

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-900 USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form (Rev. 8-86) OMB No. 1024-0018

Arnold, James Mansion

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: James Arnold Mansion

Other Name/Site Number: William J. Rotch Mansion – The Wamsutta Club of New Bedford

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 427 County Street

Not for publication:

City/Town: New Bedford

Vicinity:

State: MA County: Bristol Code: 005 Zip Code: 02740

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property Category of Property

Private: Building(s):

Public-Local: District:

Public-State: Site:

Public-Federal: Structure:

Object

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing Noncontributing

1 building

1 sites

1 structures – Non contributing garage

objects

1

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 1

Contributing building in National Register County Street Historic District

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing:

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic: Domestic Sub: Single Dwelling

Current: Recreation & Culture Sub: Private Club

7. DESCRIPTION

Architectural Classification: Federal Core with later additions

MATERIALS:

Foundation: stone (granite)

Walls: Brick

Roof: Slate

Other:

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Original builder: 1821 Dudley Davenport with subcontract for masonry

1872 Additions Edward Delano Lindsey

1924 Additions Arthur H. Bowditch

The James Arnold Mansion (William J. Rotch House/Wamsutta Club) located at 427 County Street is a contributing building in the National Register County Street District and one of New Bedford's most significant, well-documented properties. The twenty-room house is located on 2.894 acres of land on the corner of County and Union Streets. It represents three significant periods of architectural and historical importance reflecting each of its three owners – James Arnold, William J. Rotch and the Wamsutta Club – as well as the growth of the City of New Bedford. As of 2010 respectively, the 1821 Arnold core of the house is 189 years old, the 1872 Rotch changes and additions 138 years old and the Club's alterations and additions are 85 years old. Even the newest of the architectural work is 33 years over the National Register mandate of 50 years or older. The house reflects three architectural styles Federal, French Second Empire and Colonial Revival.

One of the first estates constructed on County Street the Arnold Mansion is a direct reflection of New Bedford's growing supremacy as a whaling port and the wealth it brought the city's ship owners.. The 1821 mansion exemplified the elegance and delicacy characteristic of Federal architecture, which had naturally evolved from the Georgian or Adam style. The

Georgian style adopted and developed in England from the Renaissance designs of Andrea Palladio provided the template for a proper gentleman's home. Pattern books published by Boston architect/builder, Asher Benjamin, were widely available to carpenters outside major American cities. These books allowed the creation of fairly sophisticated homes in a newly wealthy New Bedford that echoed those constructed somewhat earlier in Providence, Boston and Philadelphia. James Arnold was familiar with all three cities and having been raised in Providence, James Arnold was familiar with the great College Hill Federal mansions, especially the John Brown House and may have adapted features for his own home. He was unlikely to have used an architect. New Bedford's Arnold, Rodman, Robeson and Standish houses were all constructed by local house wrights and masons using early plan books. . The Arnold family's new home was a five bay, brick Federal mansion on a granite foundation with a fully excavated basement. Six, slim Ionic columns running across front façade supported a deck with delicate Chippendale balustrade with alternating panels and balusters. It seems probable that an entrance from the second floor center window gave access to the deck. A full balustrade extending around the house tops the hipped roof. The wooden balustrade seems to be composed of solid panels. There are four end chimneys.

The house had a center entrance with an elliptical fanlight with $\frac{3}{4}$ sidelights. Windows were 6/6 with granite lintels and sills. The house would have had exterior shutters with two paneled louvers. The second floor center window had full-length sidelights.

New Bedford's granite Benjamin Rodman mansion and brick Andrew Robeson house were completed in 1821. These 1821 Federals were constructed by relatives united by blood, marriage and the whaling business. A fourth mansion, the Levi Standish House, constructed in

1825, bears a striking similarity to the Arnold House. The Rodman, Robeson and Standish houses are all still in existence and largely original. Historic photographs provide evidence of shared elements that would have been echoed and shared with the Arnold mansion. Each house originally had a paneled balustrade at roof level. Each had shed dormers. The Andrew Robeson House today has a replicated balustrade. The Rodman mansion's balustrade was especially delicate and alternated panels with fretwork echoing the Arnold mansion. Each had shed dormers designed to be hidden by the balustrade. Each house had a similar central entrance. The Standish and Arnold houses shared sharply differentiated second floor central windows with six over six panes and sidelights. The Standish house window was designed to open fully allowing access to a small balcony. Of all the houses, however, the Arnold mansion's full-length portico was the most striking and elaborate.

A contemporary painting of the Arnold Mansion painting indicates a two story, hipped roof brick annex attached to the rear west end of the house. This may have been a kitchen. Reports state that James Arnold did make additions to the house between 1821 and his death 1869. Originally both the Rodman and Standish house had kitchens located in their cellars, which were later relocated to the first floors, and this was probably the case with the Arnold mansion.

The interior layout of the Arnold mansion was a basic four room per floor plan with public rooms leading off a central hallway. The staircase was set at the rear of the hall. Measured drawings of the "Rotch Place" taken in 1920 for the Wamsutta Club indicate the hall was 9'5" wide with a height of 11'5". Leading from the left side of the hall were two identical double parlors 18'3" wide by 22'. Sliding pocket doors with an opened measurement of 9'4" allowed

the rooms to be opened as one space for social gatherings or closed to conserve heat and create intimacy. The two white Italian marble mantels imported by James Arnold c.1850 were and still are sited on the south wall. Each measures 6'4" in width. Each window originally had folding five panel blinds. (Two are still in place in the Library facing County Street).

To the right of the hall were two slightly smaller rooms one behind the other. The room to the immediate right of the hall remains largely original and measured 16'3" wide and 16' long. A 5'6" black, Federal mantel remains in the north wall as do the original interior shutters. Using historic descriptions of the house as reference points, this room may have been Mr. Arnold's office. The second room measured 16'3 and would have had similar 6/6 windows with interior shutters. Logic indicates this was the Arnold dining room. .]

The second floor had roughly the same arrangement of bedrooms off the central hall. From her description Sarah Arnold's bedroom was directly over the southwest parlor with a small at that time luxurious bathroom. Based on the 1920 Rotch plan and the documentation of the Wamsutta Club's alterations, which will be discussed, it is possible to state that the second floor of the Arnold original core still retains the basic layout and a number of original features including fireplace mantels and interior shutters.

It is not possible to determine the provenance of the walnut staircase. We know it is the staircase in the 1920 Rotch Plan and were re-configured by architect, Arthur H. Bowditch. The turned, slender balusters have the proportions of a Federal staircase; however it is not possible to definitely claim it as original.

It is highly probable that the third floor directly above the Arnold core of the house was part of the original Arnold mansion. The Arnold mansion as did the Rodman, Robeson and Standish houses had a hipped roof with projecting dormers largely hidden by balustrades. There are indications that there were additional rooms in this area. The second to third floor staircase and elliptical plasterwork remaining in the mansion have Federal detail, rather than the much heavier and elaborate Empire details. Third floor bedrooms in the Arnold core have Federal fireplaces and paneled interior shutters. It seems probable that these rooms were built circa 1850 or earlier for James Arnold.

The brick kitchen wing was, originally constructed by James Arnold as one of his later additions and modernized by Edward Delano Lindsey for the Rotch family. It is believed the kitchen is the projecting annex in the painting of the Arnold Mansion. Attached to the house at the far side facing Union and Orchard Streets, it is free standing on three sides and clearly massive enough to produce meals for a large family. The Arnolds and Rotchs were known for hosting social events ranging from formal dinners to what has been described as the most famous ball and masque in New Bedford history. The kitchen had to be constructed on an almost professional scale to allow that level of hospitality.

The Plan of *Rotch Estate*, New Bedford, Mass. Measured and Drawn by W.E. Tobey & Co. Mill Engineers & Architects, Merchants Bank Building, New Bedford, Mass. February 26, 1920 details the Federal core of the mansion and the additions made by Edward Delano Lindsey. The kitchen was laid out with three main work areas dividing the large rectangular annex. A large 18' 6" wide by 21' 4 1/2" area accessed from the pantry contained the range, from this work space the next area contained the back staircase leading down to the cellar and up to the second

floor bedrooms. A corner space contained a fireplace on the far Orchard Street wall and was 17' wide by 24' long. There was a wide rear porch with two sets of stairs leading to service areas.

The cellar core of the Arnold Mansion contains portions of the beautifully cut and laid stone flagging.

After the death of James Arnold in 1868 the house was inherited by his nephew, William J. Rotch. Between 1869 and 1872, the brick Federal was recreated as a French Second Empire fantasy. Period photographs show a new, fashionable, slate mansard roof with dormers on each façade. The roof is topped by a square cupola surrounded by a crested railing. A French pointed tower is set at the rear of a new pavilion at the left rear. A sweeping, one story porch ran across the front façade replacing the earlier Federal portico. The Federal bricks were covered in stucco and painted. In 1872 at the completion of work, the Rotch family moved into an American version of a French chateau.

On June 23, 1870, the *Republican Evening Standard* reported:

“Improvement – Honorable William J. Rotch is to have the mansion of the late James Arnold remodeled with the addition of a mansard roof story and a billiard room on the south and will make it his residence after the alterations are completed. The work is to be done under the superintendence of Mr. T. D. Cook, from designs drawn of E. D. Lindsey.”¹

Although for many years, it had been assumed William J. Rotch hired an architect for the mansion's alterations, no architect had been identified. Extensive research has established that Edward Delano Lindsey, a New Bedford native, Harvard graduate and passionate advocate of Second Empire architecture was Mr. Rotch's choice.

¹ *Republican Evening Standard*, June 30, 1870.

Most of Lindsey's design was focused on the exterior of the house and dressing it out in the Empire style, which after years of architectural revivals was considered strikingly modern and quite grand. He removed the Federal portico and its slim, Ionic columns replacing it with a deep, veranda topped with elaborate wooden cresting. It began in one corner of the north side, swept completely across the east façade extending the entire front, ending on the south side of the house with stairs to the rose garden. He added two wings on the north and south facades of the house. On the south end of the house a corner turret became one of the most identifiable elements of what was now the "Rotch Estate" Behind the two story turret, a mansard roof with full 2/1 windows topped the south addition which was set 12'4" back from the Arnold core which measures 48'2" across the County Street façade.

