its name implies, much deeper in places than it is today as it was dammed in several spots to provide waterpower for numerous small factories in the nineteenth century. Its current course is not original. After regular floods—and disastrous ones in 1874 and 1936—it was diverted away from downtown Northampton in 1940 and rechanneled into a straight bed with diked sides to the south side of where it crosses West Street. The original path made a sharp left-hand bend and proceeded alongside West Street behind where the Forbes Library is now located, continuing along a course parallel to the Hampden and Hampshire rail line—now the bike path—then ran parallel to Pleasant Street before bending rightward and eventually emptying into the Connecticut River Oxbow. Until 1892, South Street was accessed from Main Street via a short descent down what is today Old South Street, which then wended its way up a rise where a bridge crossed the Mill River and where a modern bridge crosses the bike path.

51. In all likelihood, Mrs. Smith and one N. Brooks were living on the Parsons land, as the 1860 map also indicates this was the Parsons property.

52. Thanks to Smith College geology professor John Brady and to naturalist Laurie Sanders for confirming my suspicions. The document claiming the hill to be human-made is “Form C-Monuments: Massachusetts Historical Commission,” issued in February, 1982.

53. MacAdam’s great revelation was that a smoothed substructure of compacted earth would support a crushed stone crust that would slow the pace of rutting and erosion.

54. Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1995). Brown makes the point that tourism was limited in scope and social class for most of the nineteenth century. Travelers were mostly those of means and travel for purposes other than visiting kin was a form of self-improvement or class expression. It would be highly unlikely for

middle-class Americans to visit a humble monument dedicated to the memory of Irishmen or Native Americans.

55. Kneeland, *Drives in Northampton*. Main Street had a graded elevation of 149.7 feet in 1888; the crest of Hospital Hill was 332 feet.

56. "The Laws Relating the Guide Boards," in Kneeland, *Drives in Northampton*, 58.

57. Although treatments at the NSH and its very asylum structure—the Kirkbride model—induce images of Gothic horror today, many of Earle's views were widely considered enlightened. Earle wrote five books on mental health, and his 1887 *The Curability of Insanity* was both path-breaking and—from today's perspective—draconian. Earle was especially critical of the Danvers State Insane Asylum, whose treatment plans he thought overly harsh. Earle's annual reports suggest that he saw Northampton in competition with Danvers. They also betray a touch of vanity in their extended justification of expenditures linked to acquiring property as well as for grounds beautifications projects.

58. "Proposed Grading of West Street," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, June 28, 1878. On June 25, 1878, the paper reported battles with abutters seeking damages, but these were eventually resolved.

59. *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Northampton* (September 30, 1878). See also *Hampshire County Commission Records* 9 (1876-1880), 244. Both of these sources, parts of which are digitized, are available in Special Collections and University Archives at the W.E.B. Dubois Library, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

60. *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Northampton* (September 30, 1879), 6.

61. "Local Intelligence," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, October 29, 1878 (emphasis mine).

62. Such tales are the ultimate anachronisms. The building of the hill and erection of the monument was the product of manual labor assisted by horses. Workers toiling long hours would find little sport in such an endeavor.

63. The particulars of this legend came from Judge W. Michael Ryan, who recalled a 1964 discussion he had with Jim Musante. Musante, a hospital grounds worker, claimed that he had got the story from Sarah Gray, whose uncle was Curtis Braman. Curtis W. Braman, a mason, farmer, and cider mill operator, was born in 1817 and died in 1901 in his eighty-fourth year. He and his wife, the former Martha Ann Clapp, had ten children, including three sons, one of whom died before 1878. William W. (1841-1901) was a farmer and George Allen (1846-1921) was a teamster. Biographical details were taken from www.findagrave.com/ (accessed January 17, 2017).

64. The go-to source for finding the various meanings or words and the history of their usage is the *Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com/ (accessed January 17, 2017). The quote above comes from the architectural website "From Here to There," published at the URL <https://miesby.wordpress.com/2013/02/22/monument-v-memorial/> (accessed January 17, 2017).

65. The term “invented tradition” comes from the pathbreaking work of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Note: Nearly all of the fighting in the 1775 Battle of Bunker Hill actually took place on Breed’s Hill, just as the 1777 Battle of Bennington actually took place in Wolloomsac, New York, nearly 10 miles from the Vermont site where a monument was erected in 1889.

