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The Spirit of Reform in Hopkinton, 1829-1849

John J. Navin

In the two decades that followed Andrew Jackson's election in 1828, a whirlwind of social, economic, and technological changes swept through much of the nation. But for the quiet village of Hopkinton, some changes were slow in coming, especially those affecting long-standing social values and religious traditions. A variety of documents from that period attest to the frustration that grew out of that situation, and to the attempts of certain Hopkinton residents to engender a greater degree of moral and spiritual perfection in their community.

Hopkinton is situated in the southwest corner of Middlesex County, twenty-six miles west of Boston. An area of boulder-strewn hills and abundant water, Hopkinton was established in 1715 and remained a quiet farming community throughout the 1700s. The town's short-lived importance as a settlement on the road along the "Connecticut Path" from Boston to Hartford faded as the better maintained "Boston Post Road" became the preferred avenue of transport.

Between the American Revolution and the ascendancy of Andrew Jackson to the presidency, Hopkinton's population saw only a slight increase, from 1,134 to 1,809.¹ The town was not expanding at the rate of growth of Boston and its nearer suburbs. In addition to the farming population, the usual assortment of craftsmen and merchants set up modest businesses in Hopkinton, including the second cotton mill in the country. A number of quarries also

1. Vital Records of Hopkinton to the Year 1850 (Boston, 1911), p. 3. For regional data see Clement Meserve, Hopkinton, History of Middlesex County, Massachusetts (3 vols., ed. by D. Hamilton Hurd, Philadelphia, 1890).

operated in the town, providing granite for such notable structures as New York's Grand Central Station and Pennsylvania Railroad Terminal. Several mineral springs in Hopkinton's outlying areas also served as a fashionable tourist attraction.

The meetinghouse of the First Congregational Church, raised in 1725, functioned as the spiritual, political, and social center of the community.² It was, like most Congregational meetinghouses erected during the colonial period, a simple structure that housed religious services and town meetings. The edifice was still quite unpretentious nearly one hundred years later, as described by former resident Mary B. Clafin in her thinly-disguised 1890 reminiscence of Hopkinton entitled *Brampton Sketches*.

There was but one house of worship in the early days of Brampton. This was a two-story wooden structure, unpainted, with double rows of windows, and without spire or ornament of any kind. There was not a tree to protect it from the blasts of winter or the summer's scorching sun, and but for the fact that it had a graveyard beside it, and a long row of sheds behind it, a stranger might not have recognized it as a house of worship.

Due to the integration of church and state affairs in both puritan and colonial New England, the First Parish included all Hopkinton residents, though the majority were not members of the Congregational church. In fact, the number of people attending Sunday morning worship in the 1830s was usually three times greater than the actual membership of a church.³ This communion of church members and non-members had its difficulties; in a meeting of church members on July 4, 1836, a motion was passed "that the confessions of members be hereafter read before the church only and not before the congregation."⁴ As was typical throughout New

2. The Congregationalists were not the only religious denomination to maintain a house of worship in Hopkinton during this period. An Episcopal church was erected in 1748, and a Methodist church was dedicated in 1810.

3. Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America* (2nd ed., New York, 1973), p. 129.

4. Records of the First Congregational Church in Hopkinton, Massachusetts, 1832-1881, book 2, Hall: Archives, First Congregational Church of Hopkinton, entry dated July 4, 1836.

England, the principal figures in Hopkinton's Congregational church were also the leading figures in the community, and they maintained requirements that prohibited "undesirables" from gaining church membership.

Members of the Congregational Church were always subject to each other's scrutiny. The church records offer ample evidence of cases where a member was reprimanded or even excommunicated for some transgression. In March of 1846, for example, the members of the church voted to "dissolve connection" with Brother Charles Seaver:

Br. Seaver justifies himself in letting [sic] his house for dancing schol [sic] and balls because he does not consider it a sin & that in selling liquor he does not violate the civil law.⁵

Other church members were accused of slander, false bankruptcy, adultery, and other private and public transgressions. Each case was reviewed by the church elders and appropriate action taken. On at least one occasion the townspeople even took matters into their own hands. On the night of April 4, 1831, fifteen people emerged from a town meeting and used a firehook to tear apart the house of Henry Clement, who apparently had been sharing his bed with the widow Thompson. Clement was advised to leave Hopkinton, which he did shortly thereafter.⁶

