

Our Endicott Heritage Trail®

JOHN ENDECOTT FAMILY ASSOCIATION, INC. | WWW.ENDECOTTENDICOTT.COM

Protecting Our Heroes!

JEFA donated \$5000 to provide personal protective equipment for healthcare workers at Massachusetts General Hospital Outpatient Center, at the location of Gov. John Endecott's home, Orchard Farm (see p. 13), where the Endicott Pear Tree still lives. (To buy your own tree, visit our website.)

About JEFA

The John Endecott Family Association is a 501(c)7 nonprofit corporation. Our members are descendants of John Endecott, the first governor of Massachusetts. We are interested in learning about Endicott family history and the history of the British Empire.

The JEFA publishes Our Endicott Heritage Trail® twice a year. We also hold Cousins Reunions, where the members socialize and learn about family history and history in general. We also undertake projects, such as providing assistance to the restoration of the 1665 portrait of John Endecott and the preservation of the Endicott Burial Ground in Danvers, MA. We also distribute clones of the pear tree planted by John Endecott in Massachusetts in 1632.

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2020: A Momentous Year

William T. Endicott, JEFA President

The John Endicott Family Association was planning to hold a reunion this summer in Redmond, Oregon, where George Endicott (see photo) is mayor. However, the COVID-19 pandemic made us cancel. We will get through this crisis, just as the Endicotts and the country have surmounted many other crises in the past.

In the meantime, the JEFA trustees wish you all Godspeed and hope that this newsletter will brighten your days! We have included articles on a range of fascinating subjects, all connected in some way to the Endicott family.

The first article deals with 1588, the year John Endecott was born. It was such a momentous year that some people doubted that it was his true birth year. In that year, England's small navy defeated the much larger Spanish navy (also known as the Spanish Armada), which was poised to invade England and overthrow Queen Elizabeth I, to restore Roman Catholic rule in England. Protestants all over Europe saw the English victory as a sign of divine approval for Protestantism.

The next article deals with the "stannaries" (tin-mining towns) of Devon and Cornwall. John Endecott was born in the stannary town of Chagford, in Devon. Under English stannary law, the stannary towns were allowed to be largely self-governing, with their own parliaments. Thus, John Endecott's experience with stannary law probably laid the groundwork for New England democracy.

Next is an article about the ponies that were used in the tin mines. Their descendants are still roaming free in the national park at Dartmoor.

We also have an article on what might

be John Endecott's Y chromosome. This chromosome is passed down only from father to son. The Y chromosome can help you trace your male ancestry through prehistoric times!

Next is Erin Connelly, PhD's article on a medical book by John Endecott's son, Dr. Zerobabel Endecott. Dr. Connelly is part of a group of scholars looking for medieval remedies that might work against modern diseases.

We have a few articles on famous Endicotts, including those who served in the military and those who made their mark in the business world. There is even an article on who is buried in the Endicott family cemetery, in Danvers (originally Salem), Massachusetts, as well as on efforts to preserve the site.

We also have an article about the Endicott coat of arms, as well as a list of locations that are important to Endicott family history.



A 5th-generation Oregonian, George Endicott (right) is the Mayor of Redmond, OR, a city of 31,000 people. His wife Krisanna Clark-Endicott was the mayor of Sherwood, Oregon and is now on the Redmond City Council.

Why 1588, the Year of John Endecott's Birth, Was Momentous

Laurie Endicott Thomas

The year 1588 was a momentous year in British history, since it was the date of the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Three important Englishmen were born that year. One was Thomas Hobbes, the political philosopher who wrote *Leviathan*. Hobbes expressed key principles that influenced the US Constitution, such as inalienable rights, the social compact, and limited government. The other two were John Endecott and John Winthrop, key figures in founding Massachusetts Bay Colony. Why was there an important naval battle between England and Spain in 1588? The story really starts a century earlier.

Ferdinand and Isabella's daughter

In 1489, King Ferdinand of Aragon and his wife Isabella of Castile promised the hand of their 3-year-old daughter, Catherine of Aragon, to Arthur, Prince of Wales. In 1491, Ferdinand and Isabella completed the "Reconquest" of Spain by conquering the independent Islamic caliphate of Granada. In 1492, they issued the Alhambra Decree, which ordered all practicing Jews to convert to Catholicism or to leave Spanish territory, on pain of death. In 1492, Isabella also financed the voyage of Christopher Columbus. This led to the Spanish Conquest of the Americas, which soon made Spain incredibly rich.

Catherine of Aragon married Arthur, the heir apparent to the English throne, in 1501. However, he died a few months later. In 1507, Catherine became the Aragonian ambassador to England—the first female ambassador in European history. In 1509, Henry VII died and his surviving son became Henry VIII at age 17. On 23 June 1509, Henry VIII married Catherine.

Catherine was a powerful queen. While Henry was fighting in France, she served as regent for 6 months, raising and commanding an army that successfully defended England from an invasion by the Scots. Unfortunately, she failed to produce a male heir. She did produce a daughter, Mary, in 1516. However, England had never had a female sovereign.

Henry VIII breaks with Rome

When Catherine was in her late 40s, Henry decided to divorce her, to marry a woman who could bear him a son. The Pope refused to annul their marriage, but Henry persuaded local clergy to do so in 1533. In 1534, Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy, which declared that Henry and all subsequent sovereigns would be Supreme Head of the Church of England. This act marked the beginning of the English Reformation.

In 1533, Henry married Anne Boleyn. She soon had a daughter, Elizabeth. Then, Anne had two stillborn children and miscarried a male child. She was charged with adultery, incest, and treason and sentenced to death by beheading. After her death, Henry married Jane Seymour, who finally bore him a son. Jane Seymour died of childbed fever two weeks after the birth. Hen-

ry then married three more times, but none of those wives produced children.

Edward VI

When Henry VIII died in 1547, his 9-year-old son Edward became Edward VI. Although Henry had broken with the Pope, he never permitted the renunciation of Catholic doctrine or ceremony. Under Edward, the Church of England became definitely Protestant. Clerical celibacy was abolished, as was the Mass.

When Edward was near death at age 15, he tried to name his cousin Lady Jane Grey as his heir, to avoid the restoration of Catholicism under his sister Mary. Yet Lady Jane Grey was deposed 9 days after Edward's death in 1553. Mary then became Mary I of England.

Bloody Mary

Mary tried to reverse the Reformation in England. However, Parliament would not let her restore Church property that had been confiscated under Henry or Edward's rule. Mary punished powerful Protestants for heresy. At least 280 were burned at the stake, and at least 30 others died in prison. This "Marian Persecution" earned her the nickname, "Bloody Mary."

Already in her late 30s, Mary decided to marry and produce an heir, to prevent her Protestant sister Elizabeth from succeeding her. Mary's cousin Charles V persuaded her to marry his only son, Prince Philip of Spain. Charles V regarded himself as a new Charlemagne. As heir to the House of Habsburg, he was Holy Roman Emperor. As grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, he was King of Spain. He also inherited the Burgundian Netherlands. His possessions included the Castilian West Indies and the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia.

Mary and Philip were supposed to be co-regents of England, at least during Mary's lifetime. A month after their wedding, Mary stopped menstruating and began to gain weight. The baby was due in April of 1555. Yet there was no baby. After Philip visited her again in 1557, Mary had another false pregnancy, with the baby presumably due in March 1558. Yet there was still no baby. Childless, Mary had to allow her sister Elizabeth to succeed her. Mary died in November 1558, at age 42. At that point, Elizabeth I became queen.

Who should be queen?

Philip's claim on England died with Mary, so he proposed marriage to Elizabeth. However, Elizabeth did not answer yes or no. (She never married.) Since the Pope regarded Elizabeth I as a bastard, Philip decided that Elizabeth had to be replaced. One candidate was Mary, Queen of Scots—the grand-daughter of Henry VIII's sister, Margaret Tudor.

As the only surviving legitimate child of James V of Scotland,



The Launching of English Fire Ships on the Spanish Fleet off Calais depicts Queen Elizabeth I watching from the shore as her navy attacks the Spanish Armada on the night of August 7th, 1588. This gouache miniature was painted around 1600.

Mary became Queen of Scotland upon his death in 1542, when she was only 6 days old. She married Francis, the Dauphin of France, in 1558. She was then Queen Consort of France from his ascension in 1559 until his death in 1560. She returned to Scotland in 1561 and married Henry Stuart, Lord Darmley. In June 1566, they had a son, James.

Darmley died mysteriously in February, 1567. A month later, Mary married James Hepburn, the Fourth Earl of Bothwell, who was suspected of causing Darmley's death. After an uprising against the couple, Mary was forced to abdicate in favor of her son James, who became James VI of Scotland. Mary then fled to England, to seek Elizabeth's protection.

Seeing Mary as a threat, Elizabeth kept her under custody in various castles and manor houses in England for 18 years. In 1586, Mary was found guilty of plotting to have Elizabeth assassinated. Mary was beheaded the following year. This brings us to the eve of the battle with the Spanish Armada.

Conflict with Spain

Elizabeth was the target of Philip II's wrath for several reasons. One was her refusal to marry him. Another was her re-establishment of a Protestant Church of England. Yet another was the fact that English privateers were preying on Philip's treasure ships, which were bringing home plunder from the Americas. Yet another was English support for the Dutch, who were trying to throw off Spanish rule.

In late May 1588, Philip sent a fleet of 130 ships from Co-

runna, in Galicia (the northwestern corner of Spain) to escort an army from Flanders (now part of Belgium) to invade England. The Spanish had more ships and more men. However, their ships were slower, and their canon could not shoot as far and took longer to reload. The Spanish also had no secure port where they could take shelter, so they were in trouble when the weather turned bad. Because of the bad weather, they were unable to pick up reinforcements.

The Spanish Armada lost because it had inferior technology, a bad strategy and bad tactics, and bad weather. The English victory gave heart to Protestants throughout Europe, who saw it as a sign of God's favor. During Elizabeth's reign, England was Protestant, but not Protestant enough for everyone's taste. Some people (called Puritans) wanted to purify the English church of all vestiges of Catholicism. John Endecott became part of that movement.

King James I and King Charles I

Elizabeth I (also known as the Virgin Queen) never married. She died childless. She was succeeded by James VI of Scotland, who became James I of England in 1603. He is the King James who commissioned the King James Version of the Bible. His son Charles I became king in 1625. Charles was the king who granted the charter to create the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The charter was supposedly to create a trading post in the New World, but John Endecott and other Puritans turned the colony into a Puritan New England.

The Devon Stannary

William T. Endicott

This is a story about how some in the Endecott clan got rich! They were involved in tin mining in Devon. Tin is a soft, silvery metal that melts at a relatively low temperature. Thus, tin has been known since prehistoric times. If you melt copper with a bit of tin, you produce bronze, which is far harder than copper.

The invention of bronze marked the transition between the Stone Age and the Bronze Age, when many tools, weapons, and armor were made of bronze. The European Bronze Age stretched from roughly 3200 BC to 600 BC.

Iron is more common than tin and copper, but it melts at a far higher temperature. Thus, people needed to learn how to make better furnaces before they could smelt iron. After people started using iron to make weapons, the Bronze Age gave way to the Iron Age. Yet even during the Iron Age, bronze and thus tin remained valuable.

Even today, tin is used heavily. In particular, tin is used to plate other metals, to prevent corrosion. It is also used for making solder, which can be used to attach pieces of metal to each other. However, tin is no longer mined in Britain. Most of the world's tin comes from Bolivia and from the East Asian Tin Belt, stretching from China to Indonesia.

Tin mines in ancient Britain

Tin had been mined in Cornwall and Devon for thousands of years. These British tin mines brought wealth to the region. This is why the Romans wanted to conquer Britain. Julius Caesar failed to do so, as did Gaius Caesar (known as Caligula). Finally, the Romans succeeded under the Emperor Claudius. The Latin name for tin is *stannum*.

Stannary towns

By the 12th century, the notion developed that the king had special rights over mines and minerals. Thus, the king of England could grant and recognize Crown charters, to give mine operators special privileges. These charters established stannary jurisdictions in the tin-mining regions of Cornwall and Devon. In 1305, King Edward I's Stannary Charter established Tavistock, Ashburton, and Chagford (the town we think John Endecott came from) as the Devon "stannary towns", giving them a monopoly on all tin mining in Devon. Plympton was added in 1328. In exchange, these Stannary towns essentially became tax collectors for the King. For the next few centuries, tin mining in Devon was a great source of revenue for the Crown.

What stannary towns did

To measure the tin output, you needed to do more than weigh the ingots of tin that were produced. You also had to test the

ingots, to see how pure they were. To do this test, you would cut off a sample from the corner of each ingot. This corner or "*coign*" is the origin of the word *coinage*. This word has caused some confusion because it has led some to think the stannaries were minting coins to be used as money, but that's not the case.

The stannaries became so important to the Crown that they were allowed to have their own parliament and laws. Stannary law even took precedence over the English Common Law. Thus, the tanners' parliament was able to ignore some of the laws of the land. Stannary law remains part of the law of the United Kingdom. It is arguably the oldest law incorporated into the English legal system.

The stannary towns became prosperous, important, and powerful as they administered the tin mining and received visits from government officials. The stannary towns also served as examples of self-rule. Thus, they established a model that was later put into practice in Massachusetts.

Endicott involvement

In his pamphlet "The Devonshire Ancestry and Early Homes of John Endecott", the 19th century British writer Sir Roper Lethbridge talks about tin mining and wrote: "The Endicott wills show that the family in this way became very wealthy." Lethbridge went on to say that the will of "John Endycott" "shows that he was a large owner of tin mines in Throwleigh and the adjacent parishes, including the great Bradford mine.

Lethbridge adds:

This will is particularly interesting, as illustrating the tin mining industry that flourished at that time in the parishes adjacent to Dartmoor. It is only one of a great number of Endicott wills preserved in the Exeter Registries, for the family was a wealthy one, and most of its members seem to have had property to dispose of at their death.....four families — Whiddon, Endecott, Knapman and Lethbridge—owned most of the tin-mining land in the stannary of Chagford...

Lethbridge also says of Henry Endecott (possibly the grandfather of Governor John Endecott),

"he appears to have acquired other large tin-mining properties in the neighborhood — including Cranbrook farm and Cranbrook Castle in Moreton Hampstead and Pafford or Parford partly in Drewsteington and partly Moreton Hampstead..."

So, it seems that Gov. John Endecott came from a wealthy family, from a town accustomed to self-rule. But exactly what impact this may have had on the course of his political life is not known for sure.

The Tin-Miners' Ponies

Laurie Endicott Thomas

Chagford, which is the likely birthplace of Gov. John Endecott, is on the northeastern edge of Dartmoor, which is a moorland area in Devon (see map). A moorland is a habitat that consists of low-growing vegetation on acidic soils in an upland area (hilly region or plateau). Dartmoor's moorland and surrounding area have been protected as a national park since 1951. Dartmoor's most famous feature is its semiferous ponies. These ponies' ancestors worked in the tin mines. Today, about a thousand ponies still roam the moors.

Domestication of horses

Long before human beings learned how to ride horses, or to use them to pull wagons and plows, they hunted them for food. Studies of mitochondrial DNA (inherited from the mother) show that modern horses are descended from wild mares from many different places. However, studies of the Y chromosome (found only in males) show that nearly all modern horses are descended from one ancient stallion. These DNA results suggest that people domesticated horses in one place but then brought domesticated stallions to breed with local wild mares. However, some of the domesticated horses live in the wild. Domesticated animals that are living free are called feral.

Equines in England

The wild ancestors of modern equines started roaming Great Britain after the ice sheets receded at the end of the last Ice Age. At first, human beings probably merely hunted them for food. Yet domesticated ponies have been living in the Dartmoor area for at least 3500 years. Written records about ponies in Dartmoor date back to 1012 AD.



Dartmoor ponies at Little Mis Tor, near Yelverton, Devon, England. Roughly a thousand ponies live on the moor today.

The Dartmoor pony

People have been using Dartmoor ponies for many different purposes for hundreds of years. Their numbers started to decline in the 19th century, when people started bringing smaller Shetland ponies to work in the mines.