The entire house was stuccoed and painted. He finished with a new mansard roof covered in slate topped by a crested cupola. Windows were changed to large pane 2/1 replacing the Federal sash. Most louvered shutters were retained. A large green house set to the rear of the property measured 19' 6". A barn was located on the property. There are no existing photographs of the barn. It was removed during the Arthur H. Bowditch supervised work for the Wamsutta Club in 1924. The 1887 Atlas of New Bedford sketches the location of the house, graperies, a bowling alley, and an arbor. At that time five greenhouses were located on the estate grounds.

The additions carried out by Edward Delano Lindsey led off from the 1821 Federal core of the mansion. They contained new bedrooms, sitting areas and bathrooms

After the 1919 death of William J. Rotch's wife, Clara Morgan Rotch, the Rotch heirs decided to sell the house. Zephaniah W. Pease described the "Rotch Place" in his History of the

Arnold Mansion made note of its future. He wrote: "William J. Rotch made the Arnold home his dwelling place and for fifty years, or thereabouts it has been known to New Bedford people as 'The Rotch Estate.' Mr. Rotch altered the Arnold mansion at an unfortunate period when architectural fashion was at its worst. He added the mansard roof and rebuilt the house in accordance with the vogue of that day. The grounds were curtailed of their proportions, but the wide frontage with the great tress that shade the lawns, were grateful to those who have watched the passing of one great estate after another as dwellings are pressing closer together and the shops are crowding the choice residential sections of an older day. During the lifetime of Mr. Rotch the house once more figured prominently in the social life of the city. Upon the death of Mr. Rotch's widow, several years ago, the lights of the mansion went out once more, and it was feared the place would share the fate of other great estates which once distinguished the city. The family was interested to preserve the landmark and made favorable concessions which made possible the acquisition of the house and a part of the extensive grounds by the Wamsutta Club which is altering the mansions radically for clubhouse purposes."²

Arthur H. Bowditch was finally chosen to transform the Rotch Place to the Wamsutta Club. The Club owns complete plans and specifications, correspondence and memorandums, and bills documenting the architectural work.

His first concept letter written March 13, 1922 details his first plans for the Club.

Dear Mr. Wheaton:

I hand you herewith some preliminary sketches showing the proposed alternations and additions to the Rotch Estate in New Bedford for your Club. In these drawings, I have tried to embody the ideas as expressed by yourself and Mr. Thomson. Of course, you realize that these are only preliminary sketches, and can be modified in any way that you or anyone else desired. In any event, the final drawings, whoever makes them, must of necessity be the result not only of the Architect's skill and experience, but also of careful study of the entire problem, and many consultations with you and your Building Committee. But aside from this, there is one matter that I would like to make very clear to you.

Our work, like so many others today, is becoming almost entirely specialized. It is practically impossible for any one architect or firm of architects to qualify as being competent to carry out any kind of a building from a one-story garage to a Memorial Cathedral, and it so happens that for many years, we have had an extended experience not only in Club House design and construction, but in hotel work. I speak of hotel work in this connection because after all the design of a hotel or a clubhouse such as you have in mind are very closely allied. The main features are identical. We have in both buildings the problem of dining rooms, kitchen and service, the handling of the help, the layout of the main location of the office, lobby, reading rooms, billiard rooms, etc., and in this connection, I would like to call your attention to the following list of buildings of this type that we have designed: -

² Pease

In Boston, the Hotel Somerset & Annex.

The Hotel Lenox,

The Hotel Essex & Addition.

The Hotel Carlton. In Waterbury, Conn., the Hotel Elton.

At Swampscott, Mass., the Ocean House & Annex

At

Augusta, ME., the alterations, additions and modernizing of the Augusta House.

CLUB HOUSES

The Corinthian Yacht Club at Marblehead,

The Tedesco Country Club at Swampscott,

The Neighborhood Club at Phillips Beach,

The Commonwealth Club at Newton, Mass., and

The Belmont Spring Country Club in Belmont.

In connection with all of the above structures, whose gross cost represents several millions of dollars, we were the Architects that designed them, superintended their construction, laid out the mechanical plants in connection with the same, such as the heating, ventilating, kitchen and laundry purposes, and I am confident that as a result of our extended experience in this line, that we are well equipped to do this work for you in New Bedford, and get results that will be satisfactory not only from the artistic standpoint, but from the practical as well.

There is another most important consideration, and that is the one of economy in cost. Our work, as it has been almost entirely along business lines, has of necessity had to be carried out on very economical basis. We have not been employed to build monumental structures, where cost was a secondary consideration, but we have been confronted with the problems where real estate Owners and operators want the maximum return for their investment, where retail merchants demand the minimum cost of building in order to reduce their rent, and in Club House design where the difficulties of raising money were so great that we had to keep the costs down to the lowest point. May I suggest, and urge, therefore, that in selecting the Architect for your proposed work that you consider not only the sketches that have been submitted, relying so far as these are concerned, to changes that can be made to meet your requirements, but that you give careful consideration to the man's standing, the type of buildings that he has erected, and the character and cost of the work that he has done as relating to that which you have in mind.

Thanking you for this opportunity, and hoping that I may be fortunate enough to discuss this further with you, I remain.

Yours very truly,

A.H. Bowditch

Bowditch details in six pages his concept for the Wamsutta Club. Although not a preservation architect, since none existed in 1922, Bowditch was concerned with a united, balanced design and with finances. Ironically saving as much of the Arnold core of the mansion as possible made economic sense.

Outline Description
To
Accompanying Drawings Submitted
For
Alterations & Additions
To
The Rotch Estate
For
The Wamsutta Club
New Bedford, MASS

Arthur H. Bowditch, Architect
44 Bromfield Street
Boston, Mass

[Followed by description on original headings are in column to the left. They have been moved and formatted as headers for transcription purposes]

OUTLINE DESCRIPTION – WAMSUTTA CLUB

USE OF PRESENT BUILDING

In approaching this problem, one of the features that I have had in mind is the economical use of the present building. After examining the property, it seemed quite clear that **the main portion of the front for three stories in height, together with the main ell, should be preserved. A small amount of work in refinishing both inside and out would be sufficient to adapt these portions of the present house to the uses of the Club, and in this way, a very material saving in the cost of the whole structure would be affected.**

ADDITION

The present wooden additions on both sides of the main portion of the building have been removed, as well as the piazza around the front. In order to furnish proper quarters for the needs of the Club, additions have been made to the first floor only. **The present second and third floors of the house being maintained as they now are with slight modifications in the interior arrangement.** The additions in every case are only one story or one and one-half stories in height with little or no excavation below them except as shown on the basement plan.

FOUNDATION

It is the intention that the new foundations should be constructed of the large granite blocks that are available from the old granite walls now on the property, which in any event, must be torn down, and by using them for the new foundations, a very material saving can be made. There is also a long and heavy brick wall in the rear of the present house which should be torn down and the material derived in this way, amounting to many thousands of brick, can be used to great advantage in the new work. The new structure will be entirely of brick so far as the exterior walls are concerned, and this material will match the walls of the present building.

GENERAL ARRANGEMENT

As to the general arrangement of the completed structure, the main entrance will be through the present drive from County Street under a new porte-cochere that has been added at the main entrance. We have also suggested some dignified gateposts with lanterns on the property line.

OFFICE

Entering through the main vestibule, we find a short distance from the front door, the office. This being located here allows the clerk to have control over everyone coming into the building. It is also directly connected with the main lobby, and is conveniently located in relation to the ladies portion of the Club.

MAIN LOBBY

Passing by the office, we enter into the main lobby. This will be a general gathering place where the members can come together, giving direct access to all of the main rooms of the Club, - the staircase to the floors above, and to the elevator, if it is decided to install one. Through this lobby, the members can also reach the coatroom, the general toilet and the corridor leading to the ladies lounge.

MAIN LOUNGING ROOM

On the left of the lobby is the main lounging room. This contains the two present parlors thrown together. It will have a southerly exposure, two fireplaces, connect directly with the loggia and terrace, the writing room, and at the rear with the lobby leading to the dining room and billiard room. It is a room nearly 45' long, and by preserving the present mantels, and slightly refinishing the walls and ceilings, a dignified and homelike room can be produced.

WRITING ROOM

Beyond this, is the writing room. This room situated as it is, will have a maximum amount of light and is sufficiently distant from the general activities of the first floor to be quiet and attractive for the purposes for which it is designed.

BILLIARD ROOM

Beyond the writing room is the billiard room. This room will be one and one-half stories in height which will add very materially to the attractiveness and the ventilation, - is large enough for three tables, and seats on small platforms on three sides. It is believed that this room will be much more attractive and more serviceable to the members if placed on this floor than if it is located in the basement. Not only this, but the arrangement that we have suggested is much more economical. The present basement is very low-studded and the ceiling covered with pipes. These pipes are so near the floor that in order to pass under them, one is obliged to stoop. Under these condition, if any portion of the basement were used for a billiard room, either the present floor would have to be lowered or expensive excavation under new parts of the structure would have to be undertaken. In any event, the ventilation would not be good nor the room as attractive or accessible for general use.

MAIN DINING ROOM

The main dining room, capable of seating 200 people, is located in the southwesterly corner of the house. It is easily accessible from the main lobby, and at the same time, slightly removed from the lounging room, library, etc.

SQUASH COURTS

The addition for the squash courts is located in the rear of the building, and directly connected with the locker room and toilet room in the basement. To locate these courts in the basement would be a great mistake. They must be at least 15' high, which would mean that the amount of excavation would be greatly increased (consequently the cost). They should have skylights over this for light and ventilation and it is practically impossible where the side walls are below this grade to keep them free from dampness and to be lively they must be absolutely dry. For all of these reasons, they should be located above ground as shown.

LADIES QUARTERS

On the right or northerly end of the first floor are the quarters devoted to the ladies. These consist of a dining-room seating 30 to 40 people, and private dining room connecting with the same, and ladies lounge with toilet and dressing rooms and access to a coat room which may be either a part of the general coat room or if wished easily divided from the same. The ladies will also have easy and direct entrance to the office, telephone booths and telephone operator.

LADIES ENTRANCE

A ladies entrance on this end of the building has been provided and a drive from Union Street indicated. This drive could either return to Union Street again or if preferred, could connect with the main drive to County Street. Either arrangement would be practical, and is a matter of personal preference.

PORCH

Opening from the main dining room is a glazed and screened porch. It is the belief that this porch will be the attractive feature during the warmer months of the year, and if desired, can be used as additional dining facilities in connection with the dining room.