During this period, often referred to as the Jacksonian era, a movement was afoot that extended far beyond the petty quarrels and physical boundaries of Hopkinton, indeed far beyond the boundaries of the United States. It was an international call to action, a massive reform effort aimed at improving the physical, spiritual, and intellectual well-being of every man, woman, and child. It started out years earlier as an evangelical reaffirmation of Christian virtues and pursuits. This Second Great Awakening swept across the southern states and the western frontier, spurred by a fear that the increasing focus on materialism and rapid westward expansion was resulting in

5. Records of the First Congregational Church in Hopkinton, Massachusetts, 1838-1880, book 3, Webster: Archives, First Congregational Church of Hopkinton, entry dated March 11, 1846.

6. Diary of Daniel Singletary, 1809-1845, reserve section, Hopkinton Public Library, entry dated April 4, 1831.

the disappearance of Christian lifestyles and values.⁷ This theme had been preached for decades and had even stimulated sporadic revivals between 1798 and 1820, but the prominent participation of notable clergymen and orators such as Lyman Beecher, Charles Grandison Finney, and Nathaniel Taylor generated unprecedented excitement and widespread religious fervor. News of extraordinary revivals and widely-attended camp meetings in the south and the west and eventually as far east as New York uplifted the spirits of Christian hopefuls everywhere.

It is clear from church records that the revivals of the Second Great Awakening stimulated interest among Hopkinton's Congregationalists, and subsequently some controversy. Beginning in 1791 and continuing for forty-six years, the Reverend Nathaniel Howe served the First Parish as pastor of the Congregational church. In 1830, due to the senior pastor's advanced age, Reverend Amos Phelps joined the town clergy as junior pastor. It is not clear why Reverend Phelps departed just one year later. An entry dated September 19, 1831, in the diary of a Hopkinton farmer simply notes: "Then at a parish meeting it was voted to dismiss the Rev. Amos A. Phelps from the pastoral care of the parish."⁸

Phelps was replaced by Reverend Jeffries Hall who, within three years of his arrival, became embroiled in a running feud with the church's leading members. The church log kept by Hall himself details the charges made by various influential male church members against him during an undoubtedly tense confrontation on February 16, 1835:

Deacon Fitch remarked that in his opinion there was not a sufficient degree of affection between the church and pastor He moreover stated that there had been favorable indications of a revival and . . . there appeared to be something in the way of our having a revival. (With an intimation that the pastor was in the way [sic].)⁹

7. A religious phenomenon known as the Great Awakening had taken place in colonial times, between 1740 and 1770. It was a widespread movement that, despite its evangelical origins, played a significant role in establishing a national consciousness. See Edwin S. Gaustad, The Great Awakening in New England (New York, 1957).

8. Singletary Diary, September 19, 1831.

9. Records, First Congregational Church, book 2, February 16, 1835.

Reverend Hall was chastised for not holding a sufficient number of meetings, not "laying out work" for the members, and not directing what they should do. They criticized his preaching, saying that "he had not faculty of preaching to make the audience feel!" The church members clearly expected a level of motivation that was not forthcoming. News of massive camp meetings and inspirational sermons in other parts of the country only heightened their demands for more active church leadership. Deacon Morse, foremost critic of Reverend Hall's oratorical mediocrity, emphasized the point:

He [Deacon Morse] likewise said the church had borne a great deal, had been waiting for a revival, and things remained about as two years ago, *no prospect of a revival* [sic], while there were revivals around us and we were going down, growing darker, and sinners going down to ruin!¹⁰

The junior pastor was blamed for declining church attendance, which he noted in the church log was statistically correct "but unjust toward the present pastor." Another church member spoke of the junior pastor's "keeping the church back and bearing down upon them as if he had thought them hypocrites." The debate came to a head when Deacon Fitch brought forth a written proposition calling for a vote of confidence in the junior pastor; the meeting was quickly adjourned without any vote taking place.