The Dartmoor pony breed

Dartmoor ponies are hardy, sturdy ponies with excellent stamina. They have the size and temperament to be suitable as a child's mount, but they are strong enough to carry an adult.

In 1898, the Polo Pony Society opened a studbook to define and register the breed. Not all Dartmoor ponies are purebred. Outbreeding with Arabian horses has been used to refine the breed. Welsh ponies and Fell ponies have also contributed to the breed. Since the number of ponies is small, careful outbreeding is used to maintain genetic diversity within the breed.

To qualify as a Dartmoor pony, a pony must be descended from a pedigreed Dartmoor pony. Other ponies that are born out on the moorland are classified as Dartmoor Hill ponies.

Surviving the Wars

World War I and II were devastating to the Dartmoor pony breed because the Ministry of Defense used Dartmoor as an area for training exercises, and as a firing range. Many ponies died when the soldiers used them for target practice.

Today, the breed has been granted Rare Breed Status and is being protected by the Dartmoor Pony Moorland Scheme, which is run by the Dartmoor Pony Society and the Duchy of Cornwall, as well as Dartmoor National Park.



An Endicott Y Chromosome

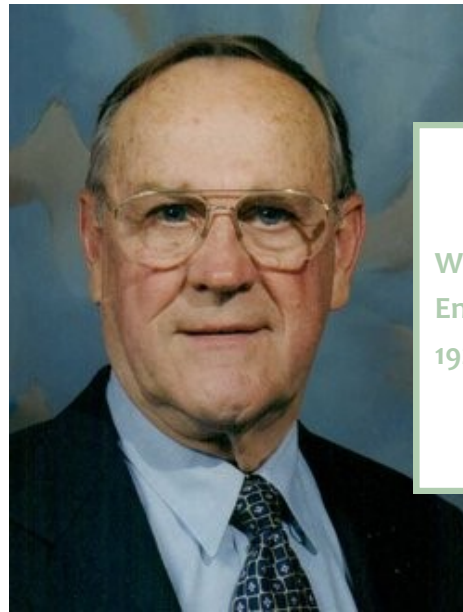
William Nile Endicott was a descendant of John Endecott, the first governor of Massachusetts. His descent is reckoned as follows:

- Gov. John Endecott, 1588-1665
- Zerubbabel (Zerobabel) Endecott, 1635-1684
- Joseph Endicott, 1672-1748
- Joseph Endicott, Jr, 1710-1748
- Samuel Endicott, 1741-1782
- Samuel Endicott, II, 1776-1821
- Samuel Endicott Sr, b. 1802
- Joshua Endicott, 1837-1926
- William Henry Endicott, 1880-1945
- William Nile Endicott, 1929-2017

Shortly before his death in 2017, William Nile Endicott had his DNA tested through 23andme. The results are important because he was a descendant in the male line from Gov. John Endecott. This means that William Nile Endicott's Y chromosome should be practically the same as that of nearly all of the men with the Endicott surname in North America.

In Western society, a surname (such as Endicott) is typically passed from father to son. In biology, the Y chromosome is also passed from father to son. The Y chromosome is the smallest human chromosome. It contains very few genes. However, it contains one important gene, called *SRY*, which meant "sex-determining region of the Y chromosome." This gene allows the person to develop male anatomy and father children.

The Y chromosome undergoes very little change from one generation to another. The other chromosomes have a matching partner to swap genes with, as sperm or egg cells are being produced. But the Y chromosome doesn't really match its partner (the X chromosome). So the Y chromosome stays almost



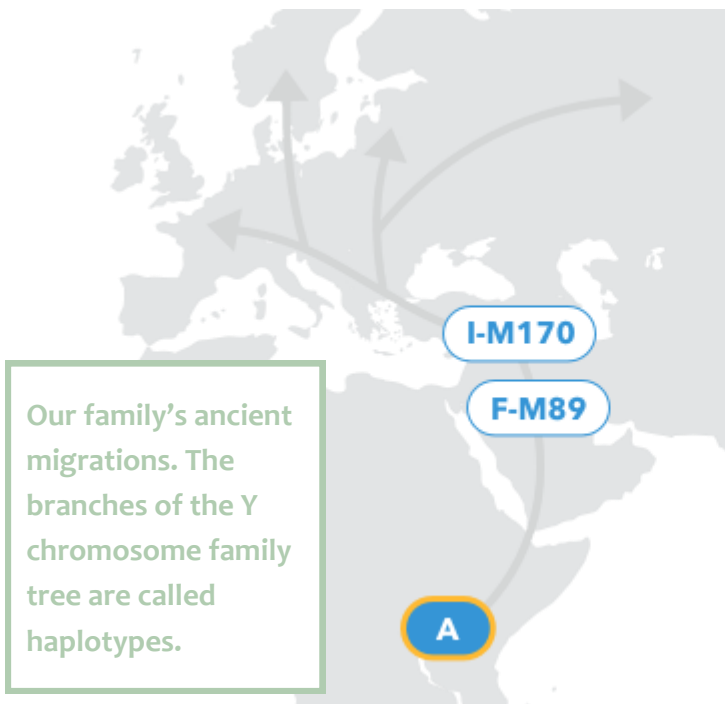
William Nile
Endicott,
1923-2017

exactly the same, generation after generation. However, it does collect mutations at a very slow rate. By studying these mutations, you can make a family tree for the Y chromosome. The branches of this tree are called haplotypes. A group of branches is called a haplogroup. To figure out the ancient history of your family on your mother's side, you have to look at the mitochondrial DNA, which is passed down only from mother to child. The mtDNA also has haplotypes and haplogroups.

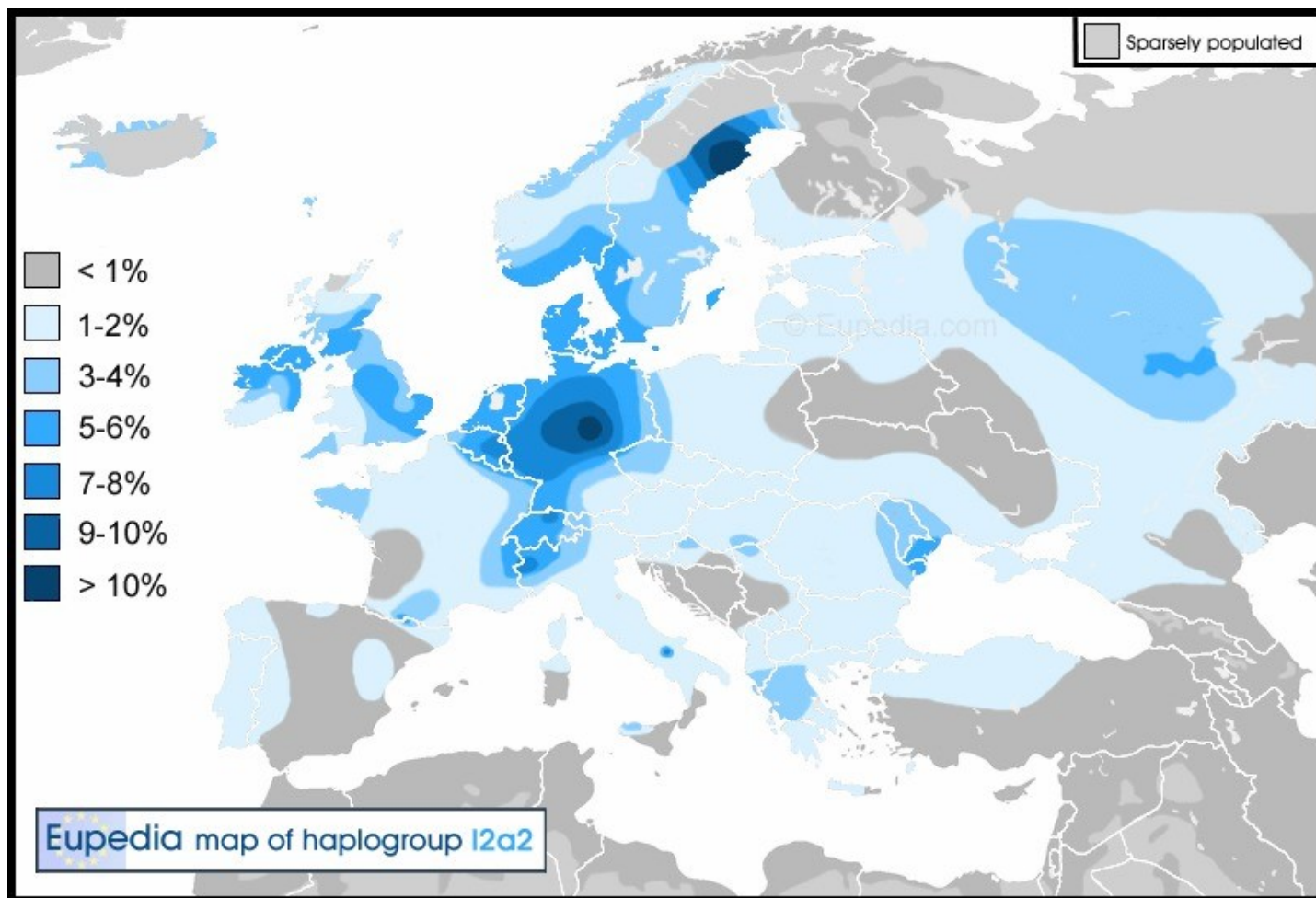
The Y Chromosome Family Tree

By studying a Y chromosome family tree, you can trace the migration of ancient populations.

- The ancestral haplotype of all living human beings is called haplotype A. It was carried by a man who lived in Africa about 270,000 years ago.
- About 60,000 years ago, one of our forefathers crossed the Red Sea to live in the Arabian Peninsula. He had haplotype F-M89, which became common in Southwestern Asia.
- About 48,000 years ago, our ancestors moved into Ice Age Europe. They had the I-M170 haplotype.
- About 30,000 years ago, our lineage was carrying haplotype I-M438 and was probably part of the Gravettian culture. These people developed new types of stone tools. They also produced works of art involving fertility symbols, such as the "Venus" figurines.
- As massive ice sheets covered much of Europe, people with the I-M438 haplotype were pushed southward into what is now Spain, Italy, and the Balkans. As the glaciers began retreating about 15,000 years ago, these people started moving back north. Since so much of the world's water was tied up in ice caps and glaciers, sea level was so low. For this reason, our ancestors probably lived in an area called Doggerland, which once connected Britain to Europe.
- William Nile Endicott had haplotype I-M223, part of the I2a2 subgroup. I-M223 arose about 20,000 years ago. I-M223 is rare, but it is found in Germany and Britain.



Our family's ancient migrations. The branches of the Y chromosome family tree are called haplotypes.



John Endecott's Y Chromosome?

If William Nile Endicott really is a direct descendant in the strictly male line from Gov. John Endecott, then Gov. John Endecott must have been a carrier of the I-M223 haplotype of the Y chromosome. If this is true, then other American men with the Endicott surname probably also carry that same haplotype, perhaps with one or a few mutations.

There are several reasons why a male Endicott might not carry this Y chromosome. One reason is adoption. If a man adopts a son, he will give that boy his surname but not his Y chromosome. Mistaken paternity is another possible explanation. A boy will have the Y chromosome of his biological father, who is not necessarily his legal father. Another possibility is mistaken identity. In recent years, DNA testing has revealed several cases in which babies were accidentally switched at birth in the hospital. Those babies would have the DNA of their biological parents, not the parents who brought them up.

The Y chromosome can tell you a lot about family history. But it tells you only about one strand of history: the strictly paternal line. It tells you nothing about the contributions of other branches of the family tree, such as your mother or even your mother's father.



Zerobabel Endecott's *Synopsis Medicinæ*: Exploring a Colonial Remedy Book

Erin Connelly, PhD

The manuscript of Zerobabel Endecott's¹ medical recipe book (1677) is held in the Frederick Lewis Gay Collection at the Massachusetts Historical Society (MHS).² There are a few online sites that provide free access to digitized copies of an edition published in 1914,³ but this edition is lacking in some respects. The early 20th-century editor, George Francis Dow, excluded the following items: an index of weights and measures, list of alchemical symbols, drawings of surgical instruments, ownership inscriptions, and 20 pages in regard to obstetrical notes, instruments, and procedure for the removal of an antepartum stillbirth. Dow also added his own title and footnotes "of various medical recipes of a curious nature."⁴ The edition was published in a run of 200 copies as a personal curiosity project, it seems, for "Gay, Dow, and their friends," which explains the liberties taken by the editor in excluding text he judged as "imperfect and unimportant" and in adding his own miscellany to the base text.⁵

Frederick Lewis Gay (1856-1916) was a graduate of Harvard Medical School and the eldest son of a surgeon, but it is unclear if he ever practiced medicine.⁶ The biography by MHS describes him as: an antiquarian, historian, and genealogist. He was a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, and MHS. Gay wrote about genealogy and local history and maintained a collection of works relating to colonial New England.

George Francis Dow (1868-1936) also was a member of the same societies as Gay. He was the museum director for the Essex Institute of Salem for 20 years. He then served as the curator for the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities until the end of his life. He wrote several books about history and life in colonial New England. The author of his obituary indicates a tireless contribution to historical and literary magazines and the many societies of which he was a member. His obituary concludes with: "His enthusiasm for historical research and his unbounded zeal and activity were a source of encouragement to all those with whom he was brought in contact."⁷ That enthusiasm and zeal are likely to be what inspired him to produce the edition of Endecott's book for his friend Frederick Lewis Gay and their mutual societies.

Dow states that the manuscript was purchased in Boston by Gay a number of years prior to the printing of Dow's edition. The provenance before this sale currently is unknown, apart from two ownership inscriptions within the manuscript of Robert End[e]cott and [S]amuell Endecott. The wills of Zerobabel and his immediate family record collections of surgical tools and chests of medical books and writings being passed from generation to generation.⁸ It is sensible to assume that the book stayed in private collections within the family for many decades before surfacing in recent history.

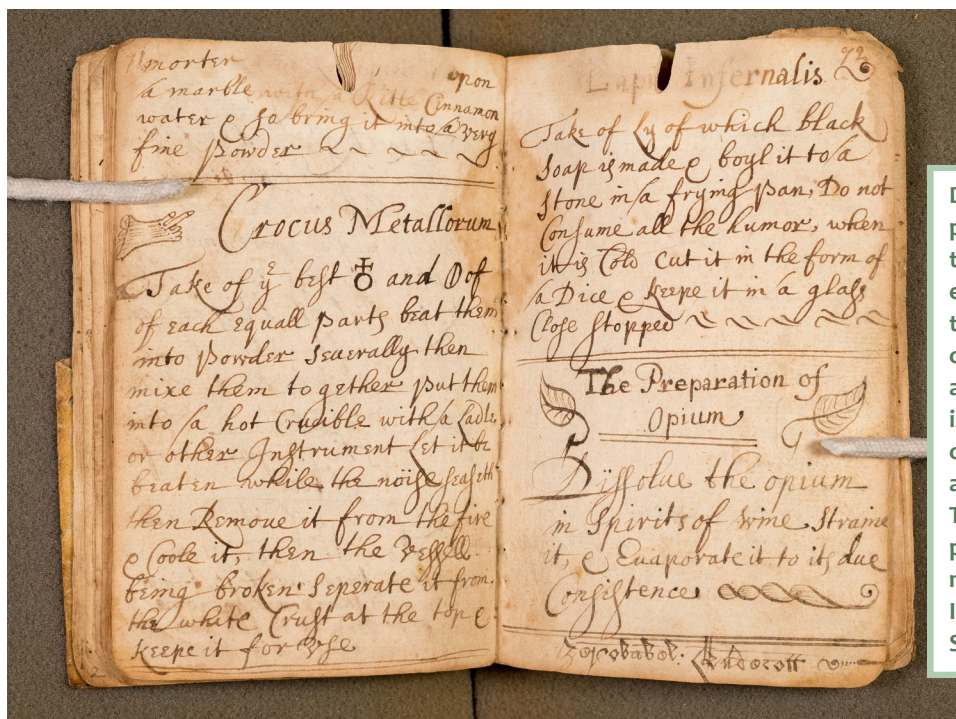
MHS and JEFA kindly provided reproduction images of the original manuscript to consult for this article. The book may be divided into two sections: compilation of recipes and obstetrical notes. The date of 1677 appears on the title page, 1679 in the middle of the volume, and 1681 near the end of the recipe section. This suggests that these recipes were compiled over a period of years. There is water damage/staining in the upper margins and gutter (some text and numbering have been washed away), and the binding is torn (back binding is significantly damaged), but the book has survived well through centuries of unknown conditions. Medical books were created for use in a practical setting and were subject to staining, damage, and rapid deterioration.