SERVICE DRIVE

Entering from Orchard Street in the rear of the building will be a service drive to the service yard where all supplies will enter, the help will come in and the ashes, garbage, etc, can be removed. The service yard indicated on the drawings will screen all of these activities from the balance of the building.

KITCHEN

As to the kitchen, this will occupy the first floor of the present ell. It will be directly connected with the main dining room and the ladies dining room and by means of dumb waiters, service can be obtained to the basement, second and third floors. Supplies coming into this portion of the building through the service door will go immediately into the large ice-box on the right or the general storage room on the left. These two rooms are directly under the control of the Steward, whose office adjoins the main store-room. Supplies as they come in are checked by him and only issued under his authority. In this way, he has complete control over everything of this kind, and no leakage or waste from this Department can occur. This is a vital necessity and easily can save the Club large sums of money. From the main ice-box, the meats pass directly to the butcher where they are cut up and delivered in turn by him to the Chef, directly in front of the range. Immediately back of the range are the steam tables, Chef's tables, pot racks, and back of them again, the tray tables and receptacles for hot dishes.

SERVICE

The arrangement for service has been very carefully thought out, and briefly will be as follows: - A waiter coming from the dining room will pass through the service vestibule into the kitchen proper. On the right hand side, he will first reach the counter for soiled silver and dishes, back of which is the dish-washing machine and silver sinks. Passing along in a straight line, he will next reach the dish pantry where he will pick up his clean dishes, clean linen and silverware. He then moves to the tray tables where his tray can rest and his order is served from the steam tables by the Chef. Turning to the left, he passes back through the service vestibule into the dining room. In this way, he is always traveling on the right hand side, no confusion is possible and the arrangement will prove to be efficient and economical. After serving the main courses of the meal, he will find on his right hand side as he passes out of the kitchen, either salads or desert, the bakeshop and pantry. Here he will obtain all salads, pies, pastry, bread and butter, tea and coffee, ice cream, etc. This room, like the butcher shop will be surrounded by a locked grille partition, which while it will not interrupt the light and air, will safeguard the contents. The kitchen layout is not large or expensive, but it is believed that it will provide a proper working unit of sufficient size to take care of the needs of the Club.

BASEMENT

In the basement, easily accessible to the main stairs from the lobby above are the four bowling alleys, also reached by the elevator, the locker room and toilet room for the users of the squash courts, and barber shop and dry room connected with the locker room which is an absolutely essential requirement and room for a valet, service room and store-room for members, trunks, etc.

The help entering the house will come down steps from the grade as shown, where arrangement has been made for both men and women's toilet and locker room, also a house laundry and arrangement for range coal, charcoal, kindling wood, etc. After the help have changed their clothes, they can reach the service portion on the first floor directly by the present stairs as indicated.

CELLAR BOILERS, ETC

The cellar under the front of the present building will be maintained for the heating plant and fuel. It is believed that the present two boilers with one other added will be sufficient to thoroughly heat the complete structure.

CARD ROOMS

On the second floor, in the front part of the building are six card rooms and the general lavatory.

PRIVATE DINING ROOMS

In the ell, are the two private dining rooms, the service room, the buffet, and a large room for directors or mill conferences, with a small ante-room for private meetings, they are so arranged that they are entirely isolated from the balance of the Club so that if desired, the use of them will be entirely secluded. On the other hand, they are so arranged that the wide glazed doors can be thrown open, and they will open directly into the main dining room. This main room is one and half stories in height, and these rooms by their arrangement, can be used either as additional seating capacity for the main room, as balconies for music or if any social function is going on in the main dining room, they will materially increase the seating capacity of the same. They will also have their own direct service by dumb waiters from the kitchen below.

THIRD FLOOR

The entire third floor is devoted to twelve member's chambers with general lavatories and a few private baths. This arrangement could be modified if desired so that fewer chambers would be provided, but a greater number of individual bathrooms.

EXISTING DESIGN

As to the exterior design of the building, it has been though desirable to preserve as near as possible the traditions of old New Bedford, and with this in view a colonial type of architecture has been adopted. The present building with a small amount of refinishing and retrimming of the doors, cornice and cupola adapts itself readily and economically to this arrangement, and the new additions have been so designed to harmonize entirely with this portion of the building, and with their reduced height, a very pleasing outline is obtained in comparison with the three stories of the central building. If, for economical reasons, it should be desired to omit any part of the additions at the present time, the design has been so laid out that the terraces indicated on the first floor plan, as well as the porches on both ends, the porte-cochere in the front, and even the squash courts in the rear could be omitted for the present, and taken up at any later time when desired.

COST

As to the cost of these changes, we have added on the first floor only between seven and eight thousand square feet of building. By finishing these simply yet attractively, by omitting as much excavation as possible, by utilizing, as previously described, the granite and brickwork for the foundations, it is believed that these additions can be completed for about \$8.00 per square foot. On this basis, this portion of the work would cost approximately \$65,000.

On the second and third floors of the present buildings, little or no money need be spent with the exception of re-finishing, papering, etc. Of course, the new plumbing in the old structure is an important item. The remodeling of the first floor is a matter largely in the Owners' hands, and as little or as much money need be spent as they wish, but from \$20,000 to \$25,000 more or a total cost between \$80,000 and \$90,000 would give a very satisfactory result. In making these estimates, I have been governed by my personal practical experience in building operations of this kind and have also discussed the cost with experienced builders in Boston, and they agree with me. Of course, in making these figures, we are assuming what we believe to be true, that the structural condition of the present building is first-class, and that no serious repairs will have to be made in this portion of the structure.

Minor changes or alterations would, of course, be made as the Owners request, but we believe in a general way that the layout that we have shown and described will not only be a practical and economical one, but will be most attractive when completed.

This memorandum was followed by on March 15, 1922 with further recommendations.

New Bedford, Mass.

Dear Mr. Thomson: - Enclosed please find my description that I made to accompany the sketches that I submitted for the Club House. I have made the changes that we talked over yesterday, and I think that the description and the drawings now check up. After you left us yesterday, Mr. Bourne stated that if your Plan Committee would make their final report to the Executive Committee, that this Committee would have a meeting in the near future, not waiting until the end of the month, when the regular meeting would come, and in this way, they could get some speedy action on this whole matter. So far as I am personally concerned, I hope this can be arranged as I think it would be a great advantage if this matter could be passed upon while our meeting is still fresh in the minds of the various people concerned. There was another matter that came up for discussion in the Club, and that was this: -

In making my drawings, I have attempted to design a building that when it is finished is a completed structure, and will not look like an old building with an addition on one end of it. It seemed to me that the other designs gave just this impression, and I think that our scheme will be much more attractive than anything worked out on the other basis. Another thing that we have done that will materially aid in saving money: - In nearly every case, the additions that we have suggested are very compactly arranged around the old building, and we used as frequently as possible the present walls which will save a large percentage of new exterior wall. Where these additions are spread out at quite a distance from the old building and not consolidated, the expense is correspondingly increased.

I also want to particularly call your attention to the squash courts. I am sure that it is radically wrong to put these in the basement. If they are placed there, it will necessitate a large amount of additional excavation and underpinning of footings as these courts must be at least 15' in height. Not only this, but with the side walls below the level of the surrounding grounds, it is practically impossible to keep out the moisture. As a result of this, the liveliness of these walls becomes lessened, and the game correspondingly slow. This is a condition which exists in the Harvard Club in Boston and is severely criticized by everyone using the courts. To overcome this condition in the Athletic Club and the tennis and Racquet Club, the courts are placed at the top of the building and the sun is allowed to pour into them through large overhead skylights. These skylights are also essential for light and ventilation. It seems to me that this comparison alone between my layout and that of my competitors, where in every instance, the courts are in the basement, should be one that would give me an advantage over them, and I submit the suggestion as we have discussed this, that as they have made really an essential error in their design, that it would not be fair to give them the benefit of my practical knowledge on this point. I am sure the courts that they will build must be located practically as I have suggested, otherwise, it would be a waste of money. Referring to your question that you brought up when we were in your office yesterday about using the suggestions shown on drawings in connection with other sketches, it seems quite clear to me, after looking the other drawings over, that the possibility of anything of this kind happening has been entirely eliminated. There is no resemblance in any way between the design and that of the other men. If the Committee should select one of them, there is nothing on my layout that would in any way resemble theirs. On the other hand, if they should decide upon having me do the work, there is nothing in the other drawings that would apply to mine. We have approached the problem from totally different viewpoints, and it does not seem to me there can be any confusion.

As to the layout of the kitchen, we must not lose sight of the fact that the problems in a clubhouse are very different to those in a private house, and that the arrangement and size of these quarters must be adequate to do the work required of them. Here again, I think that it would be fair to give the layout that we have made preference over some other suggestions which simply indicate a small room not large enough for the requirements, and no attention paid to the uses of the same. I hope you will realize that in making these suggestions, I am not simply criticizing my competitors, but I am trying to capitalize and sell to you the knowledge that I have acquired from long experience and much hard work. I shall greatly appreciate it if you would let me know how the matter progresses and if there is anything further that I can do that will be of assistance to you or the Committee, I shall be only too glad to do my best at any time.

Thanking you for your many courtesies, and awaiting your further suggestions, I remain,

Yours very truly,
A.H. Bowditch

On July 17, 1922 the Executive Committee officially voted: “That we recommend to the general club plans drawn by Mr. Arthur H. Bowditch”. On a second vote a meeting was scheduled to present the plans to the general club membership on July 20th. After Mr. Bowditch’s selection was made public, one of the architects whose design had not been selected resigned his membership in the Club.

Bowditch promptly completed his plans and specifications for the project which are reproduced here as an extraordinary example of the care taken with the building. His specifications are extremely clear and after reading them it is possible to exactly document the work he carried out in the Arnold core and Rotch areas of the mansion. His major additions are two flanking Colonial Revival pavilions on the north and south sides of the building along with the annex containing the squash courts. These are marked on his floor plans accompanying this report. In essence Lindsey’s exterior Second Empire work vanished – the cupola, turret, crestings and windows. (Bowditch Floor Plans Photographs #26-29)

His solution was perfect for the period and for an architect who specialized in country club designs. Fortuitously he respected the integrity of the Arnold core and annex preserving as much as possible. His decisions were a gift to the future that he could never have foreseen.