66. The story of Irish-American involvement in politics has been romanticized. While it is true that many figures of Irish descent were active in Gilded Age machine politics, they often did the bidding of Protestant ward bosses and mayors. Boston did not elect a mayor of Irish descent until 1885 (Hugh O’Brien), New York in 1880 (William R. Grace), Chicago in 1893 (John Patrick Hopkins), and Philadelphia not until 1963 (James Tate). When one considers that these cities had higher percentages of Irish ethnics than any other cities, one can easily imagine the slower pace of integration in smaller towns such as Northampton, whose power structure remained “Yankee” until deep into the twentieth century.

67. Irish and Irish-American identity is a complex issue that is beyond the scope of this paper. It has been asserted that the Irish Diaspora community is more “Irish” than those living in the Irish Republic. Suffice it to say there have been numerous Irish, “Celtic,” and “Pan-Celtic” revivals since the late nineteenth century. In the United States, these have been most pronounced in the 1880s, 1920s, 1960s, and the 1980s. They have been expressed politically (Irish Land League, Fenianism, Irish nationalism), journalistically (various Irish and Gaelic newspapers such as the *Irish World*, *Irish Echo*, *The Pilot*, *Boston Irish Reporter*) and culturally (arts and craft movements, Celtic music). A good treatment of the phenomenon of identity development emphasizing literature and religion can be found in Terence Brown, ed., *Celticism* (Amsterdam: Rodopi Publishing, 1996). See also Charles Fanning, ed., *New Perspectives on the Irish Diaspora* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000) and John Koch, *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*, 5 vols. (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005).

68. Bill O’Riordan to Robert Weir, personal conversation, January 5, 2017.

69. Garvey, op. cit. Among the works that followed Garvey’s study were: Adrienne G. Clark, “Who Murdered Marcus Lyon?” *New England Galaxy* 19:2 (1977), 15-21; James M. Camposeo, “Anti-Catholic Prejudice in Early New England,” *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, 6:2 (1978), 5-17; Allison Lockwood, “The 1806 Trial of Daley and Halligan,” *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, November 22, 1997; Jim Cahillane, “Execution About Revenge, not Justice,” *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, January 18, 2000; Peter Stevens, “In 1806, James Sullivan Vaulted into the Governor’s Office by Prosecuting to the Gallows Two Innocent ‘Sons of the Ould Sod,’” *Boston Irish Reporter*, December 2005; Richard Brown, “Tried, Convicted, and Condemned, in Almost Every Bar-room and Barber’s Shop: Anti-Irish Prejudice in the Trial of Dominic Daley and James Halligan, Northampton, Massachusetts, 1806,” *The New England Quarterly*, 84: 2 (June 2011), 205-233.

70. "150th Anniversary of Death on Gallows of Innocent Pair Points Up Changes, Progress," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, April 24, 1956. In this article, Halligan is misidentified as "Thomas" rather than "James."

71. *Springfield Union*, June 17, 1982; Irene Sage, "Justice Sought 176 Years after 2 Men Hanged," *Boston Globe*, June 13, 1982.

72. Sage, op. cit.

73. Form C-Monuments, Massachusetts Historical Commission. February 1981. Insofar as I can determine, this application was not acted upon until 1984.

74. Chapter 86, Section 10: *An Act Providing for the Disposition of Certain Property at Northampton State Hospital*, August 5, 1994; 189th General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Chapter 312, Section 2A: *An Act Providing for the Preservation and Improvement of Land, Parks, and Clean Energy in the Commonwealth*, August 14, 2008.

75. Although historians sometimes borrow the language of semiotic theory, they usually demand higher levels of evidence and deeper levels of meaning than theorists do. Few accept that historical significance can be equated with mental perceptions or sense impressions, or that individual interpretations hold the same weight as events that resonate in a broader cultural, political, or social arena.

76. Calvin Coolidge is the only U.S. president whose official papers and memorabilia are housed in a public library. The Forbes began collecting his papers in 1920, when he was vice president, but technically the collection did not become the official presidential library until 1956. The Coolidges returned to Northampton when Calvin left the White House in 1929 and lived on Hampton Terrace. The former president died in 1933; Grace passed away in 1957.

77. Phoebe Mitchell and Kevin Gutting, "Hospital's unmarked graves recognized," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, May 22, 2002.