The volume has been paginated in a contemporary hand. Not counting the title page, the current state of the book is 89 pages long, inclusive of a double-sided fragment that has been badly torn. Pagination evident in the contemporary hand stays consistent with modern counting up to page 27 when the next page number jumps to 53, indicating a loss of pages. After the recipe section, the pages are bound upside down. It is possible that the volume has been unbound and rebound in its history causing loss of pages and disordered pages. An examination of the physical object will yield more data in regard to the nature of its binding and structure.

The comment was made above that this book has done well to survive, which poses the question: how many similar manuscripts are extant today? Two volumes of patient notes and remedies (1657-1669) from the medical practice of John Winthrop, Jr also survive.⁹ However, a search of history of medicine databases and select library holdings of major institutions for comparable manuscripts did not produce results.¹⁰ The exhaustive *American Medical Bibliography 1639-1783*¹¹ has catalogued print examples from the 17th century; a search of the resource found no references to Endecott or manuscripts.¹² It is possible that collections were missed in this preliminary search, which was not a comprehensive review, but all of this evidence taken together indicates a low survival rate for these manuscripts. These were not prestige items, but rather heavily used practical objects that were discarded when deteriorated or after the object outlived its usefulness. The Endecott/Endicott and Winthrop descendants preserved their family papers and valued these objects (even in their "imperfection" to quote Dow) and that has ensured their survival.

Medical Context

At the time Zerobabel Endecott compiled his book of remedies (near the end of his life), it was still about a century before the



Dr. Zerobabel Endecott's recipe for the preparation of opium is shown here. "Diffuse the opium in spirits of wine. Strain it and evaporate it to its due consistence." Opium is the dried latex from the seed capsule of the opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*). In 1804, a German chemist named Friedrich Sertürn isolated an alkaloid that is responsible for opium's drug effects. He called it morphium after Morpheus, the Greek god of dreams. Today, we call it morphine. Modern pharmaceutical companies still refine morphine by dissolving opium in alcohol. Image courtesy of Massachusetts Historical Society.

founding of America's first medical school (College of Philadelphia, 1765). While some medical practitioners in colonial New England did hold medical degrees, their education was completed in universities abroad prior to their settlement in colonial North America. Endecott would have received his medical training by apprenticeship with a local practitioner or family member. In fact, there was a family connection with medicine. His father John, brother John, and son John are all identified as medical practitioners in extant records and wills. It was common for ministers and leaders of communities to provide for the medical needs of their people and to experiment in polymath activities, such as alchemy.

We see an example of this in Zerobabel's father, Gov. John Endecott, who performed leadership duties and administered spiritual and medical care. The most obvious example from a contemporary figure is John Winthrop Jr (1606-1676), a leader in Massachusetts Bay Colony and governor in Connecticut Colony, whose medical and alchemical practice, including his manufacture of chemical medications, have been well described.¹³ Another contemporary and less well-known figure, based for a time in Dedham, Massachusetts, is the Puritan minister and alchemist, John Allin (1623-1683).¹⁴ He spent his youth in colonial Massachusetts, returned to England for a significant part of his life, and then was called to Woodbridge, New Jersey to serve as minister and medical practitioner. Like Winthrop Jr., Allin left behind a large library of medico-alchemical books along with correspondence detailing his alchemical experiments, preparation of medicines, and even involvement in the transatlantic pharmaceutical trade.¹⁵

As an aside, I am not aware of a detailed inventory of the medical books referred to in the Endecott wills nor

have I examined extant correspondence. There is evidence in Zerobabel's text of alchemical symbols and chemical medications. If additional documents survive, it would be useful to consult them for evidence of these activities and scientific correspondence networks, comparable to contemporaries. This will aid in understanding the extent of connections in a Puritan transatlantic medico-alchemical community.

Overall, with frequent shortages of medical professionals and isolated communities, it was necessary for a colonial practitioner to have a wide set of skills, including the ability to perform surgical and dental procedures, conduct post-mortems, diagnose an extensive range of ailments, manage epidemics, and prepare medicines.

Medicines & Philosophy

There are about 80 extant recipes for the treatment of medical conditions and preparation of standard medicinal oils, ointments, plasters, and pills. Endecott compiled the recipes from various sources including friends/colleagues, medical literature, and his own practice. The medical conditions are reflective of those that a colonial practitioner surely would have treated on a routine basis, such as vomiting and digestive issues, worms, sore throat, cough, wounds, sores, toothache, and fevers. The book also includes treatments for chronic or serious conditions like smallpox and measles epidemics, king's evil (scrofula), gout, bloody flux, fractures of the skull, and breast cancer (based on a real patient case study).

A 17th-century medical practitioner had to possess a broad knowledge base; however, one of the most com-

(Continued on page 10)

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mon (and dangerous) of medical events, childbirth, was managed almost exclusively by skilled midwives. Endecott does reference midwives throughout his obstetrical notes; however, he also reports his own experiences from personal case studies and describes an instrument he developed for such purposes:

By ye good providance of God who dothe designe every man to his worke and instruct them theirow and therein also I was by my former employment enabled or instructed to mak my owne instruments fitt for preasant use that was before me.

In addition to instruments to aid delivery, Endecott's book provides one recipe for "sharpe and difcult travel in women with child." The recipe calls for a lock of virgin's hair, from a girl half the age of the woman in labor, to be ground up into a fine powder with 12 dried ant eggs and then mixed with a quarter of a pint of red cow's milk. Perhaps Endecott was more comfortable with cases that required surgical instruments or this recipe is a testament to the limited options available for a problematic birth in that time. Notably, Endecott's account of hands-on engagement with childbirth (and recorded innovation of obstetrical instruments) is evidence that male practitioners were involved alongside midwives in practical applications with labor, delivery, and complications.

There is no title in the original manuscript. The title of the 1914 edition: *Synopsis medicinae: A compendium of Galenical and chymical physick, showing the art of healing according to the precepts of Galen & Paracelsus* is an invention of the 20th-century editor. However, even if not from Endecott himself, the title provides a picture of the medical discourse of the 17th century. The subtitle brings together two schools of opposing medical thought. The first is based on the teachings of the influential Roman physician Galen and the second follows the practices of Paracelsus, a 16th-century Swiss (al)chemist who fiercely opposed Galen and other authorities from antiquity. Galenic tradition expanded on the humoral theory of disease developed by Hippocrates. In summary, this long-standing tradition believed that disease was due to an imbalance of bodily humors: blood (sanguine), black bile (melancholic), yellow bile (choleric), and phlegm. Thus, treatment involved diagnosing the offending humor and purging it by laxatives, vomiting, or blood-letting along with dietary changes and administration of *galenicals* (plant-based medicines) to restore humoral balance.

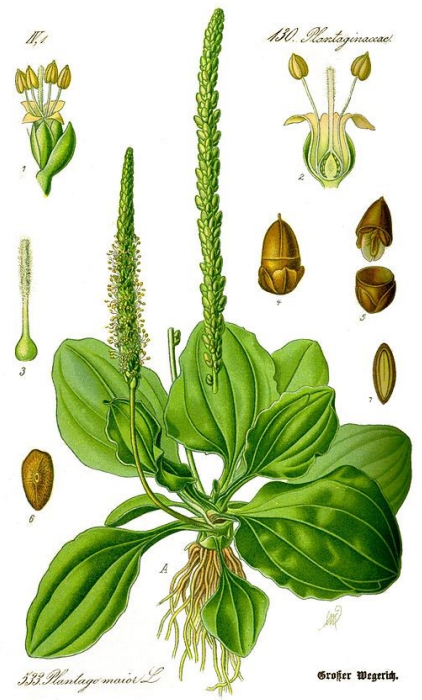
We can see evidence of Galenic thought in the use of *curing by contraries*, i.e., an infection, hot and wet, could be counteracted with a cold and dry plant, such as *Plantago* species, which appears in a recipe for wound care. Likewise, smallpox was believed to be caused by a corruption of blood. “Red saunders” appears in a treatment for smallpox and measles epidemics. It was favoured for its cooling, drying effects and ability to draw out corrupt matter, according to humoral theory. Notably, in modern research both *Plantago* and sandalwood species are being investigated for their anti-inflammatory and

antimicrobial effects.

We will return to modern research of these historical remedies at the end of this article. Endecott's medical context of the 16th and 17th centuries saw several key works that questioned humoral theory, such as Andreas Vesalius' *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543), Helkiah Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia* (1615), and William Harvey's *De Motu Cordis* (1628), as well as dramatic protests like the burning of Galen's books on the steps of the University of Basel by Paracelsus (1527); however, it was the refinement of the microscope and identification of disease-causing microbes in the laboratory from the late 19th century onward that disproved humoral theory with finality.

Paracelsus is often referred to as the father of pharmacology and toxicology for his developments in medicinal chemistry and the famous maxim: “All things are poison and nothing is without poison. Solely the dose determines that a thing is not a poison.” The use of chemistry in medicine (like mercury, sulfur, realgar, and alchemical distillations) predates Paracelsus, but he pioneered new theories for diagnostics and wound care and was an outspoken advocate for chemical medications. One such development accredited to Paracelsus is the dissolving of opium in alcohol, which is present in Endecott’s book as “The Preparation of Opium.” This became the widespread opium tincture known as laudanum.

In Endecott's book of remedies, we have a compilation of medical knowledge from disparate streams of learned authorities. The amalgamation of these recipes, from diametrically opposed figures, into one book is understandable when considering the limited resources of 17th-century New England. The frontier conditions judged practitioners by their skills (over university achievements or guild memberships) and forged a practical mindset, to use whatever treatment produced desirable outcomes, over philosophical disputes or alliances with particular traditions or authorities. Whether they are derived from Galen or Paracelsus or otherwise, what is the nature of these remedies and were any of them effective treatments?



Plantago major, from Prof. Dr.
Otto Wilhelm Thomé *Flora von
Deutschland, Österreich und der
Schweiz* 1885, Gera, Germany

Select Examples from the Recipes

In recipes for a plague water and earache two ancient ingredients appear: mithridatum (or mithridate) and treacle (also known as theriac). These were complex preparations used as an antidote for poisons or venom and as general cure-alls. The exact distinctions between mithridatum, theriacs, and treacle have been blurred over many centuries of medical practice in different countries and cultures. They are generally found in recipes for plague, poorly understood and difficult to treat illnesses, or in conditions where a practitioner would want to draw out a poisonous matter. Over many hundreds of years, medical authorities created their own versions containing plant materials, gums, spices, opium, precious metals, with viper flesh, and even viper venom, being a crucial ingredient. A publication during Endecott's lifetime is the *London Pharmacopoeia* of 1659, which listed 63 ingredients in a recipe for mithridatum.¹⁷ Some versions of the recipes call for burial of the concoction underground for several weeks before using. In a few European cities, the preparation of the medicine became a public ceremony. This drama must have enhanced the magical feeling around the medicine and its placebo effect!

Endecott does not say if he made his own versions of these cure-alls (perhaps using plants native to Salem¹⁸) or if he relied on imports or colonial apothecaries. Norman Gevitz, in his study of early New England apothecaries, identified only 32 individuals in New England prior to 1730 who called themselves apothecaries or operated apothecary shops.¹⁹ There is evidence of London imports to these shops, as well as colonial recipes. One of the earliest drug treatises produced by a colonist, Thomas Harward's simplified recipe for Theriac of Andromachus, was published in Boston in 1732.²⁰ The same theriac appears in Massachusetts even earlier in 1676.²¹ So, as in other scenarios, early New England practitioners adapted and used what was available to them.

Another curious ingredient is "fillings of a dead man's skull" to treat falling sickness (epilepsy), dizziness, and vertigo. These "fillings" are salts or powder extracted from a calcined human skull. The skull powder could be administered by various preparations; Galen recommended mixing it into a medicinal drink to spare the patient knowledge of the contents. Endecott's recipe states to make a very fine powder (of the skull shavings and a few other ingredients) and then for the patient "to take it in saxony or bettony water." This is also an example of sympathetic medicine or *like curing like* related to the teachings of Paracelsus, i.e., a cure extracted from a skull may attract out the disease-causing agent in the patient's skull. Despite his feud with Galenic tradition, Paracelsus also recommended this treatment.²² The claim of powdered human skull as a cure for epilepsy was a favourite amongst the medical community and endured from antiquity up through the 18th century. Obviously, there was not a lot that physicians could do for poorly understood situations like epilepsy and neurological conditions before the advent of modern medical technologies.

These previous examples are related to superstition, ancient authorities, sympathetic medicine, and cures based in a

mistaken understanding of physiology that have long since been discarded by advances in medical understanding. In her assessment of Zerobabel Endecott's account of the patient case study for breast cancer, Patricia A. Watson states: "if the *National Enquirer* had been published in the 17th century, it certainly would have paid dearly for this story."²³ The foreign methods and beliefs of the past may make us laugh and marvel, but we would be remiss to discount all of historical medicine, especially those remedies based in plant extracts and combinations of medicinal plant products. These ingredients may seem equally strange to modern eyes, but research in the field of ethnopharmacology shows surprising potential. One straightforward example of an effective cure (an "easy and rare medicine") that is still in use today is Endecott's recipe for stewed prunes as a treatment of constipation. The following will highlight less obvious examples.

It is not surprising that *Plantago* appears in Endecott's book in a recipe for wound care. *Plantago* is a promising ingredient that is being studied for its antibiotic, antiviral, antioxidant, anti-inflammatory, anticancer, wound healing, and immunoenhancing effects.²⁴ Nettles appear in the same recipe for wounds. Nettles have been the subject of my team's APEX award by the Royal Society to investigate the antimicrobial properties of nettles (including dead nettles) for wound care.²⁵ The preparation of ingredients in a copper vessel is also noteworthy. In Endecott's book, this direction appears in a recipe for a purgative medicine to treat worms. Copper and copper salts have long been known for antimicrobial activity. It is used in hospital surfaces to limit contamination and transmission of infections. Preparation in a copper vessel is one of the instructions in the now famous 1,000-year old Bald's Eyesalve recipe,²⁶ which has been shown to kill bacterial species, parasites, and even antibiotic-resistant microbes, such as MRSA (Methicillin-resistant *Staphylococcus aureus*).

A recent (2020) systematic review of plant products in antibiotic drug discovery revealed that medicinal plants play an essential role in modern medicine: "of the 162 antibacterial agents approved by the US Food and Drug Administration from 1981 to 2019, about 50% are from or derived from natural products, and between 70 and 95% of people in the developing world rely on plants for their primary pharmacopeia."²⁷ As antibiotic resistance becomes an increasing threat to modern life, it is more important than ever to find novel routes to new antimicrobial discovery, including rigorous, open-minded assessment of historical and traditional plant knowledge.

Conclusion and Further Research

This has been a whirlwind tour of Endecott's book of remedies, his medical context, and how some of the ingredients relate to exciting new developments in today's research. We will not be calcining skulls or brewing treacle any time soon, but hopefully this short introduction to modern research based on historical

(Continued on page 12)

sources demonstrates the wealth of potential in plant products known by practitioners of the past.

This article only skims the surface. Many questions lay open for future research. The ownership inscriptions and provenance of the manuscript between Zerobabel Endecott's death and its appearance in early 20th-century Boston is an intriguing trail to pursue. A main next step is to investigate extant correspondence and other surviving documents from the colonial Endecotts for evidence of how their medical (and potentially alchemical) practices fit into the picture of other 17th-century Puritan alchemists on both sides of the Atlantic. Finally, it would be worthwhile to perform an updated transcription of the text and description of the object to complement the efforts of the early 20th-century edition and to aid a more detailed picture of the book itself and the obstetrical notes.