His specifications detail exactly how the “old house” was to be treated.

Changes And Renovation Of Old Building

As stated in the general specification, contractor is to visit the present building, familiarize himself with the conditions that exist, and to do all and any work that may be required to complete the alterations and additions as shown, exclusive of the items particularly omitted in the specifications.

The following specifications describe in detail what is to be done.

Basement.

Remove present lath and plaster from cellar ceilings used as boiler room, coal bin and storage. Relath the same with wire lath and plaster same two heavy coat hand-floated.

Build new boiler flue with flue lining, new foundations, etc.

Cut new openings through present wall where shown and provide same with new tin doors in angle iron frames.

Build new passageway from service ell to boiler room including new brick wall. Patch present walls and floor in boiler room, make same sound and whole and build new boiler pit, boiler setting, etc., that may be required.

Do such cutting and jobbing as may be required to extend size of coal bin as indicated on drawings, building new concrete walls for same.

Erect new flights of stairs from basement to first floor and completely plaster and refinish hall at base of these stairs leading to bowling alley.

Divide portion under service ell as shown and described.

Remove present walls where shown in bowling alley and replace with columns and steel beams as per detail (see framing plans)

Do all painting required to make a complete job.

First floor. Remove the present front and vestibule doors supplying new as shown. Remove the present staircase to second floor, and relocate as shown, using the same stair finish, rails, balusters, treads, etc.

Refinish the main lobby in walnut as shown on drawings.

In Main lobby there will be new plastered ceiling throughout with molded cornice, beams, panels, etc. as detailed. Make good wall plastering.

Furnish and erect new mantel of Walnut with artificial limestone facing and hearth as per detail.

Build office counter of walnut as indicated and fit up the rear with cupboards, drawers, etc. all as per detail.

Cut new openings as shown, and do all framing to properly support floors over lobby where partition is removed, leveling up the present first floor in this section of the building. Do all shoring required.

The present floors will be leveled and made good to receive covering by Owners.

Do all painting and refinishing to make a complete and satisfactory job. Remove furring and plaster from present brick walls in kitchen, clean brick ready for painter.

Papering. Remove wallpaper from all present walls ready for painting or canvas.

Library. The present finish trim, mantels, etc. in this room will be preserved.

The present walls will be patched up and covered with canvas for painting. The present ceiling throughout this room will be removed and a new ceiling installed. Make good all wall plastering. New cornice.

Committee Room. In the Committee Room the same requirements and description will govern as in the Library.

In general, the entire area of the first floor, after the changes shown and described have been completed will be put in **first class habitable shape and have cornice patched, repainted and refinished throughout.**

Kitchen ell. In the kitchen ell, remove the brick walls as indicated carrying the same on steel beams and columns as per detail. Do all shoring required,

Remove present staircase where marked and install new stairs where shown, enclosing same in fireproof partition with fire-proof doors. Cut new openings through exterior walls as shown or directed.

Remove present wooden floors and wooden frame, and build new concrete slabs under range as shown.

Build the dumb waiter shafts enclosed in fireproof partition with fireproof doors.

Remove the entire present lath and plaster ceiling and replace the same with stamped metal.

This specification does not include the kitchen apparatus, ice box, interior division, finish floors or plumbing. All of these items to be taken care of later in kitchen furnishings by Owners

In General. Build all new partitions shown and close up and refinish all openings shown on plans. **Third Floor.** The same general description applies to the work in the third floor as unspecified above for second. The ceilings to be patched up and put in good shape or new ones put up where shown on plans.

Painting. Present woodwork to be refinished to match old. All present floors to be painted two coats of lead and oil. All cracks filed before painting.

Front Elevation. Remove such portions of the present cornice as shown or described, rebuilding the cornices as per detail with new ornament and new gables.

Refinish the present dormers as shown removing the portions as are necessary. Make dormer roofs absolutely tight in all cases.

Build the two new balustrades as shown and detailed, using present baluster. [Not able to be done for financial reasons] Make such changes as may be required in the present granite steps in order to fulfill the conditions and to be utilized in connection with the new porte-cochere.

Union Street Elevation. Refinish the present dormers and continue the roof balustrades as shown and described. [Again not able to be done for financial reasons] Cut new openings where indicated and wherever possible utilize for these the present window frames and sash that are removed from other portions of the building. The size of these brick openings may be varied slightly if necessary to accommodate the old frames.

The work on the other two elevations is practically the same as already described. Wherever shown on the elevation, the sash must be divided into small panes. This may be accomplished at the option of the contractor in either one or two ways.

The present sash may be re-divided, with new muntins and the present glass cut down to fit the new size or if more economical, the present sash may be used as far as it is possible in those openings where the small panes are not indicated and new sash furnished for the others. In any event, all of the present glass is to be recut and fitted to the new conditions, and all new glass that is to be furnished is to be equal to it in every respect.

Roofing. As elsewhere specified, the present cupola is to be removed and an entire new composition roof laid on all flats and all old slate and flashing to be carefully examined and repaired where required and put in absolutely first-class condition at completion with the same guarantee as new work.

Gutters. Furnish and set new gutters for entire old portion of building where necessary.

Old Chimneys. Carefully inspect the condition of the present chimneys and make good any defective work or material discovered. Retop as shown on plans.

Painting. All exterior of old building is to receive three coats of lead and oil including all woodwork, brickwork, flashing and all metal work.

Paint from the William J. Rotch era was removed from brick. The exterior brick of the new sections was not painted. Since opening in 1925, the structure of the Wamsutta Club has not altered in any substantial way. There have been redecorations of rooms most recently in 1969 and 1988. Individual rooms have altered uses. The first floor billiard room became a bar. The barbershop closed. Card rooms on the second floor became bedroom studio units. There have been systems updates. The Club, however, is substantially as it was after the Arthur H. Bowditch re-design of the "Rotch Place"

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

Nationally: X Statewide: Locally:

Applicable National

Register Criteria: A X B C X D

Criteria Considerations

(Exceptions): A B C D E F G

NHL Criteria: 1 and 4

NHL Theme(s): III. Expressing Cultural Values

5. architecture, landscape architecture and urban design

V. Developing the American Economy

1. extraction and production

Areas of Significance: Architecture, Economics, Industry, Maritime History

Period(s) of Significance: 1821-1872

Significant Dates: 1821, 1872 , 1924

Significant Person(s): James and Sarah Arnold

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Architect/Builder: Dudley Davenport 1821, 1872 Edward Delano Lindsey, 1924 Arthur H. Bowditch

Historic Contexts: XVI. Architecture

D. Federal XII. Business – Whaling – Abolition - Culture

A. Extractive

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

The James Arnold Mansion (William J. Rotch House/Wamsutta Club) located at 427 County Street is specifically referenced in *Safely Moored At Last : Cultural Landscape Report For New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park*, Christine A. Arato and Patrick L. Eleey Cultural Landscape Publication 16 National Park Service , Boston, Massachusetts

The report notes on pages: 49-50 “The large brick mansion of James Arnold, son-in-law of and partner of William Rotch, Jr., graced the crossroads’ southwest corner. Arnold’s 11-acre estate landscaped with many exotic trees and shrubs he had gathered during his travels, was the horticultural showplace of New Bedford, his formal gardens, which welcomed public promenading every Sunday, no doubt contributed to the citizenry’s reputation for “tree loving propensities” and New Bedford’s renown . A stone wall, 11 feet in height, surrounded two graperies, a greenhouse, and a boxwood-bordered parterre. The branches of espaliered peach trees ran along the high wall of a fruit garden that extended along the west side of the present Orchard Street. A mosaic of shells decorated the ceiling of a plaster grotto that concealed a rustic set of tables and chairs among the foliage.

While many of the prosperous merchants of nineteenth century New Bedford laid out formal gardens among the more practical grounds of their “working farmsteads,” the extraordinary infrastructure and plant material of the Arnold gardens enjoyed widespread renown, including recognition by landscape designer Andrew Jackson Downing. Many a visitor would have tarried among the vernal diversions of “peaceful Arnold’s garden, the antithesis of

roaring storm and breaking wave” before plunging into the teeming activity along the waterfront”

The report then adds “County Street, the highroad from Clark’s Cove to the head of the Acushnet River, remained an important residential thoroughfare throughout New Bedford’s history. During King Philip’s War, Captain Church’s forces traversed the road toward Russell’s garrison, where a number of Native American captives—including Metacomet’s wife and son—awaited their fateful march to Plymouth and slavery. Following the destruction of the waterfront in 1778, British marched toward Acushnet past the farmhouses lining the road. Cleared to a width of four rods in 1800 and formerly accepted in 1830 as a street extending from South to Kempton Streets, County Street became a fashionable avenue along which stood the Greek Revival mansions and the walled gardens and boxwood-bordered beds that surrounded the estates of many of New Bedford’s whaling magnates. When Charles Francis Adams visited the street in 1835, he found an avenue “which has risen like magic, and which presents more noble looking mansions than any other in the country.”

The Arnold Mansion clearly is representative of themes mandated for the New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park under Arts, Architecture and Landscape. The theme states:

“Back in New Bedford the whaling influence was also seen in the local architecture. “Nowhere in America,” said Melville, “will you find more patrician-like houses, parks and gardens more opulent, than in New Bedford... Whence came they? ...all these brave houses and flowery gardens came from the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian oceans. One and all, they were harpooned and dragged up hither from the bottom of the sea...In summer time the town is sweet to see.”

The success of the whaling business is reflected in the homes along County Street and the parks designed by Frederick Olmsted.”

The James Arnold Mansion meets criteria **A.** That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; **B.** That are associated with the lives of significant persons in or past; and **C.** That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction for listing as a National Historic Landmark.

New Bedford’s County Street Historic District includes two National Historic Landmarks directly related to the James Arnold Mansion. The 1834 William Rotch, Jr. House at 396 County

Street (The Rotch Jones Duff House and Garden Museum), designated in 2005 and the 1846 William J. Rotch Cottage at 19 Irving Street designated in 2007. William Rotch Jr. was the father of Sarah Rotch Arnold and father-in-law of James Arnold. His home, designed by Richard Upjohn, and considered his first private commission was built well after the Arnolds moved to County Street. It was believed that James Arnold played a major role in designing the original Rotch garden. William J. Rotch was the nephew of William Rotch, Jr. and after the death of James Arnold inherited the Arnold Mansion. At the age of twenty-five he commissioned A.J. Davis to design what is considered one of the finest remaining cottages in America.