It is not surprising that dissension existed between the church members and their junior pastor -- this was a common occurrence. Members of the clergy were hired and supported by the congregation; a certain level of performance was to be expected, and not infrequently disagreements arose regarding that performance or even regarding philosophy and scriptural interpretation. However, the charges directed at Reverend Hall are evidence of an unusual and far greater pressure to perform. He was criticized for his conservative approach, at a time when the Second Great Awakening was taking place elsewhere. The church members were dry kindling, awaiting the spark that would cause some great evangelical flame to burst forth. The beleaguered Reverend Hall was apparently without flint; his final line of defense was "an affectionate caution given to Deacon

10. Ibid., February 16, 1835.

Morse to beware how he spoke and judged concerning the work of the holy spirit."¹¹

Hall's battle with the Hopkinton congregation dragged on for two more years. The infighting between church members must have been bitter, given that the pastor's call in 1838 for a council to consider whether it was "expedient that his pastoral relation be dissolved" was denied in June, approved in October, reconsidered and denied once again in late October, and approved again the following April -- only after the church had voted by secret ballot to dismiss Hall.¹² Like his predecessor, and perhaps for the same reasons, the junior pastor was evicted by his flock. Hopkinton's First Congregational Church was once again in search of the right man for the job: one with fire in his sermons, energy in his conduct, and a revival in his tote sack.

On December 19, 1838, the Reverend John C. Webster was installed as minister of the First Congregational Church of Hopkinton. He packed no revival, but he did bring a new level of energy and participation to the role of pastor. No less enthusiastic was his wife, Rebecca G. Webster, who became a tireless worker in church and reform-related causes until her death in 1846. The arrival of the Websters on the Hopkinton scene had an immediate impact on the parish. After a season of prayer and conference, the Church solemnly renewed its covenant. With the support of his congregation, the pastor appointed several committees to visit all church members and "have conversation with them in relation to their religious feelings." The pastor and deacons also comprised a new committee to "embody the rules and regulations of the church."¹³

One result of the new pastor's arrival was the rejuvenation of the Ladies Missionary Society of Hopkinton. The Society first organized in 1836, but disbanded during the waning days of Reverend Hall's tenure. Under the leadership of Mrs. Webster, the Ladies Missionary Society reorganized on April 9, 1839, "that we may be used as instruments in the hands of God of advancing the work of

11. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1835.

12. Records of the First Congregational Church in Hopkinton, Massachusetts, 1827-1858, book 1: Howe, Archives, First Congregational Church of Hopkinton, entry dated November 1837.

13. Records, First Congregational Church, book 3, December 18, 1839.

conversion of the world."¹⁴ According to the recollections of a founder nearly thirteen years later, the original members of the Ladies Missionary Society had endured some ridicule in 1836:

well do they remember the reproaches they then met (for the Missionary enterprise was not regarded as it now is) and the taunt they received: "What can a few women do toward converting a world."¹⁵

The Ladies Missionary Society was open to "any lady" who contributed annually to its funds. The initial listing of names included sixty-eight women. However, the roster of elected officers and the homes at which the society met clearly illustrates that the Ladies Missionary Society was an offshoot of the First Congregational Church and was firmly controlled by the church's membership. In fact, the pastor's wife served as president of the society from 1839 through 1846, whereupon she resigned the position due to poor health. Other officers elected in 1839 included two daughters of John Adams, "the richest man in town," and Mrs. James Freeland, matron of another of Hopkinton's wealthier families and wife of a deacon in the Congregational church.¹⁶ Many of the women who played a prominent role in the formation and continuation of the Ladies Missionary Society were also active and influential in other organizations. This pattern of leadership was common in the reform movements of the Jacksonian era, and resulted in what has aptly been described as "an interlocking directorate of reformers."¹⁷

The society met once each month "for prayer and missionary intelligence." The newly reorganized society's first meeting, held April 9, 1839, included the reading of scriptures, prayer, "intelligence" from missions on the Sandwich Islands, and "discussion respecting the wants of a perishing world, and the many millions destitute of the intellectual, moral, and religious privileges we enjoy."¹⁸ These activities, along with a resolution to contribute fifty dollars to enroll

14. Preface to society constitution drafted in April of 1839, in Meeting Records, the Ladies Missionary Society, Hopkinton, 1839-1849, reserve section, Hopkinton Public Library.