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Erin Connelly has a PhD in Medieval English from the University of Nottingham, in England. Her research focuses on medieval medical textbooks. She is a member of the [Nettles and Networks](#) project, which won an APEX award (Academies Partnership in Supporting Excellence in Cross-disciplinary research award) from the Royal Society.



JEFA Donates \$5,000 to Massachusetts General/North Shore Outpatient Center

On October 7, JEFA President Bill Endicott and JEFA Treasurer Cindy Endicott Levingston participated in a Zoom meeting with two officials of the Massachusetts General/ North Shore Outpatient Center in Danvers, Massachusetts to acknowledge JEFA's donation of \$5,000 to help manage the COVID-19 epidemic.

The two Mass General Hospital officials were Elena Sierra, Executive Director of the Outpatient Center, and Jaclyn Rachlin, Assistant Director of Development, for Mass General Hospital, and who helped arrange the donation. The Outpatient Center is on the property once owned by Governor John Endecott, which he called "Orchard Farm." Appropriately, now its address is 102-104 Endicott Street. The Center has a website at <https://www.massgeneral.org/locations/north-shore>.

The Center is located right next to the Endicott Pear Tree that John is believed to have planted in 1632 and which the US Department of Agriculture says is the oldest continuously flowering cultivated fruit tree in North America. The hospital is taking especially good care of the tree, hiring Rich Grant from Mayer Tree Service to do the work. Rich participates on the JEFA Facebook page on occasion.

During the call, Elena had a background picture of the Endicott pear tree and the plaque about the tree. She said they water the tree every week—"but not too much because it's an old tree." She added they planted an "insurance policy," the baby Endicott pear tree that JEFA gave them in 2012, which is also on Center property and which is doing so well it's even bearing fruit now.

Background on the hospital

Elena Sierra explained that the clinic opened in 2009 and has been extremely successful in offering MGH services that otherwise patients would have to go to Boston or other locations to get. Because of the Center, she said, patients can see the same doctors and staff and get the same care they would get in Boston right in Danvers, close to home.

The Center provides ambulatory patient care services for cancer care, radiology, cardiology, cardiac testing, ambulatory day surgery, pharmacy and laboratory services. The Center for Outpatient Care is home to the Mass General Cancer Center, the largest community cancer center north of Boston. The cancer center offers services in medical oncology, infusion, radiation oncology, surgical oncology, clinical trials, palliative and complementary care for 300 patients each day.

Staff size in Danvers

Elena has 226 direct reports, plus 100 flexible per diem employees who can come in depending on the day of the week. And most important of all, she has 150 doctors who work in all of the center's specialty programs.



A Zoom "screen capture shot" of the meeting. Clockwise from upper left: Bill Endicott, Jaclyn Rachlin, Cindy Endicott Levingston, and Elena Sierra.

Difficulties due to COVID-19

The Center does not currently care for COVID-19-positive cases; all its patients have to be "COVID-negative." But during the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic in Massachusetts, while certain services stayed open in Danvers, others had to be delayed since many nurses and staff were transferred from Danvers to Boston to help run the patient care units at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston.

Even Elena was transferred during the pandemic surge. She was deployed to serve as a member of the command team at Boston Hope Hospital. This COVID-19 field hospital was established in the Boston Convention Center and was aptly named "Boston Hope" because it served the community of patients who were still ill, discharged from the hospital units of any Boston hospital, but too sick to return to home. Boston Hope created a multidisciplinary team of health care professionals from across the city who came together to care for hundreds of patients in the convention center.

With much of the staff away in Boston, Elena explained, the Center still had patients in Danvers and had to work with many difficulties, which made it a trying time. With mixed messages coming out of Washington and even the State, staff had to put on a clean hospital mask every time they saw a new patient. The goal was to minimize the risk to the staff and patients, especially to the cancer patients. "All the patients were worried about touching things and being close to other people, which made it a stressful time," she said.

Some cancer care patients had to stop coming to the Center because of the relocation of staff to Boston, but they are coming back now.

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Grover Cleveland's Endicotts

Grover Cleveland was President of the United States from 1885 to 1889. He was defeated for re-election in 1888 but was re-elected in 1892, serving from 1893 to 1897. Thus, he was the only US President to serve two nonconsecutive terms. While in office, Grover Cleveland appointed two Endicotts to high government jobs. During his first term, Cleveland appointed William Crowninshield Endicott (1826-1900) to be Secretary of War. During his second term, Cleveland appointed Mordecai Endicott (1844-1926) as the Navy member of the Nicaragua Canal Commission. Mordecai then went on to help build the modern US Navy.

William Crowninshield Endicott

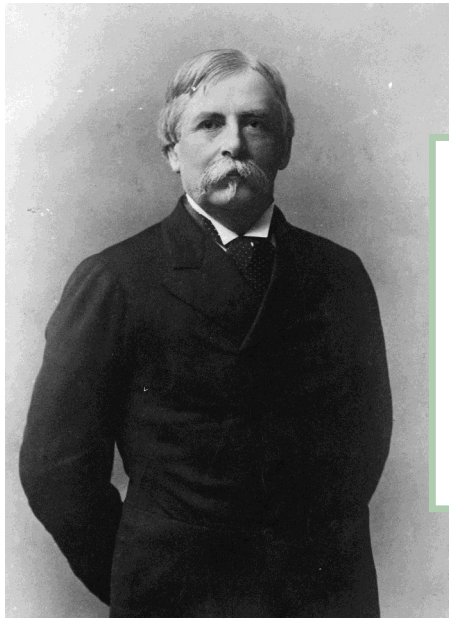
William Crowninshield Endicott was a descendant of several Boston families that are collectively called the Boston Brahmins. These families made up the traditional upper crust of Bostonian society. On his father's side, he descended from John Endecott. The following is William Crowninshield Endicott's descent from Governor John Endecott:

- John Endecott (1588-1666)
- Zerubbabel (Zerobabel) Endecott (1635-1683)
- Samuel Endecott (1659-1694)
- Samuel Endicott (1687-1766)
- John Endicott (1713-1783)
- John Endicott (1739-1816)
- Samuel Endicott (1763-1828) married Elizabeth Putnam
- William Putnam Endicott (1803-1888) married Mary Crowninshield
- William Crowninshield Endicott, Sr (1826-1900)

On his mother's side, he was descended from the Crowninshields, a German seafaring family who moved to Salem, Massachusetts in the 1680s and helped establish Salem as an important center for international trade.

William married Ellen Peabody, granddaughter of the distinguished Salem ship owner, Joseph Peabody, who made a fortune importing pepper from Sumatra and was one of the wealthiest men in the US. William and Ellen's daughter Mary became the third wife of Joseph Chamberlain, a wealthy manufacturer from Birmingham, England, who became an important British statesman. Thus, she became stepmother to Joseph's son Neville "Peace in our Time" Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister at the start of World War II.

William C. Endicott graduated from Harvard College in 1847 and attended Harvard Law School in 1849-1850. Before the Civil War, he was a member of the Whig party. The Whigs were modernizers in some respects yet conservative in others. As modernizers, they supported the construction of railroads and the establishment of public schools. Yet they also were advocates for the rule of law, protection for private property and minority interests against "the tyranny of the majority," and the preservation of cultural heritage. Whigs also felt that the



William
Crowninshield
Endicott, US
Secretary of War,
1885-1889

government had a duty to promote economic prosperity for the people, especially during economic downturns. When the Whig Party collapsed in the mid-1850s, William C. Endicott did not gravitate toward the newly formed Republican Party.

Despite being a Democrat, William Crowninshield Endicott was appointed in 1873 (by a Republican governor) to the Massachusetts State Supreme Court, where he served until 1882. After Endicott's death, Oliver Wendell Holmes, who was Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court, recalled: "...as I saw and knew him upon the bench, of the many interesting, powerful and impressive figures that now are only memories, his stands out unique in dignity and charm."

William Crowninshield Endicott ran for Congress in 1879, and lost. In 1884, he tried to become the second Endicott to serve as Governor of Massachusetts. However, he lost that race as well. (In 1962, Endicott Peabody would become the second Endicott to be elected governor of Massachusetts.) However, in 1885, President Grover Cleveland appointed him to be Secretary of War; he served from 1885-1888.

Cleveland was a member of a faction called the Bourbon Democrats. These were fiscally conservative, pro-business Democrats. Cleveland had earned such a reputation for opposing political corruption that he gained the support of like-minded Republicans, who were called Mugwumps. As a result, Cleveland became the first Democrat to be elected President after the Civil War.

Secretary of War

As Secretary of War, Endicott oversaw important changes in the organization of the US Army, including establishment of a system of examinations to determine the promotion of officers. He also oversaw the capture of Geronimo and the last of the Indian Wars. But most famously, he also chaired the joint



10-inch disappearing gun at Battery Granger, Fort Hancock, New Jersey

Indian Wars. But most famously, he also chaired the joint Army, Navy, and civilian Board of Fortifications, soon to be called the Endicott Board, which created a vast new system of American coastal defense fortifications constructed or refurbished in the era of the Spanish-American War. This system, called the Endicott Period Fortifications, included fortifications as far away as Puerto Rico and Corregidor in the Philippines.

Retractable guns

The most noteworthy feature of some of these forts in the Endicott system was retractable guns. In those days, it was thought desirable to have big coastal artillery pieces that could fire out to sea on enemy ships, but then have the barrels retract for loading and to make less of a target for enemy fire.

Geronimo

During Endicott's time as Secretary of War, the only fighting the US Army had to do was to suppress Indian uprisings. One of the last of these, the final capture of Geronimo of the Chiricahua Apaches, came on September 6, 1886.

In his autobiography, "My Life", dictated to Steven Melvil Barrett, Geronimo explained that his wife, mother, and children were all killed by Mexican soldiers during a raid on his village. This led to Geronimo's permanent rage against the Mexicans and to his many retaliatory raids on them.

For the next ten years, Geronimo, a sachem of the Chiricahua Apaches but never their chief, led groups of warriors that hunted and killed Mexican soldiers. After the end of the Mexican-American War in 1848, Geronimo faced a new enemy: American miners seeking gold and settlers seeking land who began pouring onto Apache land. The Apaches responded by protecting their land by fiercely attacking them, too.

Geronimo's father-in-law, the Apache chief Cochise, negotiated a treaty with the Americans so that the Apaches could keep some of their land and live in peace on a reservation in Arizona. But after Cochise died, the US government again pushed onto their property. Most of the tribe remained on the reservation, but Geronimo retaliated by leaving the reservation

on four different occasions, in 1876, 1878, 1881 and 1885, and escaped into the Sierra Madre Mountains in Mexico to continue his raids.

General Nelson Miles arrived at Fort Bowie, Arizona, in April 1886 to take command of the Department of Arizona and pursue the remaining band of renegade Chiricahua Apaches, this time led by Geronimo and Naiche (aka Natchez). Miles established Fort Huachuca in Sierra Vista, Arizona, as his forward base of operations.

While many US Army units were looking for Geronimo, one of Miles's subordinates, Lieutenant Charles B. Gatewood of the 6th Cavalry/Apache Scouts operating out of Fort Huachuca, found him in Skeleton Canyon, in New Mexico, after a 16-month campaign. On September 5, 1886, Gatewood convinced Geronimo to give himself up as a prisoner of war. With the capture of Geronimo, 25 years of intermittent warfare between the Chiricahua Apaches and the United States came to an end.

The following is a telegram W.C. sent to General Miles congratulating him on the capture of Geronimo:

Adjutant General's Office
Washington, September 8, 1886

General N.A. Miles
Commanding Department Arizona, Fort Bowie, Arizona

I send you my heartiest congratulations on the happy results of your campaign against the Apaches, and beg to express the great satisfaction of the Department on your signal success.

W.C. ENDICOTT,
Secretary of War

General Miles had Geronimo sent to Benson, Arizona, where there was a train station. Fearing that Geronimo might be lynched, Miles then had Geronimo sent by train to Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, Texas.

After that, Miles was able to convince his superiors, Endicott and then President Cleveland, to authorize the removal of the entire Chiricahua tribe to two Army forts in Florida. Miles purposely ignored the fact that 385 Chiricahuas not only had lived peacefully on the Arizona reservation and had never provided aid or recruits to the hostiles. But Miles argued that the reservation was a breeding ground for new leaders, implying that malcontents might cause more trouble. His arguments convinced Endicott and Cleveland to send the Indians to Fort Pickens (where Geronimo went) and Fort Marion, both in Florida.

Under the terms of Geronimo's surrender, the Indians were supposed to remain in Florida for only 2 years, after which they could return to their home in Arizona. But Endicott changed his mind about this and decided it foolhardy to return the Apaches to the Southwest, where they might cause further trouble. So

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Geronimo
(Goyaałé), a
Bedonkohe
Apache, kneeling
with rifle, 1887

(Continued from page 15)

he set about "civilizing" them, sending some of the older children to the Indian school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where their hair was cut, they were dressed in uniforms, and they were given white names. A shockingly high percentage of the children sent to the school died as a result of neglect and abuse, malnutrition, and infectious disease.

By 1894, long after Endicott had left office, and 300 Chiracahuas had died in captivity, the 200 survivors, including Geronimo, were transferred to Fort Sill, Oklahoma. While based there, Geronimo became a sort of entrepreneur, accepting money to appear in various western reenactments. He was even one of six former Indian warriors who were part of Teddy Roosevelt's inaugural parade in 1905. Geronimo died at Fort Sill in 1909 from pneumonia at age 79 and was buried in the Apache graveyard there.

In 1913 and 1914, the decision was made to free the Ciracahuas—sort of. They were given the choice of staying in the Fort Sill area or going to the Mescalero Apache reservation in New Mexico, where most went. Geronimo stayed at Fort Sill.

Skull and Bones

There is a postscript to all this involving another Endicott: Endicott Peabody Davison, another descendant of Governor John Endecott. Davison was the lawyer representing Yale's Skull and Bones secret society in 1986 in a dispute over possession of Geronimo's skull.

According to a story, six members of the Skull and Bones society stole Geronimo's skull and thighbone from his grave at Fort Sill, where they were stationed as Army volunteers in WWI, and brought them back to Skull and Bones at Yale. Among the group was Prescott Bush, the father of US President George H.W. Bush and the grandfather of US President George W. Bush.

In 1986, former San Carlos Apache chairman, Ned Anderson, received an anonymous letter with a photograph of a skull and a copy of a logbook claiming that Skull and Bones held Geronimo's skull, a story that members of Skull and Bones have traditionally believed. It is rumored that initiation to Skull and Bones includes kissing the skull.

Anderson then met with two Skull and Bones representatives and Bonesmen themselves, about the story. They were Jonathan Bush, brother of President George H.W. Bush, and attorney Endicott P. Davison. They denied that Skull and Bones had Geronimo's skull, but instead had another skull, which they offered to give to Anderson. He didn't accept it, though, saying it wasn't the one in the photograph. But the idea that the original story was a hoax prevailed, which settled the matter — for a while.

In 2006, the allegations of Skull and Bones having Geronimo's skull were renewed when a 1918 letter from a Skull & Bones member, Winter Mead to Trubee Davison, father of

The following is a communication from W.C. to General Philip Sheridan, of Civil War fame, and now the Commanding General of the US Army, to this effect:

War Department

Washington City, October 19, 1886

Sir: By direction of the President that the hostile Apache adult Indians, fifteen in number, recently captured in Mexico and now at San Antonio, Texas, viz. Geronimo, Natchez, Percio, Fun, Abnadria, Nahi, Yahnsza, Fishnolth, Tounzee, Bishi, Chapo, Lazaiyah, Molzos, Kithdiga, Sephonue, and Lonah, be sent under proper guard to Fort Pickens, Florida, there to be kept in close custody until further orders. These Indians have been guilty of the worst crimes known to the law, committed under circumstances of great atrocity, and the public safety requires that they should be removed far from the scene of their depredations and guarded with the strictest vigilance.