James and Sarah Arnold were emblematic members of the fourth generations of their families. Joseph Rotch, William Rotch and William Rotch, Jr. as the House of Rotch are considered the premiere movers in establishing America's world wide whaling industry. The Rotch and Arnold family as members of the Society of Friends opposed slavery and fought for its abolition. James and Sarah Arnold's home was the center of New Bedford's social and public life from 1821 – 1868. The Arnold Gardens were known nationally for their importance and described in every major horticultural magazine in the country. Both Arnolds were known for their gardening skills and passion. At his death James Arnold endowed the Arnold Arboretum which bears his name. Histories of the arboretum usually fail to mention Arnold's gardens and their influence on American horticulture. That omission has been corrected in this nomination.

James Arnold purchased #74 of John James Audubon's elephant folio Birds of America. He visited Audubon in London during the family tour of Europe in 18336. Audubon's diary details visits to the Arnold gardens and family. Arnold's daughter and only child, Elizabeth,

purchased a copy of Audubon's last work, *The Quadrupeds of North America*. James Arnold before his death donated his copy of Birds of America to the New Bedford Free Public Library.

The Arnold mansion was visited twice by former President John Quincy Adams and his son Charles Francis Adams. Adams' Diary entries describe each visit.

Bronson Alcott, the poet, philosopher and father of Louisa May Alcott gave a series of his famous conversations at the Arnolds. Ralph Waldo Emerson was a friend of both Arnolds and on at least one documented occasion stayed with them. Daniel Ricketson, Thoreau's friend, visited the gardens and obtained leaf specimens for Thoreau. Both Richard Henry Danas, father and son were friends of the Arnolds and most particularly of Sarah Arnold. Both father and son visited the Arnolds in New Bedford, wrote to them and Dana discusses his reverence for Sarah Arnold in his published Diaries.

Both Arnolds were bred in the bone abolitionists and later participated in the pre-Civil War movement. It seems highly probable that Sarah Arnold sheltered Harriet Tubman in New Bedford in 1849s. Both Arnolds gave without stint to their community. As philanthropists they gave their time and money. James Arnold was a founder of the New Bedford Port Society. Sarah Arnold donated her father's home, originally on the corner of William and North Water Street in what is today the New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park, to the Port Society. It was moved up William Street and onto Johnny Cake Hill and is today the Mariner's Home. Both Arnolds were active in the establishment of Friends Academy. James Arnold and his father, Thomas, were incorporators of the school and James Arnold served as president of the Board of

Trustees. The James Arnold fund for the relief of the poor in New Bedford continues into the present.

As a member of the whaling firms founded by William J. Rotch, and then his son, William Rotch, Jr., Arnold became one of the most successful ship owners of his generation. The contributions of James and Sarah Arnold shaped their city and exemplified New Bedford during most of the 19th century. James Arnolds final gift in establishing the Arnold Arboretum gave America's one of its greatest gardens. The ideal of his original New Bedford gardens lives on there.

The Federal cores of the Arnold mansion with its double parlors visited by presidents, artists, writers and political figures remains. Arnold's office where the *Birds of America* was kept along with his natural history cabinet remains.

As early as 1799 Joseph Laurence Mc Devitt, Jr. noted [in *The House of Rotch: Whaling Merchants of New Bedford*, [1986, Doctoral Theses 1978, American University, Washington DC] Samuel Rodman Senior, William Rotch, closest friend and business partner in a letter to Isaac Hicks noted, "There is not a ship in the harbor of New Bedford but what belongs to our family." 8 month 14, 1799 Ms. Hicks papers NYHS

James and Sarah Rotch Arnold's opposition to slavery can be traced to their upbringing and the knowledge that Mary Brown Arnold had been a slaveholder.

William Rotch, Sarah's grandfather stated the family position in his letter to Moses Brown on the United States Constitution. "It is founded on Slavery – that is on Blood, because I understand some of the Southern Members utterly refused doing anything unless this horrid party

was admitted, which occasions me to say its very foundation was on Slavery and Blood, as that I suppose was the cornerstone.” Rotch to Brown Nantucket 11moth 8th day, 1787

James Arnold born on September 9, 1781 and raised in Providence, Rhode Island. His mother, Mary Brown Arnold, was the first cousin and sister-in-law of Moses and John Brown. The Browns were Providence’s wealthiest, most controversial and influential family. Their fortune was based on every possible 18th century business including the whaling industry bringing them into contact with Nantucket and then New Bedford’s Rotch family. The Browns also dealt in the slave trade. The Brown brother’s individual responses to the moral implications of the trade made history. John Brown stubbornly refused to apologize for his actions and defended them in court – successfully. Moses Brown became a member of the Society of Friends, freed his slaves and sued his brother, John, for illegal slave trading with the passionate assistance of his close friends William Rotch and Thomas Arnold. They lost the suit delighting John Brown inordinately.

Thomas Arnold, James’ father was a close friend of Moses Brown. A Rhode Island College lawyer, the first of his family to attend any college, he was a staunch abolitionist. Angering his family at the time of his marriage to Mary Brown, he joined the Society of Friends and gave up the practice of the law. He did, however, use his skills in the two law suits brought by him and Moses Brown against John Brown accusing him of participation in the outlawed slave trade. Both suits were lost when tried in Newport, Rhode Island, a hot bed of the trade.

Mary Brown was raised with the Brown brothers. Her father Obadiah Brown took the boys in after the death of their father, James, on a slave trading mission.

Charles Rappleye in *Sons of Providence – The Brown Brothers, the Slave Trade and the American Revolution*, Simon & Schuster, 2006 details the Arnold Brown history. Thomas Arnold usually unmentioned in accounts of New Bedford Massachusetts to Providence, Rhode history was a far more significant figure than previously documented. As Rappleye notes:

P: 148

“Moses [Brown] followed the progress of the Congress through correspondence with Thomas Arnold, a young friend and nephew of Stephen Hopkins, who attended his uncle in Philadelphia. Arnold wrote to Moses in September that he was not allowed into the debates, but that he was “informed in confidence” of what transpired. “I am not without hope that they will take the slavery of Negroes under consideration, at least in so far as to endeavor to remove the obstructions to passing acts of assembly for eradicating this evil.” Arnold wrote a reference to Parliamentary vetoes of bills to stop the slave trade.”

That hope proved unfounded with the question of slavery nearly splitting Congress.

Moses Brown married Anna, Mary’s sister and Mary lived with the couple at their estate outside Providence. Anna died young in 1773 with Mary nursing her until her death. Grief stricken Brown underwent a crisis of conscience ultimately deciding that he had been cursed because of the family slave trading. Along with Mary and his friend, Thomas Arnold, Moses joined the Society of Friends.

Rappleye continued:

P: 133 “Finally in November 1773 Moses turned his attention to his slaves. On the fourth day of that month, Mary Brown, Anna’s sister, freed her slave, Eve, along with Eve’s daughter. The preamble to her deed of manumission stated Mary’s thinking: “I am sensible that the holding of Negroes in slavery, however, kindly used by their masters and mistresses, had a tendency to encourage the iniquitous practice of importing them from their native country.”

He goes on to write, “Arnold and Mary Brown were wed at a Quaker meeting in January 1779 but only after Arnold had converted from his Baptists faith and renounced the practice of law to which he had been trained. Arnold’s decision caused a lasting breach in his own family, as he had been selected as the only child his father could afford to send to college. For years after his

brother, Welcome, a successful merchant and occasional partner with John Brown, so resented Thomas for spurning his birthright that Welcome bought Thomas's law library and began his own amateur practice. But Thomas's betrothal appears to have inspired Moses. During the January meeting where Arnold's wedding was held Moses and Mary Olney announced nuptials of their own. They were married two months later, at a sober Quaker ceremony attended by seventy guests. The dual weddings introduced two key figures to the Quaker leadership in the persons of Moses Brown and Thomas Arnold, and cemented a lasting bond between the two men."

After the establishment of the Providence Abolition Society with Thomas Arnold a founding member and secretary and outright provocations from John Brown who continued his participation in the slave trade, Moses Brown and Arnold filed their first suit in 1797.

Sarah Rotch's grandfather, William Rotch more than supported the law suit.

Rappleye explains: P: 308

"It was left to William Rotch to express the outrage that prevailed on the board of directors of the abolition society. Rotch was a committed Quaker like Moses but he was less naive when it came to questions of character, and he had known John for more than thirty years. "Fair be it from me to feel any pleasure in contributing to the calamities of the merchants," Rotch wrote, "but I have considered John in a different point of light from most others, having been convinced that his object was less that of gain, or a preference to that mode of trade, than a determined resolution in the strength of his own power to defeat the law against it." This was a test of wills, and Rotch, for one, would not back down."

John Brown's arrogance was especially damning and Rotch found it beyond the pale. "I am at a loss to conjecture what character John will expect us to form of him from the outlines he has given thee of his professions of humanity and care and compassion in transporting these unhappy people when we know in what manner they are treated, during their imprisonment in chains and handcuffs when they are on shipboard. And the arguments he uses in justification of the trade are too stale and have been too often refuted to suffer my patience to dwell upon them."

Two trials in Newport, Rhode Island, as might have been predicted, exonerated John Brown. The Rhode Island slave trade continued with Newport and Bristol Rhode leading the way. Until recently there has been little academic interest in examining the role of Rhode Island and slave

trading in the North. This may explain why little previous research has been conducted on Thomas Arnold and Mary Brown. It should also be noted that before the Revolution the House of Rotch did extensive business with Aaron Lopez and his father-in-law, Jacob Rodrigues Rivera were heavily involved in the slave trade. Samuel Rodman, Rotch's closest friend and partner was trained in Rivera's Newport candleworks.

Later Thomas Arnold and Mary Brown Arnold were frequent visitors to New Bedford and the Arnold Mansion. Arnold was one of their original founders of Friend's Academy along with his son, James. Thomas Arnold's providence obituary of November 11, 1826 noted in part: "He was among the most zealous in the cause of African emancipation at a time when such labours of philanthropy had to encounter the rigidity of prejudice and cold unyielding obduracy of self interest." Two years later Mary Brown Arnold died in New Bedford on February 19, 1829. James Arnold's sister, Anna, had moved to New Bedford and lived in a home built by James Arnold for her directly across County Street from his home.