15. Records, Ladies Missionary Society, April 12, 1849.

16. The Hopkinton Light, January 1896.

17. Henry Steele Commager, The Era of Reform, 1830-1860 (New Jersey, 1960), p. 11.

18. Records, Ladies Missionary Society, April 9, 1839.

Reverend J. C. Webster as a life member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, set the pattern for most meetings to come. The Society was imbued with a sense of mission that encompassed the salvation of neighbor and foreigner alike: "this society is operating in a most important sense on the whole world, while endeavoring to secure to our own countrymen the preaching of the gospel."¹⁹ Not all of the missionary work supported by prayer and donations took place in foreign countries. In 1817, the American Board set up a mission among the Cherokee and Choctaw Indians in Georgia and Mississippi.²⁰ The missionary labors and conversions to Christianity among these tribes were publicized in the *Missionary Herald* and the *Home Missionary*, along with news from abroad. The Ladies Missionary Society also received correspondence regarding work among the Ojibway Indians. Andrew Jackson's forceful policy regarding Indian relocation obviously evoked some sympathy among the Hopkinton ladies, as this 1845 excerpt reveals: "the poor Indian who has so unjustly been driven from his quiet home and the graves of his sires beyond the Mississippi is beginning to lisp the praises of redeeming love" ²¹ The best way to save the "poor Indian" was, of course, to baptize him and instruct him in the ways of Christian living. Thus, the ladies of the Society were delighted that many of the Choctaw and Cherokee chiefs had been led to "renounce the worship of the great Spirit for the Lord Jesus Christ."

Between 1839 and 1849, the period covered in the surviving records of the Ladies Missionary Society of Hopkinton, there occurred an unmistakable shift in emphasis from the salvation of mankind on a worldwide basis to a much narrower focus -- the support of Christian labors in the American west. The meeting notes for 1839 through mid-1841 make prominent mention of missionary activity in Siberia, Turkey, Syria, India, Africa, the Sandwich Islands, and "Bey Root," but offer only passing reference to missionary activity on America's western frontier. However, in May of 1841 the Society's attention shifted to letters "from the Western part of our country" containing "accounts of revivals at Green Bay, Wisconsin and Vermontsville, Michigan." Suddenly the Indian was not the only plains dweller in need of salvation; thousands of settlers offered a new field "literally white for the harvest." The Society's interest and financial support

19. *Ibid.*, September 9, 1839.

20. Walker, Congregational Churches, p. 326.

21. Records, Ladies Missionary Society, April 10, 1845.

became increasingly directed toward missionary activity in the American west, and in the revivals that took place presumably as a result. The *Home Missionary* banged the drum for the cause:

We then listened with interest to intelligence communicated from the Home Missionary. Allusion was made to the Mississippi Valley as embracing the most important field of missionary labor: the agency to save the west -- the ministry, and the church.²²

The sense of drama stemmed partly from rumors of "Romanist" activity in the west, and particularly from the "pernicious influence exerted by the Mormons" on the frontier. That was a development of particular irony to the society, since the family of Brigham Young hailed from Hopkinton.²³

When the Ladies Missionary Society reorganized in 1839, all funds were contributed to the cause of foreign missions, save those that the American Board might allocate differently. As of April of 1842, the society's donations were being equally divided between domestic and overseas missions. By April of 1846, all funds were contributed to domestic missions, except those specifically designated by the donor for foreign missions. Thus the society's members had, in a brief seven-year span, completely reversed the allocation of their contributions in order to keep pace with "the great number of emigrants who are constantly wending their way Westward, and the importance of having them supplied with Missionaries and Bibles."²⁴ Interest in the Ladies Missionary Society peaked in early 1842, when many new young members attended meetings, though this trend would prove to be short-lived. Unfulfilled by the limited support they could offer the missions from afar, the leadership of the society expressed a wish "that from our own Church a missionary might be raised up who would willingly go to heathen lands."²⁵ This call to action occurred

22. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1844.

23. This harsh reference to the Mormons is contained in the meeting record for October 5, 1843. The meeting record for February 5, 1846, underscores the link between Hopkinton and the Mormons in gentler terms; the members heard "a sad account of the state of society among the Mormons A prayer was offered for our deluded friends among them."

24. Records, Ladies Missionary Society, November 1848.

25. *Ibid.*, February 3, 1842.

during the same period when news of revivals in the west was the chief topic of discussion at society meetings. The harvest was at hand and the ladies of Hopkinton wanted to participate. Five years earlier, the Congregationalists of Hopkinton lamented the fact that the revivals had not come to them; now they longed to play a role in the new round of revivals, even if by proxy. Not until three years later did a brief entry in the society recordbook allude to one of the society's former secretaries, who was among "the Home Missionaries in Wisconsin."