The remainder of the band captured at the same time, consisting of eleven women, six children, and two enlisted scouts, you are to send to Fort Marion, Florida, and place with the other Apache Indians recently conveyed to and now under custody at that post.

You will see that all the details and arrangements are made for the prompt and efficient execution of this order.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W.C. ENDICOTT,
Secretary of War

Lieut. Gen. P.H. Sheridan
United States Army

Endicott Peabody Davison, was unearthed claiming the theft and was printed in the Yale alumni magazine. A passage from the letter reads: "The skull of the worthy Geronimo the Terrible, exhumed from its tomb at Fort Sill by your club ... is now safe inside [the clubhouse] together with his well worn femurs, bit & saddle horn."

But Mead was not at Fort Sill when the alleged theft occurred so his statement can't be taken as definitive. Nevertheless, the story led Harlyn Geronimo of Mescalero, New Mexico, a Vietnam War veteran who claims to be a great-grandson of Geronimo, to write President George W. Bush in 2006 requesting his help in returning the remains. (Some other Geronimo descendants think Harlyn is not a descendant of Geronimo but has entered the dispute merely for publicity reasons. But they are accused of fighting his claim because they want Geronimo's remains to stay at Fort Sill because it draws tourists to the area, which they profit from.)

In 2009, former US Attorney General under President Lyndon Johnson, Ramsey Clark, then 81 years old, filed a lawsuit on behalf of Geronimo's descendants against several parties, including Skull and Bones. But Skull and Bones was not the main focus of the 32-page suit: the first-named defendants were President Barack Obama and the secretaries of defense and the Army. The main defendant was the US Army, owner of Fort Sill, and the main objective of the suit was not just to obtain remains from Skull and Bones, but rather to move all of Geronimo's remains to what Harlyn Geronimo claimed was Geronimo's New Mexico homeland.

In 2010, Skull and Bones and the government won the lawsuit with Washington, DC federal court judge Richard Roberts dismissing the claims against them, saying the plaintiffs failed to establish that the government had waived its right not to be sued without its consent. He also dismissed the lawsuit against Yale and Skull and Bones, saying the plaintiffs cited a law that only applies to Native American cultural items excavated or discovered after 1990. Clark said he was going to keep pursuing the matter, but as of this writing there have been no further developments.

David H. Miller, a history professor at Cameron University in Lawton, Oklahoma, believes that Bonesmen could not have robbed Geronimo's grave. He cites historical accounts that the grave was unmarked and overgrown until a Fort Sill librarian persuaded local Apaches to identify the site for him in the 1920s — after the alleged theft. "My assumption is that they did dig up somebody at Fort Sill," said Miller. "It could have been an Indian, but it probably wasn't Geronimo."

Teddy Roosevelt

One of the more interesting correspondences William C. Endicott had as Secretary of War was with Teddy Roosevelt, also in 1886. (Roosevelt and Endicott had been members of the Porcellian Club while at Harvard.) While out west somewhere, Roosevelt had heard of a border clash with Mexico, which he thought might lead to war. So he wrote Endicott with a proposal: Roosevelt would raise an entire regiment of cowboys and place them "at the service of the government."

Unfortunately for Roosevelt, Endicott turned him down and decided to settle the dispute through diplomatic channels.

Roosevelt would have to wait 12 years for the Spanish-American war to distinguish himself. "If a war had come off," Roosevelt said later, "I would surely have had behind me as utterly reckless a set of desperados as ever sat in the saddle."

Return of Confederate battle flags

William C. Endicott also accidentally contributed to the defeat of Grover Cleveland for re-election in 1888. In 1887, Endicott got into a major controversy with the all-powerful Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), the Union veterans organization, which probably cost Cleveland the Presidency.

The GAR was hostile to Cleveland for two reasons. The first is that he was the first Democrat to be elected President since the Civil War. The Democratic Party had been split by the war. Southern Democrats had walked out of the 1860 Democratic National Convention that nominated Stephen A. Douglas, who argued that decisions about slavery should be made locally, not on a national level. Southern Democrats held their own convention and named their own candidate, Vice President John C. Breckinridge, who split the Democratic vote, allowing Republican Abraham Lincoln to win. The outbreak of the war split Northern Democrats into two factions: the "War Democrats" who supported the war effort and the "Peace Democrats" (also known as Copperheads), who wanted an immediate peace settlement with the Confederacy.

The second reason why the GAR was hostile to Cleveland was that he was the first President since the Civil War not to have served in the war. The Conscription Act of 1863 required all able-bodied men to serve in the army if called upon, or else to hire a substitute. Cleveland hired a Polish immigrant named George Benninsky to serve in his stead. (Benninsky survived the war.)

In 1887, William C. Endicott urged President Cleveland to do something that turned out to be a major political blunder. Endicott recommended that, in an attempt at North-South reconciliation, the US government should take the Confederate battle flags that were being stored in the basement at the War Department and return them to the former Confederate states. Cleveland agreed and issued an executive order to do so. Furious protests from the GAR forced Cleveland to rescind the order. The following year, 1888, Cleveland lost a very narrow election. He won the popular vote by 100,000, but the Union veterans who voted against him cost him several crucial Northern states in the electoral college.

The flags remained in the basement until a future Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt, came into office. In 1904, he sponsored a bill to return the Confederate battle flags. It passed both houses unanimously in February 1905. By this time, after 40 years, the passions of the Civil War had cooled sufficiently and the Spanish-American War, in which Roosevelt had become a national hero, had brought troops from the North and the South together in a common cause.

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Mordecai Thomas Endicott

The second of Grover Cleveland's Endicotts was Mordecai Thomas Endicott (1844 – 1926). Rear Admiral Mordecai T. Endicott was the first Civil Engineer Corps officer to be appointed Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks. As such, he transformed the Navy's shore establishment from one suited to a small, wooden-hulled navy into something capable of supporting the enormous steel navy of the 20th century.

Although Mordecai was also a descendant of Governor John Endecott, his social background was far different. William Crowninshield Endicott was a prominent Boston Brahmin. Mordecai, in contrast, came from the far less prominent New Jersey branch of the family. Thus, Mordecai had to work his way up in a multi-decade career in the US Navy, where he became a Rear Admiral, regarded as the "Father of the Civil Engineer Corps."

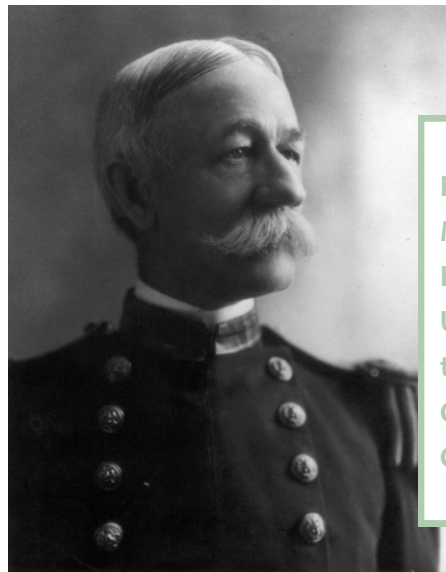
Quaker Background in New Jersey

Governor John Endecott is remembered as a fierce persecutor of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). However, Mordecai was descended from Governor John's grandson Joseph, who became a Quaker. Massachusetts had been established as a haven for Puritans. New Jersey, in contrast, had been a haven for Quakers.

In 1677, a group of English Quakers, including William Penn, purchased the colonial province of West Jersey (the southwestern half of the current state of New Jersey). English Quakers then settled in West Jersey, creating the town of Burlington. In 1681, King Charles II made William Penn the proprietor of a huge tract of land west of Jersey and North of Maryland. Penn created the Province of Pennsylvania as a haven for Quakers. He also attracted members of other persecuted religious sects, such as the French Huguenots; Mennonites and Amish from Germany; and Catholics, Lutherans, and Jews from various European countries. In 1682, Quakers purchased East Jersey, as well.

Joseph was born in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1672. In 1698 (just 6 years after the notorious Salem Witch Trials), Joseph moved to Northampton, in Burlington County, New Jersey. He married a Quaker woman named Hannah Gossling. They had a farm and had six children. Mordecai Thomas Endicott's line of descent from Gov. John Endecott is as follows:

- John Endecott (1588-1666)
- Zerubbabel (Zerobabel) Endecott (1635-1683)
- Joseph (1672-1747)
- John (1707-1761)
- Benjamin (1732-1792)
- William (1789-1856)
- Thomas (1815-1884)
- Mordecai (1844-1926)



Rear Admiral
Mordecai Thomas
Endicott, CEC,
USN, regarded as
the Father of the
Civil Engineer
Corps

Joining the Navy

After graduation from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Mordecai went to work as a civilian for the US Navy in 1872. From then until 1920, he became a regular US Navy officer and worked his way up to a position of high importance.

Engineers and Officers

Mordecai joined the Navy at a time when it had a growing need for professionally trained engineers. However, the "old guard" of Naval officers disliked the idea of hiring civilians like Mordecai for responsible positions. Consequently, from 1867 to 1921, the Navy had a dual rank system. "Line rank" was for the officers who did the actual sailing of ships, whereas "relative rank" was for technicians who got the same pay as line rankers, but until 1921 did not enjoy all the privileges that line rankers did. One of the many things Mordecai accomplished in his career was helping to end this dual rank system.

BuDocks

In April 1890, Mordecai became the Consulting Engineer of the Bureau of Yards and Docks (BuDocks) in Washington, DC, an association that would last until the end of his Navy career. At the time, he was still technically a civilian. He wouldn't become a line officer until 1899. He eventually became not only a line officer, but also the head of BuDocks, where he had his greatest influence.

Created in 1842, BuDocks was the branch of the Navy responsible for building and maintaining navy yards, drydocks, and other facilities relating to ship construction, maintenance, and repair. In 1890, the Navy yards were operated in an outmoded way suitable only for wooden ships. Ox-drawn carts still provided transportation in the yards, and electric installa-

tions for light and power had yet to be introduced. A steel and concrete navy yard was needed.

Mordecai began this modernization, eventually providing the Navy with an entire modern shore establishment that made use of the latest techniques from the private sector. During his 8 years as Consulting Engineer, BuDocks entered into 110 construction contracts. Some of the most outstanding projects were timber drydocks with stone and concrete entrances for the shipyards at Puget Sound, Washington; New York, New York; and Port Royal, South Carolina; and the design of 40-ton locomotive job-cranes capable of handling the armor plating of the battleships then under construction.

No canal through Nicaragua

Like other Civil Engineer Corps officers before and after him, Mordecai became involved in one of the major engineering projects of the century, the building of a canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, through Central America.

On April 26, 1895, during his second presidential administration, President Grover Cleveland appointed Mordecai as the Navy member of the Nicaragua Canal Commission of 1895. This commission evaluated the feasibility of building the canal through Nicaragua, a route proposed by the Maritime Canal Company. The commission expressed doubts. The Nicaragua canal project was eventually abandoned.

Lowering the cost of battleship armor

On July 19, 1897, Congress forbade the Navy from paying more than \$300 per ton for battleship armor. If armor could not be purchased within this limit, the Secretary of the Navy was authorized to establish a government factory to produce the armor in the quantities needed.

Mordecai Endicott was appointed to a three-member Armor Factory Board that investigated the design and construction of such a factory. When presented to Congress, the board's detailed report so impressed armor manufacturers that they quickly lowered their bids.

The Spanish-American War

In early 1898, the term of line officer Rear Admiral Edmund O. Matthews as Chief of the BuDocks was expiring. President McKinley, on the recommendation of the Secretary of the Navy, determined to break with a 56-year precedent by appointing a Civil Engineer Corps officer instead of a Navy line officer to the position.

The nation stood on the brink of war with Spain, and it was felt that a civil engineer should at last head the Navy bureau most intimately concerned with civil engineering. So, when Civil Engineer Peter C. Asserson, the senior Civil Engineer Corps officer, was first offered the position but declined because of age, President McKinley nominated Mordecai Endicott, who was the next in seniority for it, and he was confirmed by the US Senate.

Endicott took the job on April 4, 1898, attaining the tempo-



The floating drydock USS Dewey (YFD-1) was built in Maryland in 1905 and towed to the Philippines.

rary relative rank of Commodore, all of which angered some line officers who hoped for the job. He ultimately became the first Civil Engineer Corps officer to attain the full rank of rear admiral in the Navy, in 1899, the year that relative rank was abolished (but not the difference in uniforms that line officers and technical officers wore).

After Endicott's first four-year tour as Chief, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him to a second term in 1902, and to a third in 1906.

Reaching the mandatory retirement age of 62 on November 26, 1906, Mordecai continued as Chief until January 5, 1907 at the request of the Secretary of the Navy.

Changes he wrought

When Mordecai Endicott became BuDocks Chief, the Civil Engineer Corps consisted of only 13 officers, a clearly inadequate number to meet the rapidly expanding requirements of the Navy. By the end of his tenure, nearly 9 years later, Endicott had been able to get Congress to fix the number of Civil Engineer Corps officers at 40. Not only that, he was also instrumental in securing passage of a law in 1906 that required Chiefs of the BuDocks to be selected only from among Civil Engineer Corps officers (with many of the candidates coming from Mordecai's alma mater, the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute).

Changes in dock construction

Mordecai Endicott also changed the standard design of naval drydocks from timber to concrete and stone. He clearly foresaw that wooden drydocks would not meet the requirements of the modern battleship.

Moreover, the higher maintenance costs of wooden drydocks made them less cost-effective than those of concrete and stone. Mordecai, however, had to overcome formidable

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opposition from men who wished wood to remain the primary material for drydock construction. Still, he convinced Congress to change the design of four drydocks that were about to be constructed from wood to concrete and stone.

Mordecai's stance on modernizing the drydocks proved very wise. Eventually, 11 drydocks were constructed under his supervision. Two of them were revolutionary floating steel structures, and both served in two world wars. Both were constructed at Sparrows Point, Maryland.

The first of the two, Yard Floating Dock 2 (YFD-2), could dock a 16,000-ton vessel. Completed in 1901, it was towed to Naval Station New Orleans and serviced a variety of vessels. Relocated to the Pearl Harbor Navy Yard in 1904, it suffered damage during the Japanese attack of December 7, 1941, but rejoined the fleet in 1942.

The second, a larger floating drydock capable of handling a 20,000-ton vessel, was built in 1905 and survived a tow across the Pacific to Naval Station Subic Bay in the Philippines the following year. Christened the USS *Dewey* (YFD-1), it was the largest floating drydock ever built, patterned after a British design but with improved and strengthened features. Endicott's daughter was the sponsor during the USS *Dewey*'s christening ceremony. The *Dewey* remained in service up to the outbreak of World War II but was scuttled in April 1942 to prevent its capture by the Japanese.

Panama Canal

In 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed Mordecai Endicott to be the Navy member on the third Panama Canal Commission, which was overseeing the execution of that vast project. His salary was \$7,500 a year.

The commission was headquartered in Washington, DC, so Mordecai could perform his duties as BuDocks Chief as well as work on the Commission. He worked on the Commission until resigning on March 15, 1907, when a new Commission was appointed, this time to be headquartered in the Canal Zone in Panama.

Additional cost savings

During his tenure as Chief of BuDocks, Mordecai Endicott always worked to secure the greatest possible economy in the expenditure of public funds. He finally obtained approval from Congress to consolidate the dispersed power plants with each of the larger Navy yards into central stations. This resulted in significant savings to the government.

He also originated a design for large floating cranes, with a lifting capacity of 100 tons, which were capable of handling guns, turrets, boilers, and other extremely heavy objects.

Assigned to the Justice Department

When Mordecai finally resigned his BuDocks post on January 5, 1907, he still remained on active duty in the Navy until March

1907. This was when he was detailed to the Department of Justice as Technical Advisor to the Attorney General on suits being brought against the US Navy. On June 30, 1909, having completed this work, he was relieved of active duty.

World War I

Following his retirement as a rear admiral, Endicott continued to live in Washington, DC. In 1914 and 1917, he was again called to active duty, first with the Justice Department in connection with suits against the Navy again.