Sarah Rotch, the first child of William Rotch, Jr. and Elizabeth Rodman Rotch was born on Nantucket on June 3, 1786. Shortly afterward the family and the House of Rotch relocated to New Bedford. In 1800 Sarah's uncle Thomas Rotch and his wife, Charity Rodman Rotch left New Bedford and eventually settled in Kendal, Ohio. Their move to what was then the western frontier led to an extraordinary collection of letters to Charity Rotch from her New Bedford Rotch Rodman family. The women formed a circle to write in turn weekly to Charity with the chain of letters beginning in 1800 and ending only with her death in 1824. The letters provide one of the clearest contemporary pictures of New Bedford as it grew into whaling primacy.

They document the New Light split in the Society of Friends that resulted in most of the Rotch and Rodman family leaving their meeting to join the Unitarian Church. Most importantly they document the life of Sarah Arnold from the age of eighteen in 1804 through the building of the Arnold Mansion.

The entire collection is owned by the Massillon Ohio Free Public Library as the Rotch-Wales Collection. Each letter has been scanned and is available at Massillon Memory.

In Letter B-233

2 3rd day morn 23rd, 1805 Sarah writes:

Dear Aunt Lydia

Having made thy proposition to some of the younger branches of our families to give thee weekly information of the transactions in our Village, we have concluded to make out a list, & each write in our turn, I believe the intention is to supply the place of the "Courier," but my communications will bear a stronger resemblance to the "Medley" – however I have thy assurance that any thing will be interesting Two weeks yesterday I was witness to a scene of distress which I believe produced feelings that will not soon be erased from my mind. A poor woman who has been in the habit of coming from Dartmouth about once in six weeks to procure a few of the comfortables of life we heard was very ill & knowing, she must be in a suffering condition, my cousins Wm & Ann Rodman brother Wm & self mounted our horses & went in search of their miserable abode, which we at last found but it is impossible to describe here the poor thing lay, as I gave her my hand she burst into tears & was as much agitated as I ever saw a person the gratitude she felt for our visit quite overpowered the little remaining strength & a long time elapsed ere she to describe our feelings when we were conducted to the apartment where the poor thing lay, as I gave her my hand she burst into tears & was as much agitated as I ever saw a person the gratitude she felt for our visit quite overpowered the little remaining strength & a long time elapsed ere she was able to speak - her bed was a miserable thing not thicker than ones hand & a three or four little children were crawling about their mother who was by no means in a situation to bear their noise, she has 7 or 8 in the whole one only that can earn anything for their subsistence a weakly - being looking husband who has the credit of^ an honest man, upon a little enquiry respecting her prospect (as it respected her recovery) she told us she was entirely resigned to the will of suffering heaven & hoped, a short time^ might be permitted her-& concluded with saying if I would take her little Betsy about 5 years of age that she could die in peace- my heart felt so much for the poor creature that I had as most fixed to take her without recollecting I had Parents to consult in a step so important- however I relieved her by assuring her I would attend to the disposal of her favorite – What pity it is my dear Aunt that there in or is no charitable establishment^ near our Village where such

objects might be taught a little
with prosperity
useful learning & be enabled to fill some stations

useful learning & be enabled to fill some stations

This may have been one of the first times in her life when Sarah came face to face with real poverty and death. It weighed on her mind and in another letter she writes:

New Bedford 5th month 7th 1805

I hoped my dear mother would have joined us in our weekly communications to thee my beloved Aunt, but domestic engagements as usual arrest her attention & she cannot feel sufficiently at liberty to write this evening, but perhaps she may hereafter- yesterday thy letter was cordially received (by captn Delano) who arrived about noon thy proposition of an institution is similar to what some of thy relatives have thought of, but when after my excursion I mentioned a wish that suitable a building might be directly erected & proper care taken of those miserable little creatures, my Father answered 10,000 dollars must first be collected, which he deemed impracticable in our little Village, that there seems but a gloomy prospect of their being very soon placed in a more eligible situation- I believe many of us would be willing to contribute the little in our power towards their relief & I hope at some future period the minds of a larger part of the community may be turned towards them tho' at present it seems to occupy but a small part of their attention

Sarah Arnold never forgot that Dartmouth family and as an adult she was able to give generously and did. On October 29, 1807 in New Bedford she married James Arnold and on January 17, 1809 her only child, Elizabeth was born. By 1821 the Arnold family was ready to move away from their home near the counting house and the sights and smells of the whaling industry.

Although James Arnold did not hire an architect for his home, the contractor and masonry subcontractor are known. Charles M. Pierce received the masonry subcontract from Dudley Davenport for masonry work at the Arnold Mansion. Since the house was constructed of brick, he was responsible for the majority of the contract. Davenport worked with Russell Warren on the Double Bank Building for the Merchants Bank. He also was the contractor for most of New Bedford's other large 1830's projects.

According to his obituary Pierce had equal success with Davenport as a builder.

The Daily Mercury, August 10, 1880, P:2 – **Obituary**

Charles M. Pierce died at this residence corner of Sixth and Elm streets, in this city, yesterday, at the age of 80 years 10 months... Deceased was born in Rehoboth, Mass and moved to this city at the age of 21, since which time he has followed the business of a mason and builder. Among the more important buildings which he constructed were the Merchants and Commercial Banks, New Bedford Institution for Savings, County Court House, the old High School House, Masonic Building, the Control and No. 4 Engine Houses, the residence of Jonathan Bourne, Gideon Allen, John Avery Parker, George Howland and Joseph Grinnell, the store of Abraham Barker, and a large number of other dwellings in this city.

James Wheaton as a young man worked for Pierce. *The Evening Standard* – September 4, 1868, explained his career.

P: 2

Mr. James Wheaton the well-known mason, died yesterday of typhoid disease, at the age of 71 and a half years. He was concerned in the erection of many of our largest buildings.

In company with Wright Brownell he built the Wamsutta Mills Nos. 2 and 3, the picker house, engine and boiler houses of No. 1, the gas works, and the village of brick houses north of the mills, the total of these jobs for one corporation amounting to about \$100,000. With Mr. Brownell he also built the Parker Street school house, and the jail and almshouse in this city, and he superintended the erection of the court-house, the stone and brick blocks on Commercial street and Commercial wharf, the Mechanics' Bank, the police office, and many other smaller buildings. If he had lived, the building of the new Wamsutta mill was to be intrusted to him. His integrity was undoubted; and a large contractor, he was a hard-working man.

Thanks to James Wheaton the completion of the Arnold Mansion can be dated to exactly May 20, 1821.

As Zephaniah W Pease explained in *The Arnold Mansion & Its Traditions* [Zephaniah W. Pease, Old Dartmouth Historical Society Sketch, Delivered June 1924]

“Mr. Arnold built his mansion in the year 1821. The date seems to be fixed by Edward Denham, a New Bedford historian whose persistence in establishing an exact date will interest you. Dudley Davenport, a housewright, was the contractor and he sub-contracted with Charles M. Pierce for the mason work, James Wheaton, a journeyman mason, told Mr. Denham’s father that while he was at work on the house, one afternoon, toward night, he “turned the arch” over the front entrance of the house. Immediately after the day’s work he drove over to Rehoboth and married Lydia Pearce, coming back to New Bedford that night. In order to get the date Mr. Denham wrote to the town clerk of Rehoboth for the date of the marriage and found it to be May 20, 1821, Mr. Arnold built additions to the house from time to time thereafter.”

Pease was able to interview a family member who described what she remembered of the completed house.

P: 11

The original mansion was of brick two stories high. Mrs. Francis M. Stone, a daughter of the late William J. Rotch, who became owner of the estate at a later period, furnishes a few details from recollections of childhood visits. In the south room wing was a room called ‘the cabinet,’ surrounded with mahogany cases filled with shells, “a rather dark and awesome room,’ as Mrs. Stone remembers. In a room on the north side was an office and large store closets. On a long table at the center of the room were heaped grapes from the hot houses, ready to be sent to friends or invalids who would appreciate them especially, and Mrs. Stone recalls the delicious scent of the fruit which always filled the room.

In the parlors were carved mantels, which, with many of the ornaments of the house, were brought from Europe in the late (18) 50’s. The carpets were woven in England, with patterns designed to fit the rooms. Some of the carpets are still in use, indicating the quality. At the end of the dining room was a portrait of George Washington, which now hangs in the hall of the union for Good Works.

In November 1821 Sarah wrote Charity.

11th month 11 day 1821

”Our house is nearly finished, but we do not think of removing until some time in the spring – Andrew Robeson is nearly as forward & cousin Benjamin’s finished, they commenced housekeeping yesterday. Houses are still very scarce here. My brother, Thomas, has put up a row of nine wooden buildings like the brick blocks in the city & though they seemed to us like very poor kind of accommodations he had them all engaged before they were half finished, & some of his tenants are amongst the most respectable of our newly married young people. My paper reminds me its time to close – we all love you very much & no one more than

Your affectionate S R Arnold”

This letter effectively dates two Federal Mansions that survive in the New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park. Originally the Benjamin Rodman and Andrew Robeson homes faced each other across North Second Street. In 1978 the Robeson House was moved to the corner of William and North Second Streets and fully restored.

Earlier in the year Elizabeth Rodman wrote Charity about the New Light-Old Light split among the Society of Friends. The doctrinal dispute centering around private revelation resulted in the Rotch, Rodman and Arnold Families leaving the Society. The Arnolds joined the Unitarian Church and were amongst its first pew owners.

May 12, 1822

“In our circle here cousin Sarah Arnold is the most of an invalid, with a lame knee that prevents her walking much, as keeping her foot at rest is by far the most favorable position for it, though since Dr. Reed has pronounced it rheumatism, it seems much less alarming from the probability that it was be restored to usefulness –“

“Thou hast perhaps heard that James Arnold has withdrawn his claim to a member of our society, the reasons he gave to the monthly meeting were the defections so obvious amongst us, Rebecca Dean has also with drawn - & many persons have been disown’d, Mary Newhall is of the number, that the society is perceptively diminishing.”

“sister Hannah is regretting the loss she will sustain in Andrew & Anna’s removal which will now take place in a few weeks as their house is nearly finished and Caleb Greene from Newport

will take their place at the corner – James Arnold will go up on the hill about the same time, cousin Sarah rode over yesterday to see sister, Rebecca, she thinks her lameness is wearing off and talks of going to Providence on a visit with cousin Eliza Rotch before they remove – Mary R. Rotch is at Thomas Arnold's for a week or two & will probably return with them..”