The Ladies Missionary Society's total annual cash contribution to various charities ranged from \$100 to \$150 for the years from 1839 to 1849.²⁶ They sent several boxes filled with "necessary articles" to missions on the American frontier and prepared a box of bonnets to be sold on the southern market to aid a church in Iowa. Other boxes went to Canada, Jamaica, and in 1846 to the president of Illinois College for distribution among his indigent students. The last entry in the records of the Ladies Missionary Society of Hopkinton is dated April 12, 1849. It is not clear whether the society continued to exist or whether it disbanded at that time.

The Hopkinton Maternal Association, founded in the early 1830s, was another of the principal women's organizations in Hopkinton. Unlike the numerous female reform societies that focussed on issues such as temperance and abolition, the Hopkinton Maternal Association concentrated on "the right physical, mental, moral and religious training of our children."²⁷ Even during this period of unprecedented social reform, the society's members continued to believe that a woman's most effective sphere of influence was at home, and that her first duty was to her children. This extract, dated May 31, 1847, says as much:

Shall we disband and thus say to the world that we do not believe in united effort and prayer for the conversion of our dear children? Is it true that while we are disposed to labor for the conversions of the heathen and the emancipation of the slave we cannot make as great an effort for the spiritual welfare of the

26. *Ibid.*, compiled from annual totals for the years from 1839 to 1849.

27. Records of Hopkinton Maternal Association, Including Constitution, Bylaws, Minutes of Meetings, Etc., March 30, 1842-December 25, 1849 (prepared by Middlesex County Historical Survey, 1937-1938, Works Progress Administration Project #1053813738), in reserve section, Hopkinton Public Library, entry dated March 30, 1842.

souls committed to *our* care and for whom God will hold us responsible?²⁸

A female Moral Reform Society, for which no records are available, also may have existed in Hopkinton during the same period that the Maternal Association was active. Mary B. Claflin's *Brampton Sketches* includes a description of "Mis' Hanscom," "the agent in Brampton [Hopkinton] for the Moral Reform Society, and she considered it a part of her pious mission to call on all the families in the village to solicit subscriptions."²⁹

Between 1829 and 1849, a number of other church-based organizations were established, including the Sabbath School committee, Tract Society, Committee for the Relief of the Poor, a second missionary society -- probably comprised of male church members -- organized in 1842, the Ladies Bethel Association (of which little is known, but which was comprised of many of the same members as the Ladies Missionary Society), and the "society for the aid of the oppressed slave."³⁰

Despite the prominent role of eastern Massachusetts in the anti-slavery movement during this period, Hopkinton managed to keep the slavery issue at arm's length.³¹ The Ladies Missionary Society did not give the slavery issue serious consideration until February 1, 1844. Even then, it apparently considered the problem to be marginally within the society's charter.³²

Attention was given to a brief extract from the Home Mission and as any information upon the subject of Slavery may be considered, strictly speaking, as belonging to this department, a few minutes was

28. Records, Hopkinton Maternal Association, May 31, 1847.

29. Claflin, Brampton Sketches, p. 111.

30. Records (book 3) of the First Congregational Church mention the Sabbath School Committee and the Tract Society in May of 1843; the Committee for the Relief of the Poor in February of 1846, and temperance meetings in March of 1846. Records for the Ladies Missionary Society show that the meeting on October 3, 1844, ended early so members could attend the Ladies Bethel Association meeting.

31. Elsewhere a former Hopkinton resident and schoolteacher, Henry Ward Beecher, was gaining national prominence as a leading abolitionist preacher.

32. For more information on the role of women's groups in the anti-slavery movement, see Nancy Woloch, Women and the American Experience (New York, 1984).

devoted to this subject. It was deemed advisable that those ladies favorable to the formation of a Society for the aid of the oppressed slave should give their names for this purpose, which was accordingly done and the meeting was closed with prayer.³³

In May of 1845, the Ladies Missionary Society decided to channel its funds to those benevolent associations having little or no connection with slavery, "as oppression is a great hindrance to the spread of the gospel."³⁴ Notes from later meetings reveal that some time was spent reading from the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