Then, on October 12, 1917 he was recalled to active duty, this time with the Bureau of Yards and Docks again. In addition to various technical duties, he acted at different times as president of four Navy examining boards for appointment of candidates to the Civil Engineer Corps.

His final assignment, as a member of a board which judged individuals worthy for various Navy decorations, ended on June 30, 1920.

Mordecai lived in retirement until 1926, when he contracted a heavy cold that resulted in pneumonia and led to his death on March 5. He was buried with full military honors at Arlington National Cemetery on March 8, 1926.

Camp Endicott

Camp Endicott was a US Navy Seabee base named after Mordecai Endicott. The camp, also known as the Davisville Construction Battalion Center, was built in 1942. The vast training camp provided more than 100,000 men of the US Navy's Construction Battalions, better known as "Seabees," with construction training during World War II (out of the approximately 325,000 men who enlisted in the Seabees).

During the Vietnam War, eight Naval Mobile Construction Battalions representing some 4,000 Seabees were home ported at Davisville, in addition to 1,200 civilians.

In 1978, Camp Endicott was added to the National Register of Historic Places. A seven-acre portion of the former Camp Endicott has been preserved as the Camp Endicott Historical District at Davisville, in Rhode Island. There, you can visit the [Seabee Museum and Memorial Park](#).



Quonset huts
at the Seabee
Memorial
Museum at
the site of
Camp Endicott

Endicott Sites

Below is a list of known Endicott sites around the country. We are publishing this here not only out of general interest but also with the thought that readers may be able to add to it.

Alaska

Endicott Arm—Named after William Crowninshield Endicott (see p. 14), the Endicott Arm is a 25-mile-long offshoot fjord of the Stephens Passage, about 45 miles south of Juneau. At its head is the spectacular Dawes Glacier.

Endicott Mountains—Also named after William Crowninshield Endicott, the Endicott Mountains are part of the Brooks range in northern Alaska. The highest point is Mount Kiev at 7,775 feet.

Arizona

St. Paul's Episcopal Church founded by Reverend Endicott Peabody in Tombstone. Endicott Peabody (1857- 1944) was a young minister in Tombstone in 1882, arriving a few months after the "Gunfight at the O.K. Corral."

Indiana

In **Poseyville, Indiana**, there are an Endicott Cemetery, Endicott Street, and two Endicott memorials in the main cemetery, one for Thomas Endicott (1737-1831), and one for the Endicotts in the War of 1812.

Kentucky

At the junction of Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky is the **Cumberland Gap**, where Thomas Endecott (1737-1831) went through with Daniel Boone in 1783.

Endicott Meeting House—5047 Millersburg Pike, Cynthia, KY 41031. This is where Moses Endicott, the Revolutionary War Patriot, is buried. Moses and his father, Thomas gave the land for this little church.

Maryland

The ship's bell of destroyer *USS Endicott* at **Camp David**, Maryland, is rung whenever a notable visitor arrives at this US Presidential retreat. The *USS Endicott* was named after Samuel Endicott (1779-1821), a sailor who participated in the Barbary Wars. For more information, see **Endicotts in the Military Part I**.

Massachusetts

Endecott family cemetery in Danvers (see p. 30).

Endicott College is a private coeducational college located in Beverly, Massachusetts, offering undergraduate, graduate and professional programs. It was founded in 1939 and named after Governor John Endecott. JEFA had a reunion there in 2012.

Endecott Pear Tree in Danvers. This tree was planted by John Endecott in the 1630s. Today, it is on the grounds of the Massachusetts General/North Shore Outpatient Center (see p. 13). For more information on how get your own Endicott pear tree, visit our website: www.endecottendicott.com.

Endicott Street in Boston. This street in Boston's North End is named after Gov. John Endecott. The north end is Boston's oldest residential community, settled in the 1630s. This small neighborhood has a variety of tourist attractions, such as Paul Revere's House and the Old North Church, from which Revere saw the lanterns indicating that the British were on their way to Concord and Lexington. Today the area is also known for its Italian-American population and Italian restaurants.

Endicott Wildlife Sanctuary in Wenham. This 43-acre Wildlife Sanctuary, named after Gov. John Endecott, is home to the Ipswich River Wildlife Sanctuary Nature Preschool. It serves as a base for several of the Massachusetts Audubon Society's staff and program activities, including the Salt Marsh Science Project. The sanctuary has a short walking trail through mature mixed forest with views over a wet meadow.

Commonwealth Portrait of John Endecott in the **Massachusetts State House** in Boston. Little is known about this painting. John Adams saw it in the old State House at least as early as 1770 or even 1766. Also, it appears to be part of a set since it is similar to portraits of Governors Winthrop, Leverett, and Bradford that are all in ovals without any decoration.

Glenn Magna Farms, in Danvers. This is the grand estate of William Crowninshield Endicott (see p. 14). It is currently owned by the Danvers Historical Society. It was begun in 1812 by the wealthy Peabody family and was subsequently expanded. W.C.E. married into the Peabody family by marrying Ellen Peabody in 1859. Today, the grounds are open to the public for viewing and special events.

The 1665 portrait of John Endecott in the **Massachusetts State House** in Boston. It is one of the earliest remaining portraits from Colonial America. JEFA partnered with the State of Massachusetts to restore the painting (see **vol. 13, no. 1**, p 16).

Original chair of John Endecott in the **Massachusetts State House**. This chair and the portrait were donated to Massachusetts by William Crowninshield Endicott, Jr in 1941. When the portrait was restored in 2016, it revealed Gov. Endicott sitting in the chair.

Statue of John Endecott in the Fenway in Boston. This statue is located on Forsyth Way near the Museum of Fine Arts. It was sculpted by Carl Paul Jennewein Gray, funded by George Augustus Peabody, a descendant of John Endecott, and unveiled in 1937.

Site of home of John Endecott in Boston. This is the site where the house of John Endecott stood when he was Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. There is only a plaque there now. It is in the area called Pemberton Square today. John originally lived in Salem, but later as Governor was required to live in Boston.

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Further Endicott Oregon Connections

William T. Endicott

The John Endecott Family Association had been intending to have an in-person reunion in Redmond, Oregon, where George Endicott is now the mayor—but COVID-19 torpedoed that idea. I detailed quite a few Endicott connections with Oregon in our last newsletter. Since then, I've discovered even more.

William Endicott, Jr & Railroads

While many Endicotts were early settlers of Oregon, particularly after the Civil War, at least one was key in developing transportation, particularly the railroads, into the area. This was William Endicott, Jr, (1826-1914) of Beverly, Massachusetts. (This is a different William from William Crowninshield Endicott.)

William, Jr was the son of William Endicott, Sr (1799-1899), who almost lived in three centuries. Junior was a wealthy merchant, known for his business sagacity and moral integrity, who developed extensive connections with prominent Bostonians during his long life.

His descent from Governor John Endecott is as follows:

- Governor John Endecott (1588-1665)
- Zerubbabel Endecott (1635-1684)
- Samuel Endecott (1659-1694)
- Samuel Endecott, (1687-1766)
- John Endicott (1713-1783)
- Robert Endicott, (1756-1819)
- William Endicott, Sr (1799-1899)
- William Endicott, Jr (1826-1914)

Born into an old New England family as a son of a respectable dry goods merchant in Beverly, Junior was reportedly bright but could not attend Harvard for health reasons. Instead, he chose a career in business, which seems paradoxical. You might think academe would be less stressful than business!

In 1857, he married Annie Thorndike of Boston. Endicott rose quickly in business. In 1851, he became a partner of C.F. Hovey and Company in Boston, an importer and retailer of dry goods who also ran a department store. Endicott was to remain in that capacity for 64 years. (Endicott's brother, Henry Endicott, 1840-1912, from whom I directly descend, also worked at C.F. Hovey.)

Charles Fox Hovey (1807-1859) was a progressive business innovator who introduced several new practices, such as uniform pricing in his stores (before that, prices were negotiated with each customer, even among clerks in the same store), profit-sharing with his employees, and better financial management techniques.

Hovey was also a noted abolitionist. He was one of a group of Boston businessmen who provided most of the funding for the American Anti-Slavery Society. He also signed the call to

the first National Woman's Rights Convention in 1850. Hovey left a bequest of \$50,000 to support abolitionism and other types of social reform, including "women's rights, non-resistance, free trade and temperance."

To be a partner of C.F. Hovey, you had to be very public-spirited, and William was. Beyond his connection with Hovey, William Jr was for 27 years president of the New England Trust Company, as well as an officer in various western railroads. In other words, he was a very influential member of Massachusetts society.

With offices in New York and Paris, C.F. Hovey and Company's Boston office became an innovator in department-store-style merchandising, one of the first in America. As Endicott's wealth grew, he served many of Boston's financial, cultural, and charitable institutions as a trustee and treasurer.

His list of affiliations is astonishing:

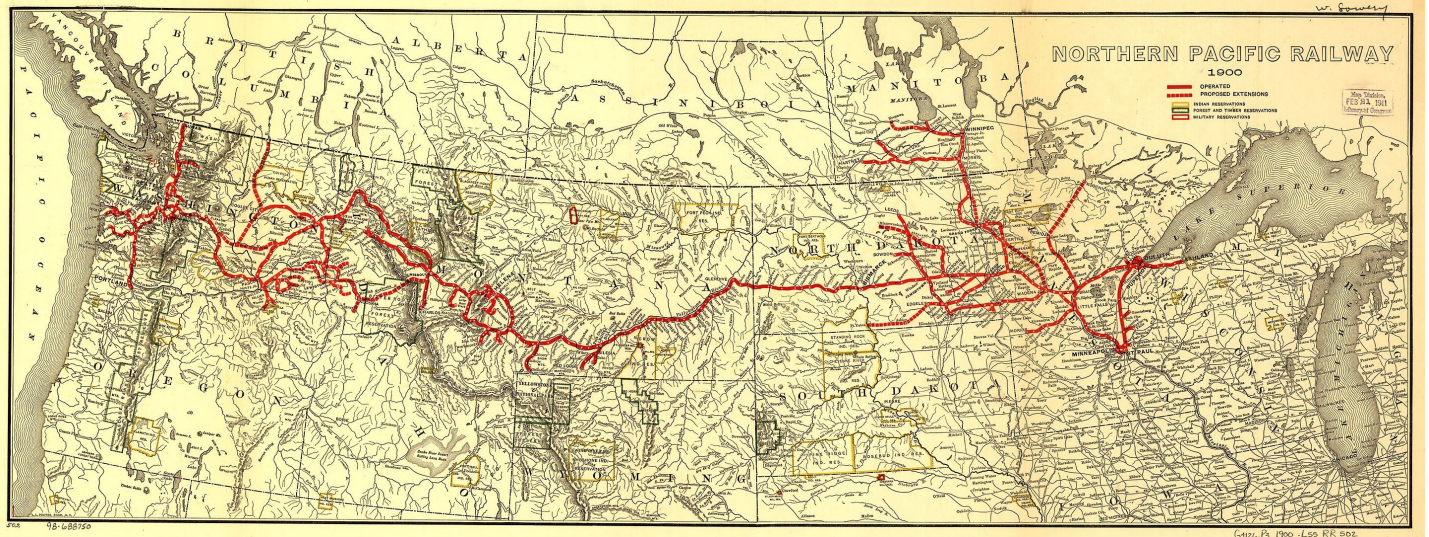
- He was instrumental in establishing of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and was its president for five years.
- His pronouncements on financial matters were printed around the country after the Civil War and may have influenced President Grant's decision to pay the 5-20 bonds' principal and interest in gold instead of greenbacks.
- For more than 40 years, he was a member of the corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He donated to it and raised a lot of money for it. He was its treasurer from 1866-1872.
- He was president of several Western railroads and a trustee of Massachusetts General Hospital for 22 years.

William also took an interest in local and national politics, though he never held political office. Before the Civil War, he lent money to the famous abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison and became a financial advisor to him. Endicott also participated in the effort to keep Kansas free of slavery.

He was a member of the Free Soil Party and as an alternate delegate attended the convention in 1856 that nominated John C. Frémont for President, the first national convention of the Republican Party, which four years later, nominated Abraham Lincoln for President. (Frémont had made his reputation in part for exploring the Oregon area. As you will see on page [25](#), Endicott's New York relatives, the lithographers George



William Endicott, Jr



When the directors of the Northern Pacific Railway refused to connect their railroad to his Oregon and Transcontinental, Henry Villard engineered a takeover of the Northern Pacific. After Villard suffered financial reverses, William Endicott, Jr became President of the Oregon and Transcontinental.

and William, illustrated some of Frémont's report.) Although he was a Republican for the next 25 years, Endicott did not always agree with the Party .

While he considered himself a simple businessman, Endicott was well traveled, intelligent, interested in the arts, and associated closely with many of Boston's cultural leaders. He received honorary master of arts degrees from Williams College in 1868 and Harvard University in 1888, and was elected a member of the Saturday Club – whose membership consisted of Boston's leading intellectuals — a rare distinction for a man of commerce.

Oregon Improvement Company

Henry Villard (1835-1900) was born in Speyer, Germany under the name Heinrich Hilgard and was educated in Germany. Inspired by the failed liberal revolution of 1848 in Germany, he came to America in 1853, as several of his relatives had done before him. Once in America, he became a very ambitious entrepreneur.

Villard married the daughter of the ardent abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison—for whom William Endicott, Jr was the financial manager. Presumably, this is how he met William Endicott and decided to go into business with him. During the Civil War, Villard was a journalist, present at many of the most important battles.

On October 21, 1880, Villard opened the Oregon Improvement Company. William Endicott, Jr was one of the directors. The purpose of the company was to cooperate with the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company to develop Oregon, Washington, and the North Pacific region generally. Villard basically oversaw its affairs.

William Endicott, Jr had visited Oregon in late 1879 to learn about the resources of eastern Oregon and Washington. The town of Endicott, WA, is named after him. In 1881, Villard created the Oregon and Transcontinental Company to organ-

ize and facilitate the opening and settlement of Oregon by railroad and steamship, financed by British and German funds. It contributed \$30,000,000 to creating 2,000 miles of such railroad lines.

By the 1880s, Villard had become one of the most important railroad tycoons in the country. But by 1883, he experienced a severe financial reversal. He had spent too much money too quickly. The decline in the stock market, begun in 1882, had steepened as Villard plunged ahead. He now faced a large deficit of \$10,000,000 (about \$250,000,000 today).

Villard tried to raise the value of the railroad stocks by arranging to have the Oregon and Transcontinental acquire outstanding shares while using his personal holdings in the Oregon Improvement Company to take a large loan. To this, his erstwhile supporter William Endicott, Jr wrote, "I cannot quite make up my mind whether it is you or [P.T.] Barnum that has the greatest show on earth."

Word leaked out about the deficit and that Villard proposed another bond issue; shareholders began to sell. At the September Annual Meeting, the Northern Pacific announced a shortfall of nearly \$8,000,000; the next day the rush began.

The collapse was sudden. On the night of December 16, 1883, Endicott and three others awoke Villard to tell him he was bankrupt. A syndicate would help him if he would give up the presidencies of Oregon and Transcontinental and the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company. On December 17, Villard resigned from both. On January 4, 1884, he abandoned the presidency of the Northern Pacific.

In early 1884, William Endicott, Jr took over as president of the Oregon and Transcontinental. Villard returned to Germany after suffering a nervous breakdown. Villard had built the Northern Pacific line across the Northern Rockies, but it had bankrupted him. Four years later, refinanced, Villard bounced back and was again president of the Oregon and Transcontinental Company from 1888-1893.

Three Endicott Connections with John C. Frémont

John C. Frémont was a famous explorer, military officer, and politician. After serving as US Senator from California, he was the first Republican candidate for President of the United States. Three Endicotts (one from New York and two from Massachusetts) had dealings with Frémont.