By October 1822 Sarah was able to write Charity ironically:

B-233-11 [page 1] Mulberry Grove 10th Mo 18th 1822

I understand since coming here that a journal of Martha Routh's has been received in by this I mean as a religious people which honourable mention^ is made of the Rotch family. I mean to borrow it of uncle Brown to read as I suspect it's the last time any of the family in New England will be thus recorded for many years if ever- they are considered so heretical-

Throughout the 1820's Sarah Arnold was frequently an invalid. She seems to have had a form of arthritis. Walking she often tripped further damaging her leg. In

The Rotches – John M. Bullard, The Cabinet Press, Milford, New Hampshire, 1947 her letter to Charity describes her new home in great detail.

P: 376-378

Letter From Sarah Rotch Arnold to Charity Rotch in Kendal, Ohio Just After She Moved into Her New House, Later the Home of William J. Rotch and Now the Wamsutta Club Tells of New Bathing Room

New Bedford, 16th of 1st Month, 1823

I intended writing thee again my dear Aunt, immediately after my return from Providence, but quarterly meeting coming on, & having from my long confinement omitted furnishing my Father A's (Arnold's) family. A severe snowstorm on 3rd day so blocked the roads that very few country Friends, mostly representatives attended & father came along to us. –Since that time I have been out more & have had most of my acquaintances to dine or take tea with me – I make one more party of elderly people, our neighbors Russells &c. &c. – and then my “house warming” will be over, & since I am upon the subject of warmth, I recollect Father desired me to inform Uncle Tho's how our entry stove proved & I gladly testify to its being the greatest comfort to our house it warms it throughout. The change both above & below is really wonderful – Jos. Fitted his with the pipe leading into the cellar & my husband prepared our chimneys in the same way, but theirs would never draw and is perfectly useless – ours is a handsome column standing on a neat free stone hearth with the pipe leading to the cornice where a piece of white marble is inserted and it

passes thro' that into my three closets into our breakfast room chimney. The pipe is of handsome Russia iron, reeded so that it is rather ornamental than otherwise.

My parents dined with us last 5th day, thermometer at 6 degrees & wind high, which I believe none felt that it was colder than our usual autumn weather. When the parlor doors were open, the heat from the entry was felt very sensibly – I am thus minute because I was desired to be. We sleep in a very large chamber over our back parlor which we cannot warm these short mornings from the fire place, but by opening our door into the entry we feel a warm current from the stove below & another door by my side of the bed opens into the most complete little bathing room thou canst conceive of. Here we have a little stove that heats the air to 60 degrees in 15 minutes & there I dress and undress, wash &c. The boiler lined with tin holds water enough for 3 baths & heats in 20 minutes. A pump leads up into it from a cistern in the cellar supplied by pipes either from our rain or well water pumps. The latter is both soft to wash with & good to drink – a large stone sink is inserted in the floor at one end of which is our shower bath – This is the greatest luxury of our establishment & has been just what was necessary for my comfort, bathing having been very salutary & recommended by all our physicians.

I am now trying a sulphur bath 3 times a week – recommended by our counsel at Marseilles who lately dined with us & evinced very great sympathy & interest in my lameness, having been for 6 years in the same way himself, and finally restored by this application in the south of France. I lie in the bath from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour, letting in warm water to keep the temperature the same, which I try with a thermometer, dipping a piece of coarse crash in the sulphur with which I rub the limb constantly – from which it appears I have already derived much strength – so that I walked upon my crutches to meeting today – this is deemed rather adventurous but I feel no fears from it. If you build this bathing room my dear aunt it is just the thing for thee.

During the 1830 the lives of all three Arnolds were ruined by what came to be called The Great Rotch Scandal. It involved the long betrayal of family trust and ties. Elizabeth Arnold was seduced by her much older cousin, Francis Rotch. It started when she was a child and ended in a scandal that rocked New Bedford, Boston and country houses in England. Charles Francis Adams, President John Quincy Adams's son, wrote about it in his diaries. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, the great transcendentalist teacher, was driven out of Boston for a time because of her involvement. Samuel Rodman described it in his diary and the entries were kept out of the

published edition. John Morgan Bullard included it as a chapter in *The Rotches* using false names.

In 2005 Megan Marshall in her book, *The Peabody Sisters – Three Women Who Ignited American Romanticism* put all the letters, diaries and hints together. She wrote, “By winter, scandal had broken out. All of New Bedford – and soon after, all of Boston – knew about “The Great Rotch Scandal,” which painted little Frank’s father, Francis Rotch, as a sexual predator. There was no disputing the facts of the case. The senior Francis Rotch had secretly made a mistress of his cousin Elizabeth Rotch Arnold, a girl twenty one years younger than he. On the eve of her wedding to another man, the tearful Elizabeth Arnold confessed the two-year affair to her father, Rotch’s mentor in business, knowing full well that the news would prevent her marrying. The enraged Arnold made the story public and ran Francis Rotch out of town. leaving young Frank’s mother a temporary widow and nearly hysterical with grief and shame. Of course Elizabeth Peabody tried to help her.’

Ms. Marshall unveils the hints that Mr. Bullard gave. In what I believe is a clearly sexist twist, years of New Bedford histories had made it clear that it was an Arnold family tragedy while shielding Francis Rotch.

Mr. Bullard writes in *The Rotches*: “The scandal and the events leading up to it occurred in New Bedford in the first third of the nineteenth century, more than a hundred years ago. It was at the time when the Rotch-Rodman-Morgan family was at its biggest in New Bedford, a time when many of its members were taking a leading part in the affairs of the town, a period when some of its younger members were turning away from the strict principles of Quakerism, to the more easy ways of the world. One of the participants in this particular scandal bore the name of Rotch. The other had a Rotch mother, but bore another name.

The man was married to a fine woman and had children. The girl was unmarried, but did marry many years later. Her father and mother were among the most respected members of the community, and continued so throughout their lives. I will call the man Casanova [Francis Rotch], the girl Alibech [Elizabeth], and her father and mother Mr. and Mrs.

Merchant [Arnold]. Casanova and Mrs. Merchant were first cousins and Casanova was twenty-one years older than Alibech. The two above facts make the matter considerably worse.”

Deepening the family tragedy, Francis Rotch’s wife was Ann Walhn Morgan. Her brother, Charles W. Morgan, was the Arnold’s neighbor on County Street. Her sister, Susan, was married to Benjamin Rodman. One far too cynical and charming young man raised in England, although born on Nantucket, devastated his family

John M. Bullard reprinted a letter “someone not in the family to someone in St. Michael’s Azores, dated at Fairhaven describing the methods used by Rotch/

“...He has been giving her improper books to tread to poison her mind so as to be able to accomplish his diabolical purposes and it seems she has been his mistress for upwards of two years without her friends mistrusting either of them and when she has expostulated with him he has even threatened her life, She was engaged to Mr. T a fine young man from Boston and a member of one of the oldest and most respected families in the city – she was to have been married this winter but of course now it will never take place. Mrs. Merchant [Arnold] was cousin to Casanova [Francis] she was informed of the circumstances by her daughter, and it shocked her so much that she is still very ill – her husband despairs of her life and if that is spared of her mind, but the most unaccountable thing to me is Mr. Merchant’s [Arnold’s] assembling a few friends the day after he heard of the circumstances and being he himself the publisher of his daughter’s disgrace as no visible proof of her guilt is likely to appear. I wonder they did not try to conceal the matter but Casanova [Francis] thought and said to someone who spoke to him on the subject that Mr. Arnold would not dare expose him.”

“...when Mr. Merchant [Arnold] published this he said he and his wife were willing to renounce the world purposely to punish so great a villain as Casanova [Francis] when Harriet came to see me in the spring, Mrs. Merchant [Arnold], Elizabeth and Francis called on her – I never liked the man as he always had a sarcastic smile on his features but enough of the Arnold concern for the more I think of it the more unaccountable the conduct appears in publishing it instead of trying to keep it a secret – some might believe the report and others would deny it, that the truth would never have come out had they never named it themselves as no one would have dared to talk to the Parents on so delicate a subject.”

At the height of the scandal Charles Francis Adams wrote a cryptic diary note that is fully explained in the diary footnote.

Diary of Charles Francis Adams, 1829 – 1831, Marc Friedlaender & L.H. Butterfield, Editors, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1968

PP: 371-2

Sunday 28th November 1830

“...I attended Divine Service all day and heard Mr. Stetson preach a very able and useful Sermon upon the practice of Slander and Gossip which is so prevalent among us. I like that kind of address for it is probable that not a single person sat in that Meeting house to whom his words did not in some degree apply.”

The footnote continues

“Both the sermon on slander and gossip and CFA’s strongly approving reaction to the choice of subject may have had a topical significance beyond the general suitability of the lesson: “Boston has been in a state of consternation owing to a little scandalous peccadillo which has occurred and crushed all the interest of the European News and almost of internal politics. It is as high in its grade as the Knap murder and conducted with all the deliberation, which rendered that incident so awful. The Lovelace [Rotch, Francis] began with bad books at the age of twelve and completed the Seduction at fourteen and it has come out on the eve of the marriage of the lassy aged twenty-two because she would not agree to infringe the rights of matrimony. It is a New Bedford affair. The Mother gone distracted.” [Louisa Catherine Johnson Adams, wife of John Quincy Adams, Charles’s mother writing to Mary Catherine Helen Adams, Charles’s sister-in-law MA Historical Society

Francis Rotch was always a bit too charming for his own good or for anyone whose path he managed to cross. While technically an American, he was raised and spoiled as a gentleman in England. His father, Benjamin, managed the English end of the Rotch whaling business. After the father lost most of his money, Francis, then in his late twenties was sent to America. He planned originally to settle and farm in Illinois. Somehow he was introduced to the Morgan

family and fell in love with Anne Morgan. One sister, Susan, was engaged to Benjamin Rodman and her brother Charles to Sarah Rodman.

As early as 1818 Charles W. Morgan was expressing his quiet doubts about his future brother-in-law Francis.