There had been prior rumblings about the slavery issue in the First Congregational Church of Hopkinton. During a meeting of church members on February 17, 1841, some anti-slavery resolutions were introduced and discussed, and "laid over to another meeting." One month later, the church voted to pass a resolution condemning slavery in unmistakable terms: "Resolved that slavery is a sin against the law of God which requires that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us and ought to be immediately abandoned."³⁵ In November of 1842, the Hopkinton Congregationalists contacted the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and requested that some action be taken in the case of Reverend J. L. Wilson, a slaveholding missionary in Africa who was under the board's patronage. The Church also asked the Board members to "define their position in relation to the subject of slavery as it exists in this Country."³⁶ The American Home Missionary Society (AHMS) became embroiled in a similar dispute in late 1844, when it appeared to be soft on slavery in spite of increasing anti-slavery sentiment. The Hopkinton Congregationalists considered a vote to stop sending funds to the AHMS in December of 1844, and adopted a pointed resolution in January of the following year: "Resolved that those Watchmen who neglect to preach against the corrupting sin of oppression are blind. They are all ignorant. They

 33. Records, Ladies Missionary Society, February 1, 1844.

34. *Ibid.*, May 1845.

35. Records, First Congregational Church, book 3, March 17, 1847.

36. *Ibid.*, November 4, 1842.

are all dumb dogs. They cannot bark. . . ."³⁷ The wording of this resolution was particularly ironic, perhaps beyond mere coincidence, in that a well-known minister named Whitefield who had visited Hopkinton years earlier had criticized the sermons of the Congregationalist clergy as "the barking of a dumb dog."³⁸ In February of 1847, members of the First Congregational Church voted to send money to the American Bible Society with the request that it be spent in giving Bibles to the slaves, or if that was impractical, that it remain in the treasury as the "Slaves Bible Fund."³⁹

These and other records suggest that Hopkinton was still a quiet New England farming community at the outset of the Jacksonian era. The problems that arose between the clergy and the members of the First Congregational Church stemmed from the town's continuing repose, even as great revivals were taking place elsewhere. The arrival of the new pastor in 1838 coincided with a growing awareness of large-scale social issues and the gathering momentum of the moral reformers. Hopkinton made some efforts, admittedly limited in scope, to participate in these movements. In many ways, the activities that took place in Hopkinton offer an excellent example of the link between the Second Great Awakening and the subsequent reform movement. The Ladies Missionary Society, the Hopkinton Maternal Association, and the numerous other committees and organizations testify to the sentiment for moral and spiritual perfection in Hopkinton during the Jacksonian era. It was a sentiment, nourished by religious fervor, that sometimes resulted in a frustrating sense of non-involvement.

With the explosive growth of the shoe industry in Hopkinton in the late 1840s, the character of the town changed dramatically.⁴⁰ The old guard gave way as enterprising industrialists became the power figures in Hopkinton. The population soared and the town's quiet streets grew busy with ponderous "manufactories," new shops,

37. *Ibid.*, January 2, 1845.

38. Hopkinton and Vicinity, A Souvenir of the Queen Esther Oratorio (Hopkinton, 1906), p. 11.

39. Records, First Congregational Church, book 3, February 17, 1847.

40. By 1850, Hopkinton had become the largest footwear manufacturing town in the United States; the income generated by the manufacture of boots and shoes totalled one million dollars annually, with eleven factories in operation. For more information, see Eugene F. Oakes, Studies in Massachusetts Town Finance, Harvard Economic Study (Cambridge, 1937).

and the inevitable traffic, human and otherwise, that accompanies industrialization. An unflattering portrait of the "new" Hopkinton appeared in *Eve Among the Puritans*:

Now that the whiskey-loving Irish had reached the fine old town of Hopkinton on the wave of immigration which flooded New England, saloons and slums lined what was once a pleasant street called Hayden Row.⁴¹

Reformers no longer needed to focus on causes in the south or west; many of the pressing issues of the day, such as education, temperance, women's rights, and child labor, had "come home" to Hopkinton and other New England towns which were similarly transformed by the advent of industrialization.⁴²

41. Eleanor Ellis Perkins, *Eve Among the Puritans* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 129.

42. During the next decade, Hopkinton became one of many stops on the Underground Railroad for fugitive slaves. Ultimately, the town's support for the Union cause and emancipation of the slaves was grimly reflected in the deaths of fifty-four of its men and boys on Civil War battlefields.