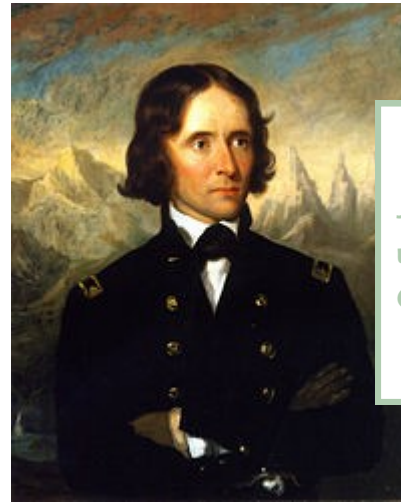
Frémont was born out of wedlock to a French-Canadian schoolteacher and the daughter of a socially prominent Virginia planter. Skilled in mathematics and knowledgeable about the natural sciences, Frémont had a short stint in the US Navy and then joined the US Topographical Corps. A protégé of Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett, Frémont was assigned to assist Joseph Nicollet in exploring the lands between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. In 1841, Frémont married the daughter of Thomas Hart Benton, US Senator from Missouri. A strong proponent of Western expansion, Sen. Benton was a major supporter of Frémont's expeditions.

Frémont's expeditions

Beginning in 1842, Frémont made five expeditions in the West, but the first two, with Kit Carson as a guide, were his most famous. Charles Preuss was the cartographer and surveyor on both trips. The official reports from Frémont's first two expeditions were combined and published in 1845 as the 693-page "Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842: And to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-44" ordered printed by the US Senate. A somewhat different version was ordered printed by the US House.

Because government reports are not copyrighted, the Frémont report was immediately published commercially by many publishers in many editions, making it more widely read than any other account of the West before the California Gold Rush of 1849. The exact number of copies is not known; but to give some examples, I read that the Appleton edition had sold over 21,000 copies by 1849, Upham's more than 45,000, and Derby's over 16,000. Some of these versions had extra illustrations and commentary added to what was in the House and Senate versions. Altogether, these publications became the primary guidebooks for settlers heading West prior to the California Gold Rush of 1849. Frémont became a national celebrity and newspapers called him "The Pathfinder."

In late 1845, on the eve of the Mexican-American War, Frémont took an expedition to California, then part of Mexico. Besides killing many Indians along the way, Frémont antagonized the Mexican authorities in California by raising an American flag. When US warships captured Monterey and claimed California for the United States, Frémont was appointed major in command of the California Battalion. After the Treaty of Cahuenga, which put an end to the fighting in California, Frémont was made military governor of California. However, Frémont was eventually discharged and court-martialed for refusing to obey orders. He was later pardoned by President Polk.



John C. Frémont,
undated portrait by
George Healy

In 1848-1849, Frémont went on an expedition to find a possible railroad route from St. Louis to San Francisco. In 1850, the Royal Geographical Society awarded him the Patron's Medal. As a land speculator, Frémont became wealthy during the 1849 California Gold Rush.

US Senate and Presidential Run

In 1850, Frémont was chosen by the newly established California legislature to serve in the US Senate. (This was in the days before direct election of Senators.) He was a member of the Free Soil Democrats, a coalition that opposed the expansion of slavery into the Western territories.

In 1856, Frémont ran for President. After turning down an invitation to be the Democratic candidate, he became the Republican Party's first Presidential candidate. His campaign slogan was "Free Soil, Free Men, and Frémont." It meant a crusade for free farms (homesteads) and against the "slavocracy" (the political power of the slave owners). However, Democrat James Buchanan won the election because the Republican vote was split between Frémont and incumbent President Millard Fillmore, who ran on the Know-Nothing ticket.

Civil War

During the Civil War, Frémont was appointed major general and Commander of the Department of the West, which oversaw military affairs in the country west of the Mississippi to the borders of California and Oregon. Frémont was removed from command after he impetuously proclaimed martial law in Missouri and declared that all slaves of rebels would be emancipated. However, a few months later, Lincoln issued his own Emancipation Proclamation. Frémont was nominated by the Radical Democracy Party to run for President. He withdrew from the election after Lincoln agreed to accept the resignation of Postmaster General Montgomery Blair. Blair had been an outspoken opponent of emancipation, and his brother Frank, a Congressman from Missouri, had quarreled with Frémont.

Later Life

After the war, Frémont got involved with the Pacific Railroad, only to lose his wealth in the Panic of 1873. President Rutherford B. Hayes appointed him Governor of Arizona Territory in 1878, but he resigned. He died in 1890, at age 77.

George and William Endicott

From 1843-1844, Frémont led an expedition that took him along the Deschutes River very close to Redmond, OR, where George Endicott is now the mayor. Frémont published maps, drawings, and information of things he saw during his trips, thereby adding immeasurably to what was known about that part of America.

In a publication called [The Expeditions of John Charles Fremont, Volume 1, Travels from 1838-1844](#), there is one letter (of many) that Frémont wrote to the botanist, physician, and chemist, John Torrey (1796-1873) as follows:

Washington City Jany. 12th 1845

My Dear Sir,

On Thursday last I sent by the transportation line a box of fossils for Dr. Hall. The Agent informed me it would be in New York to-morrow but I could not learn whether it would be sent to Mr. Endicott or whether it was necessary to send for it. I enclose a brief note relative to them which can be extended if it should be of use. The names which I have affixed to some of the vegetable fossils depend only on my own knowledge as there is no one here to whom I could refer the least information on the subject, therefore Dr. Hall will know what weight to give them if it would not be troublesome to him I would be glad to have them again as this year I shall visit the same localities in order to examine as closely as I am able the interesting geology of that country. He had better break up one of the large specimens as he will find several different varieties of plants. Some of these appear entirely new....

Yours very truly,

J.C. Fremont

In a footnote following this letter it says:

1. Probably George Endicott (1802-48), New York engraver, though sometime in 1845 he was joined by his younger brother William. These lithographers did the original drawings for the botanical illustrations and engraved eight of the plates on stone (vouched no. 232 [16 March 1848], DNA-217, T-135, shows that G. and W. Endicott were paid \$95.75 for work done in 1845."

In 1843, George and William also did a lithograph of Governor John Endecott that has the Endicott coat of arms on it (see p. 27).

What did George and William Endicott do with Frémont's fossils? In short, it appears that they made illustrations for Frémont's second report. There is a document called "A list of Reports made to Congress," dated December 7, 1845 and on page 95 it has this entry:

Doc. No. 2	
No. 122 — G. & W. Endicott	
For lithographing for Fremont's report, viz:	
To making original drawing for 49 fossils, at \$2	98.00
Making original drawings of 4 pages botany, at \$3	12.00
Drawing on stone 5 pages fossils, at \$15	75.00
Re-drawing on stone 4 pages fossils, at \$12	48.00
Drawing on stone 4 pages botany, at \$15	60.00
Engraving 2 copies of map of Bear Creek, at \$20	40.00
Printing 11,335 copies of each, 9 pages quarto, fossil shells, ferns, fresh water infusoria, and botany—being 102,015 impressions, at \$5 per M.	510.07
To printing 11,335 copies of map of Bear river, at \$10 per M	113.35
27 reams plate paper, at \$10	270.00
12 reams thin paper for maps, at \$4	48.00
3 boxes, at \$1; 4 do, at 75 cents	6.00
	1,280.42
Cr.— By amount received from Clerk House of Representative	900.00
Deduct amount paid by Clerk for freight from New York to Washington	19.69

(Continued on page 26)

William Endicott, Jr

The second Endicott-Frémont connection has to do with William Endicott, Jr (1826-1914) from Beverly, Massachusetts (see story about him on p. 22). This Endicott helped nominate Frémont for President of the United States at the Republican convention in 1856.

William was one of two abolitionist William Endicotts before the Civil War. This William was even the financial manager for William Lloyd Garrison, one of the most famous abolitionists of all. (On July 4, 1854, Garrison publicly burned a copy of the Constitution, condemning it as "a Covenant with Death, an Agreement with Hell," because it originally permitted slavery.)

William Jr was also a member of the Free Soil Party that largely focused on the single issue of opposing the expansion of slavery into the western territories of the United States. But by 1854, it was mostly absorbed by the Republican Party. In 1856, William was an alternate delegate at the Republican presidential convention in Philadelphia that nominated John C. Frémont for President of the United States. This was the first national convention of the Republican Party.

Third Frémont connection

In 1899, following the 1886 recommendations of Secretary of War William Crowninshield Endicott's Endicott Board that was created to refurbish America's coastal defense forts, a fort was created on St. Helena Island in Beaufort County, South Carolina and named Fort Fremont. Its purpose was to protect the Port Royal sound. St Helena Island is 15 miles from Parris Island, the current Marine Corps recruit depot.

Since John Frémont was an abolitionist and a Union general during the Civil War, naming a fort Frémont in South Carolina, the heart of the Confederacy, seems awfully provocative. At this point, it's not known whether William C. approved this name himself, or whether that was done way after he left office in 1889, which seems more likely. Furthermore, since William C. had advocated returning Confederate battle flags to the South, it seems likely he would have resisted doing something so provocative.

For reference, the following are Endicott-era refurbished or created forts in Oregon and Washington State:

- Puget Sound. Admiralty Inlet was considered so strategic to the defense of Puget Sound that three forts —Fort Casey on Whidbey Island, Fort Flagler on Marrowstone Island, and Fort Worden at Port Townsend—were built with the intention to create a "triangle of fire" against invading ships. This military strategy was based on the theory that the three fortresses would thwart any invasion attempt by sea.
- Columbia River. Three forts formed the defense of the Columbia River. They were: Fort Stevens at the mouth of the Columbia on the Oregon side and Fort Columbia and Fort Canby on the Washington side of the Columbia River.

Endicott Avenue in Portland, OR

The previous issue of the newsletter raised the question of how Endicott Avenue in Portland, Oregon got its name. The following note is from Kurt Krueger, Development Services Division Manager, Portland Bureau of Transportation:

When the city officials selected the new street names in 1891, they made this one a namesake for Delos Endicott, at that time listed as a "regular officer of the police force." In those days a policeman was a popular man, and those "On the Force" were called "Portland's finest." The street had been "G" in the north "Peninsular" District.

Cindy Endicott Livingston, our JEFA Treasurer, looked Delos up online and found that he was born in Lacrosse County, Wisconsin, in 1866 to Joseph Nation Endicott and Melinda Brooks. He married Eleanor Woodruff Corbin and had 5 children. He died in Portland in 1939. Delos and several other men sued the city in 1914!



Delos Endicott, a policeman in Portland, Oregon

If Delos was born in 1866, he was only 25 years old when the street was named after him. When he was 48, he sued the city, for reasons unknown.

Delos's father was Joseph Nation Endicott (1795-1874) of Nicholas County Kentucky, who fought in the battle of the Thames on October 5, 1813.

Delos's descent from Governor John Endecott is:

- Governor John Endecott
- Zerubbabel (Zerobabel) Endicott
- Joseph Endicott (1672-1747)
- Joseph Endicott (1711-1748)
- Joseph Endicott (1738-1831)
- Joseph Endicott (1775 - 1833)
- Joseph Nation Endicott (1795-1874)
- James Martin Endicott (1818-1876)
- Joseph Nation Endicott (1839-1915)
- Delos Endicott (1866-1939)

Personal Seals of John Endecott

William T. Endicott

The John Endecott Family Association contracted with the New England Historic Genealogical Society (NEHGS) to research the Endicott coat of arms as well as six seals used by John Endecott. Their report, written by Erin Connelly and dated February 27, 2020, includes the following findings:

Endicott Coat of Arms.

Although the traditional Endicott coat of arms was known to exist for a long time, it was not known exactly when it originated or how it came about. NEHGS was not able to answer the question definitively, but they provided enough information to enable us to make a good guess: it was created at the behest of George and William Endicott in 1843. What follows is the evidence for this conclusion.

NEHGS searched all the available listings of coats of arms in this country and in England and found the Endicott coat of arms only in one, William Armstrong Crozier's "General Armory; a Registry of American Families Entitled to Coat Armor", published in New York in 1904 by Fox, Duffield & Company. The arms are described in heraldic lingo as: "Argent, on a fess azure, between three fusils gules, a griffin passant or. CREST — A lion's head erased."

The coat does not appear in any British registries, so right away we know it is an American creation. But how old? The earliest reference NEHGS could find to an Endicott coat of arms is on a lithograph made in 1843 (Figure 1). As you can just make out in the lithograph, at the bottom is a black and white version of the coat of arms.



Figure 1. An 1843 lithograph produced by George and William Endicott.

Figure 2 shows a blown-up version. In that black-and-white rendering, narrow lines (hatching) are used to suggest color. The images are of a white shield, with a blue band in the middle. Above the band are two diamonds or "lozenges" as they are known in heraldry, and below the band is one more. In the middle of the blue band is an opincus (a mythical animal with the head, neck, and wings of an eagle; the body of a lion; and the tail of a bear. This design comports closely with the description given in Crozier's book.

Surrounding the image of the coat of arms on the lithograph

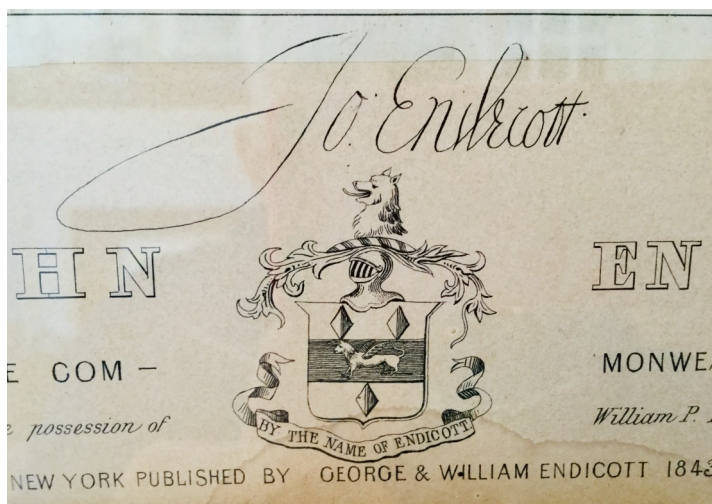


Figure 2. An enlarged image of the coat of arms shown in Figure 1.

but too small to be seen in the photo are the words "Copied from a portrait in the possession of Wm P. Endicott Esq of Salem Ms."

And at the very bottom it says "NEW YORK PUBLISHED BY GEORGE AND WILLIAM ENDICOTT 1843."

George and William Endicott

George (1802-1848) and William Endicott (1816-1851) were born in Canton, Massachusetts. George began his career as a lithographer in New York in 1828. From 1830 to 1834, he and Moses Swett were partners in Endicott & Swett. William Endicott joined his brother's firm in 1841. After George died in 1848, William continued operating the firm as William Endicott & Co. He was joined by Francis Endicott from 1852 to 1886, and George Endicott, Jr ran the firm from 1887 to 1891.

An employee of George Endicott, Charles Hart, compiled a lengthy memoir late in the 19th century about his experiences working as a printer. This unpublished memoir is called "Lithography, its Theory and Practice, Including a Series of Short Sketches of the Earliest Lithographic Artists, Engravers and Printers of New York."

George and William Endicott did some of the illustrations for a John C. Frémont report on his expedition through Oregon (see p. 24).

While George Endicott was in New York, he and Nathaniel Currier (later of Currier and Ives) were considered the pre-eminent lithographers of their day, along with the firm of William S. and John B. Pendleton in Boston.

George Endicott is especially known for his production of some of the Audubon prints. He also did numerous engravings

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(Continued from page 27)

and lithographs of portraits, landscapes, and especially illustrations for sheet music. One of his premier issues was a series of the Presidents of the United States.

Francis D'Avignon was born 1813, raised in St. Petersburg, Russia, and emigrated to New York in July, 1842. His first American lithograph was printed by George and William Endicott in 1843. He later ran his own firm and became quite famous.

What probably happened

George and William Endicott decided to do a lithograph of their famous ancestor and had F. D'Avignon do it. George and William probably wanted a coat of arms to go with this lithograph, so they probably had someone make one for them. There were companies you could hire in the 19th century to do that for you. Many families created their own coats of arms in this way at that time. But what images to put on such a coat of arms?

Here's another guess. Today, in heraldry white or "argent" is said to signify truth, sincerity, and peace. Red or "gules" signifies warrior and strength. And blue, or "azure" signifies loyalty, truth, and faith. These are all characteristics you could argue apply to John Endecott and that someone making a coat of arms for a family descended from him would want to use.

But what about the opincus? The opincus is quite rare in heraldry, but there is one well-known example of it: it was the symbol of the London Company of Barber-Surgeons. John Endecott is sometimes referred to in contemporary writing as a "chirurgion," or surgeon in French. So why not put the surgeon's symbol on the coat of arms as a final touch?

It should be noted that NEHGS does not endorse these guesses; they take no position on them.

In some illustrations of the traditional Endicott coat of arms, there is the motto *Patria cara carior libertas*—"the fatherland is dear but liberty is dearer." NEHGS pointed out, however, that this is in no way unique to the Endicott coat of arms, but instead was used widely in both England and America in the late 18th and 19th centuries.

Bottom line: the traditional Endicott coat of arms is a 19th-century, certainly American, invention, although the meaning of the imagery on it is less certain.

John Endecott's personal seal

In a deed signed by John Endecott in 1662, there is a red wax seal (Figure 3) that one might conclude is one of the earliest examples of an American personal coat of arms and thus should be regarded as the true Endicott coat of arms. However, the image is so damaged, it's "very indistinct." As far back as 1934, NEHGS examined it in hopes they could clearly identify it, but failed to do so. The best guess is that it is a shield with a chevron in the middle with two animal heads above it and one below it, with an eagle rising from a crown on top of the shield. NEHGS found no other identifiable examples of this shield on



Figure 3. A red wax seal on a document signed by Gov. John Endecott in 1665.

anything that John wrote that remains. In their words: "We examined 13 seals associated with John and Zerubbabel Endicott in the family collections held by three institutions. In the available documentary evidence, we were unable to find a seal containing an uncontested, clearly defined coat of arms."

John Garrad Seal

This is a most interesting NEHGS find. In a 1663 letter that John Endecott sent to John Winthrop, he affixed a seal that shows a death's-head with the name "John Garrad" around it. (Today you can only see Garrad, but in the 19th century you could also see John on the other side.) This raises the question of who was John Garrad and why was John Endecott using this seal on a letter to John Winthrop?

Short answer: we don't know, but there are some guesses. First of all, it is known that this kind of death's-head image was found on "memento mori" rings. These began in the Middle Ages as a reaction to the Black Death and the consequent preoccupation with death. The message then was simply "Remember, life is short."

Later, the Puritans used the death's-head image but transformed the message into "life is short; make sure when you meet your maker you can prove you led a good one."

But why is John Garrad on the seal? When the question was put to the noted Puritan scholar Francis J. Bremer, he said he thought it might be John Garrad (ca 1546-1625), a member of the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers. Garrad was known to be sympathetic to Puritans, and he was the Lord Mayor of London in 1601-1602. Bremer wondered whether the memento mori ring with John Garrad's name on it was a sign among Puritan "true believers," such as both John Endecott and John Winthrop were—sort of like a Masonic symbol.

There is one more piece of evidence supporting this theory: John Endecott also used this death's-head seal when writing to Roger Williams, another ardent Puritan. The original Endecott letter is lost but we know of it because in 1651 Williams wrote a reply to Endecott mentioning it and even quoting from it. John Endecott knew Roger Williams from back in England because they both were Puritans. But in Salem, Roger Williams' version of Puritanism turned out to be more liberal than the version prevalent in Massachusetts, and Williams got banished to Rhode Island for it, where John was writing him now.

A passage from John Endecott's letter quoted in Roger Williams' reply says: "Were I as free in my spirit as formerly I have been to write you, you should have received another manner of salutation than now with a good conscience I can express."

What he appears to saying is essentially this: "While I may basically sympathize with you, since I'm Governor of Massachusetts Bay which banished you, I can't in official correspondence talk to you that way now."

But John added the death's-head seal to the letter, which seemed to be saying in essence, "Hey, while I can't officially take your side, I still want you to know I do sympathize with you still!"

Future research may tell us more about this John Garrad

business. But for now, it appears that maybe back in England John Endecott and other Puritans such as John Winthrop and Roger Williams had attended the funeral of John Garrad and been given these rings as mementos. Or perhaps Garrad or his admirers even gave them out when he was still alive. Or at least in some way the community of Puritans living in England, and particularly in London (where John Endecott, John Winthrop, and Roger Williams were all known to have been) all looked upon John Garrad as a worthy exemplar of Puritanism and thus evoking his name was a sign among them.

Official Seal of Massachusetts

Since it was expected John would use this when he was Governor, it doesn't seem particularly noteworthy.

Heart seals

On some documents signed by John Endecott, there are also heart images in red wax affixed. At first, it was thought these might be John Endecott's personal seals, but now it appears that they were just the seals of notaries who witnessed the documents.



Endicott places

(Continued from page 21)

Original Tomb of John Endecott. He was initially buried in tomb number 189 in Granary Burying Ground in Boston. His remains were probably moved years later.

Nebraska

Endicott. This is a small village in Jefferson County, in the southern corner of the state, on the border with Kansas. It was named after William Crowninshield Endicott (see p. 14).

New Hampshire

Endicott Rock. In the state park on the shore of Lake Winnepesaukee is a rock that was incised with lettering in 1652 by surveyors for the Massachusetts Bay Colony when John Endecott (spelled the way he spelled it) was Governor. The markings on the rock include "IOHN ENDICUT GOV" (sic.) and the initials of the surveyors. This engraved rock was discovered in the 19th century when the Weirs channel, between Lake Winnepesaukee and Paugus Bay, was dredged.

New York

Endicott. The village is named after Henry B. Endicott (1853 – 1920) a founding member of the Endicott Johnson Corporation shoe manufacturing company, in Endicott. Henry was a descendant of John Endecott's relative Gilbert Endicott, who arrived in Massachusetts from England in 1658. The Endicott

Johnson Shoe Company supplied nearly all of the footwear for the US Army in WWI and WWII (see [Endicotts in the Military, Part I.](#))

North Carolina

Endicott Creek in Surry County. This creek is 8 miles from the town of Dobson. It is named after Thomas Endicott who moved to Surry County about 1760 and subsequently went through the Cumberland Gap with Daniel Boone in 1783, establishing a whole Midwestern branch of the Endicott clan.

Oregon

Endicott Creek in Columbia County. This is a 5-mile long creek located in the northwest corner of Oregon. It is believed to be named after William Endicott, Sr (see p. 14)

Endicott Street in Portland, Oregon. This was named after policeman Delos Endicott (see p. 26)

Washington State

Endicott is a village in Windham County, Washington State.

West Virginia

Endicott. This is a small populated place in Wetzel County, which is in the very north of West Virginia very close to the border of Ohio and Pennsylvania. It's unknown how it got its name.



Refurbishing the Endecott Cemetery

According to the Danvers Historical Society (DHS), in 1632 the Massachusetts General Court gave to Captain John Endecott 300 acres in an area known by Native Americans as Waquainesehcok and by the English as Birchwood, which John then called Orchard Farm. On this property is the Endicott family cemetery which is said to have started with Dr. Zerubbabel Endecott, John's younger son (see story on page 8) who died in 1658. (Also on this property is the Massachusetts General/North Shore Outpatient Clinic — see associated story on page 13.) However, the earliest remaining marker in the cemetery is from 1773; and the most recent is from 1931.

The cemetery had fallen into disrepair, but a JEFA committee of Eve Endicott and Jack Endicott Lawrence recently oversaw a project to refurbish it. Complicating the project is the fact that there is a toxic waste dump nearby that EPA is currently attempting to neutralize.

Who's in the cemetery

The DHS, which has jurisdiction over the cemetery, says that besides the Endicotts who are in the cemetery, there are two British officers, thought to be from the 64th Regiment of Foot who were bodyguards to General Thomas Gage when he lived for a short while nearby in 1774, and a slave by the name of Phyllis, who worked for Elizabeth (Jacobs) Endicott. (By the mid-18th century, slavery was common in Massachusetts. The practice died out after the Revolutionary War.)

DHS also says that two Indian gravesites just outside the walls of the cemetery were excavated in the 1930s. It also has a map which lists 38 numbered graves, but without names.

However, at <http://files.usgarchives.net/ma/essex/towns/danvers/cemeteries/ceme002a.txt> is found a list of names of Endicotts in the cemetery, which was apparently put together in 1997. Here is an edited copy of the list:

- Joseph Endicott, son of Samuel and Margaret, died December 19, 1806, age 75
- Samuel Endicott, relict of Joseph Endicott, died December 1, 1809, age 72
- Mary Endicott, daughter of Joseph and Sarah Endicott, died June 12, 1811, age 36
- William Endicott, died July 3, 1892, 69 years
- Fidella, wife of John Endicott, March 23, 1788; died September 11, 1854, 66 years, 5 months, 19 days
- Martha Endicott, widow of John Endicott, died September 3, 1821
- John Endicott, died November 20, 1841, age 76 years
- Mary Endicott, wife of Capt. John Endicott, died February 26, 1811
- John Endicott III, son of Capt. John Endicott, died April 1, 1803, 11 years
- Nancy Endicott, daughter of Samuel and Mary Endicott, died April 17, 1786, 24 years
- Samuel Endicott, died December 10, 1773
- Rebecca Endicott, wife of Daniel Hardy, daughter of John Endicott and Martha Putnam, born May 22, 1780, died September 25, 1850
- Daniel Hardy, born May 1, 1784, died July 16, 1844
- George W. Hardy, son of Daniel and Rebecca Hardy, obt September 8, 1813
- Rebecca Endicott, wife of James W. Dexter, formerly wife of Maurice C. Oby, died April 23, 1875
- Ruth Endicott, relict of Joseph Dole, daughter of Samuel and Margaret Endicott, born 1738, died September 7, 1828, 90 years
- Joseph Dole son of Abner Dole and Mary Kent b. January 16, 1740 d about July 11, 1783
- Margaret Endicott, 2nd wife of Cap. Samuel Endicott, b. in Boston Mar 1, 1694 d. Danvers May 11, 1750
- Capt. Samuel Endicott, d May 7, 1766 age 78. He was the third generation from his ancestor who settled Salem in 1628, was very usefull and lived respected
- Anne Endicott, wife of Samuel Endicott, d. 1723, age 30, born in London
- John Endicott, d. May 11, 1783
- Elizabeth Endicott, wife of John Endicott, d. August 9, 1809, 90 years, 9 months
- Children of John Endicott and Martha Putnam his wife:
 - Nathan Endicott, twin brother of Martha Endicott, wife of Jeremiah Page, September 25, 1775-September 1, 1788
 - Sarah Endicott, March 8, 1778-May 12, 1796
- William Endicott 6th son of John Endicott Esq. and Mary Putnam his wife, April 23, 1782-June 22, 1806; he was second off of the ship *Cincinnati* and was drowned at the isle of Sumatra
- Samuel Endicott, elder son of Samuel Endicott Esq. and Elizabeth his wife, March 13, 1795-May 15, 1828; his body lies in the Putnam lot old cemetery, Sterling, Massachusetts.
- Sarah Rolland Endicott, wife of Charles Moses Endicott, died August 30, 1859, age 66
- Samuel Endicott died in Salem, May 1, 1828 age 65 years 6th generation of Gov. John Endecott, who settled Salem Ma. also in memory of his wife Elizabeth died at Salem November 18, 1841
- John Endicott, February 3, 1894-November 2, 1931, son of George Gardner Endicott and Emily Cunningham. He served in WWI in the United States Naval Reserve
- Charles Edward Endicott, son of Charles Moses Endicott and Sarah Rolland Endicott, July 7, 1832-December 26, 1887
- Ingersoll Bowditch Endicott, son of Charles Moses Endicott and Sarah Rolland Endicott, May 17, 1835-May 14, 1909
- George Gardner Endicott, September 19, 1857-September 29, 1924

- Emily Cunningham, widow of George Gardner Endicott, October 14, 1852-December 27, 1924
- Martha Endicott, widow of Mr. John Endicott, died September 3, 1821

As you can see, there are only 34 names on this list. Also, it is not clear whether everyone named on the list is buried here. The William Endicott who drowned off Sumatra may have been buried at sea. Note also that the list says that the body of a Samuel Endicott lies in another cemetery. (A tomblike monument for someone buried elsewhere is called a cenotaph.) The two British officers and Phyllis are not included. So there are some discrepancies that still need to be resolved as to exactly who is in the cemetery.

EPA clean-up project

From about 1903 to early 1981, an area close to the cemetery was used by the former **Creese & Cook tannery** to dispose of hazardous substances used in tannery, primarily arsenic and chromium, which have led to contamination of surface and subsurface soils. In May 2013, EPA **added the site** to the Superfund Program's National Priorities List (NPL).

The EPA plan is to remove 33,000 cubic yards of this contaminated soil and actually move it closer to the Endicott cemetery, to within 20 feet of it, but then cap it with a plastic sheet and earth. This would create a mound about 10-15 feet high.

The EPA's Derrick Golden, who's in charge of the project, says that in the past mounds like this have been used for things like solar cells and soccer fields. You wouldn't be able to put buildings on it, though, because that would entail going down deep into the earth, which would break the plastic seal capping the toxic soil. Golden claims the whole project will be safe and actually make access to the cemetery easier.

Golden estimates it will take about 4 years to complete the removal plan. They're in the design stage now, which will take about a year. Then, it will take about 3 years to do the work. So, all in all, 4 years, or conclusion by 2024. Golden also advised that there is a small homeless population in the area that has to be considered.

Repair work on the cemetery

There were basic things that needed to be done on the cemetery, such as mowing the grass and even pulling up some small trees that have grown up on it. Thereafter, there is the matter of repairing broken grave markers. Eve Endicott and Jack Lawrence got a cost estimate of \$3,900 to do the initial clean-up work and developed a plan for how to proceed. The JEFA pledged \$1,000 to the project and embarked on a successful fundraising effort to get the rest. A total of 23 people gave \$4,225, so there is a bit extra that we will apply to ongoing maintenance of the cemetery. 🍏



The Endicott cemetery in Danvers, MA, before (above) and after (below) the cleanup.



Hospital Donation

(Continued from page 13)

Solving the PPE problem

All over the country, the scarcity of N95 masks has been a problem for hospitals treating COVID-19 patients. But the Center solved it for themselves by working with a company in Somerville, Massachusetts to pioneer the reprocessing of facemasks. So the Center has had no shortage of masks.

Surprise party

After Elena and Jaclyn explained what the Center has been doing and thus what the JEFA donation will help with, Bill started to thank everyone for the meeting and started to close it. But Abbie, his wife, yelled "wait a minute" from the kitchen and brought out a birthday cake for Bill, since it was his 75th birthday. She then pressed Elena, Jaclyn, and Cindy into an impromptu, surprise birthday party for Bill, replete with a rendition of "Happy Birthday!"

As a Puritan, John Endecott would have been shocked at the idea of celebrating someone's birthday; but as a medical man, he would definitely have approved of JEFA's efforts to help healthcare professionals who are taking care of COVID-19 patients! 🍏

Membership Application

Formerly known as the Endecott-Endicott Family Association, Inc., the [John Endecott Family Association](#) is a 501(c)7 organization. It is governed by a Board of Trustees made up typically of Life Members and direct descendants of Gov. John Endecott of Massachusetts. The JEFA is an institutional member of the [New England Historic Genealogical Society](#). By joining the JEFA, you will gain free access to the NEHGS databases for your own research.

Application type: ☐ New ☐ Renewal

Membership categories and fees:

☐ Family (Individual and immediate household members up to age 18), \$20

Names: _____

☐ Life (Individual), \$200 (Optional payment plan: \$50 due Jan. 1, \$50 due Feb. 1, March 1, April 1.)

Name: _____

☐ Life (Individual and spouse), \$350 (Optional payment plan: \$100 due Jan. 1, \$50 Feb. 1, March 1, April 1, May 1, June 1.)

Name: _____

☐ Corporate/organizational, \$50

Name of association or society: _____

Name and address of person submitting application:

Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone: _____ Email: _____

Send check, payable to JEFA, Inc., to JEFA, Inc., Cindy Livingston, Treasurer, 1097 Derby Lane, Howell, Michigan, 48834.

How did you hear about JEFA? _____