Philadelphia 12th Mo 1818 5th of Mo 7th Day {1818/12/05} We have received long letters from Francis Rotch which has dispelled the many fears we had begun to entertain on several accounts--His letter is written to Sister with all that elegance and refinement of style that marks every sentence he utters--and breathes a sincere and ardent attachment for my sister to whom I believe he is altogether devoted--and a friendly feeling for us towards whom I think he extends much regard--It wants something however and what is this something--it has elegance of composition, warmth of feeling--beauty of description--and elevated morality to recommend it but he seems anything but a Quaker and seems ready to become even less than he is

Charles W. Morgan Diary, Mystic Seaport

By 1820 the “sort of Quaker” had married Anne and brought her to New Bedford, as both the Rotch and Rodman families demanded. Even while writing to a convinced Quaker, Charity Rotch, his view of James Arnold as a bit of a fool shines clearly.

Warren Gifford and James Arnold are on a religious visit to Philadelphia...James has felt it is his duty to make many communications to his friends in their several meetings and has appeared more than once in prayer. He is careless of dress and sits in the gallery with a high crowned hat on his head – an offence beyond doubt to the outward formalist – but James takes little heed as to what he puts on. **Francis Rotch to Charity Rotch, New Bedford, January 22, 1820**

Francis, of course escaped, tarring and instead moved his family to New York. His daughter, Anna, later being a belle in Cambridge and friend of Margaret Fuller. The Arnolds were left to somehow remake their lives.

Elizabeth Arnold survived her molestation by Francis Rotch. Her life after the winter of 1830-31 was, however, not the one she or her parents expected for her. After Rotch's actions had been made public, it would have made sense if the family had left immediately for Europe. Instead James Arnold was determined to face down the world and New Bedford society.

In the *Diary of Charles Francis Adams*, he describes a September 1835 visit to New Bedford with his father, former President John Quincy Adams. Adams wrote,

"...We went on to Mr. Arnold's where we stopped. He took us over his garden, which has been laid out with great taste. The presence of a female with taste is perceptible in it. Having gone through it we were ushered into the house and found Mrs. Arnold, her daughter, and his sister to whom we were introduced. The melancholy story which has saddened this family for life made me feel surprised to see Miss Arnold. But I conversed with her for some time and found her a woman whose mind will always prevent her from being despicable in any body's eyes. Mrs. Arnold too is a lady as there are not many."

Former President Adams merely noted: "Steamer Telegraph to New Bedford - Evening at Arnolds" *Diary of John Quincy Adams* Massachusetts Historical Society

September 19, 1835

Finally in 1837 Arnolds allowed the family to escape. They sailed for Europe touring from Scotland to Rome until 1839. While in Rome Robert Scott Lauder painted the entire Arnold family and James Arnold sat for the bust that is now in the New Bedford Free Public Library Art Room. In Paris Narcisse Othon did sketches of each member of the family owned by Harvard.

In London Elizabeth may have fallen in love. We do know that Pliny Earle, a pioneer of humane treatment for the mentally ill, fell in love with her. Earle noted in his Diary "May 31. – At a meeting appointed by Sarah Grubb I met James, Sally and Elizabeth Arnold (of New Bedford, in New England.) They had left Paris a few days earlier than I, and came by way of Havre, Southampton, and Salisbury, whereas I came by Boulogne, and thence direct to London. In the evening I called upon the Arnolds. James's daughter Elizabeth is without exception the

most highly educated young lady I have met on this side of the Atlantic. She is not handsome; but one is charmed by the fluency and polish of her conversation, in which she draws from the resources of a mind largely stored with literary and scientific knowledge. She speaks French well. The family will soon leave London for Holland, where they will remain two or three weeks and return to England for a tour through the southern counties before sailing for the United States.”

Franklin B. Sanborn in his book, *Memoirs of Pliny Earle, M.D.* wrote, “In Paris Dr. Earle met a lady from New Bedford, with whom he soon became intimate. Why they never married is not known; the acquaintance continued for many years; and the recollection of Elizabeth Arnold may have prevented any subsequent engagement.”

Later in the biography Sanborn added in reference to Earle’s lack of a wife, “This self-condemnation was hardly warranted by the facts of 1837-1838, but he had passed through much of the serious pathway of life in the intervening ten years. Among other experiences he had cherished an unsuccessful love for an American lady whom he met in Europe on his first visit, the recollection of which may have been the decisive reason why, with all his susceptibility and all the favor with which he was received by women, he never married. In this instance calm friendship had followed the temporary interruption of correspondence, renewed years after, and containing, on the lady’s part, some passages concerning spiritual subjects, which should be quoted as giving a higher view of the faith help by women in the Society of Friends than might be inferred from some of the citations already made regarding theological disputes.” Elizabeth and Earle wrote each other to the end of Elizabeth’s life.

On St. Patrick’s Day 1859 Elizabeth did marry. She was fifty and it would have been impossible for her to bear children. She married Dr. Charles Martin Tuttle from Littleton, New Hampshire. He had been married, divorced and had custody of his two daughters, Alice and Mary Belle. Standard family history says the Arnold’s did not approve. Elizabeth married him despite their feelings. She proudly used her married name, Elizabeth Arnold Tuttle, in making donations to the New Bedford Free Public Library. His biographical entry in the *History of Littleton New Hampshire* notes, “For some reason his reception by the brethren of the fraternity was wanting in cordiality, and for several years he had to make his way in the face of considerable adverse criticism. This served to stimulate his activity and ambition and enlarge the

circle of his friends and patrons. In 1858 he removed to New Bedford, Mass., where he had a successful practice for five years, when he returned to this town and at once entered upon a career that was unsurpassed in the number of his patients and usefulness by any of his contemporaries in this section of the State. His services were in constant demand by his brethren of the profession in consultation, and by the bar as a witness in cases where a medical expert was required. He was a bold and brilliant practitioner, surprisingly quick in all his mental processes, full of resources and exceptionally accurate in diagnosis.”

We do not know at this time where Elizabeth and Charles lived in New Bedford and it may have been in the Arnold Mansion. Elizabeth had very little time left. She died on October 26, 1860. Tuttle married a third time and named his daughter Elizabeth Arnold Tuttle in her memory. With Elizabeth’s death, her father and mother’s line of the Arnold family became as the Chad Memorial states “extinct.”

During his funeral sermon for James Arnold delivered in December 1868 at the Unitarian Church in New Bedford, the Rev. William Potter referenced the Rotch Scandal:

With all his apparent outward ease and prosperity few persons have had to meet more heart rending disappointments and affliction. Passers by have doubtless often gazed at that sumptuous dwelling and its beautiful grounds with envious longings for the fancied happiness of its occupants. Ah, little did they know of the deadly pain at the heart of all that beauty, of the tragic agonies those walls enclosed, of the struggles of strong, proud natures – there to bear submissively the inevitable. And the struggle was successful. This is the glory of that home beyond all its external elegance. These characters came up out of the conflict stronger, braver, purer. They went down into the fiery depths of baptism clothed with worldly gayeties and ambitions. They came up in white robes of charity and heavenly mindedness.”

According to Waldemar H. Fries comprehensive book, *The Double Elephant Folio: The Story of Audubon’s Birds of America*, James Arnold, Esq. was the 74th of 82 American

subscribers to Audubon's masterpiece, *The Birds of America* between 1832 and 1838. Originally the book cost \$1,000, which translates to \$21,211.75 in 2009 figures. A master salesman, Audubon made sure his subscribers completed their sets by rationing the most desirable birds. Each of the installments contained one of the most coveted large birds (for example the eagle or snowy owls), one medium sized bird and three small. Each of the four, double elephant folio volumes bound by the owner weighed sixty pounds. Arnold probably had his copy in what is today the office of the Wamsutta Club.

From Arnold's Travel Diary researched by Sally Sapienza, we know that during his European Grand Tour, he visited Audubon in London. On September 1, 1837 he drove to 4 Wimpole Street for what was probably their first face-to-face meeting.

In 1840 and 1842 during extended visits to New Bedford, John James Audubon visited the Arnolds... During the 1840's New Bedford was one of the wealthiest cities in America and it was natural that Audubon sold subscriptions and paintings here. He formed close friendships with several New Bedford residents. The Audubon and New Bedford connection is an important and until recently overlooked episode in the city's history. Copies of the *Birds of America*, and the *Quadrupeds of North America* were sold to Arnold and his friend, Andrew Robeson. Both masterpieces of Audubon's art the first focused on birds and the second on mammals were later given to the New Bedford Free Public Library as gifts to the people of New Bedford.

Visitors Journal of John James Audubon - Made While Obtaining Subscriptions to His "Birds of America" 1840 - 1843, Edited by Howard Corning, The Business Historical Society, The Club of Odd Volumes, Cambridge, MA 1929

November 18th 1840

...It began snowing at 11 and snowed hard all day and night. Worked at our a/ct. with Mr. Alden until ½ past of the evening. - Called on Mrs. Crocker and the Arnold family. Miss Arnold not at home. Mr. Seabury talked a great deal t me about his purchase of the 2 Copies of our large. Work. But I cannot of course help him. Spent the remainder of the evening with my friends the Pages, was introduced to Judge Wild of Boston. Court sitting. Peeped into it.

P: 94

August 19th 1842

To my utter astonishment it was 20 minutes to 7 when I awoke this morning - Weather murky and almost raining. Spent nearly 2 hours at James Arnold who did not subscribe..." However Elizabeth Arnold did subscribe to the Quads]

"Miss Dana and I called at James Arnold but the families were all out. We walked together admiring the moon now full... We enjoyed this superb evening, talking Dancing etc. until nearly 11 o'clock when I went to Bed. Miss Greene a delightful young Lady spent the Evening with us - Mr. Jones gave me a remarkably Large sperm whale Tooth...Rambling about the woods and fields until Dinner. Went to Mr. William Almy 12 miles with Friends Page, Lady & Miss Dana - found there a Mr. Babcock who crossed the Atlantic with Victor in the Great Western in 1829. Tried fishing no go. Weather superb and this day very hot indeed."

In an 1866 postscript, James Arnold donated his Audubon elephant folio and the accompanying *Ornithological Biographies* to the New Bedford Free Public. The donation was announced in the Newport Mercury. Adjusting for inflation and using the most current figures at \$1,000 in 1866 would be valued at **\$14,475.40** in 2009. \$1,5000 converts to **\$17,370.48** in 2009. In actuality the Audubon's are priceless.

GenealogyBank.com, [Hon. James Arnold; Free Public Library; New Bedford; Audubon's; North America] (News Article)

Date: 1866-01-27; **Paper:** Newport Mercury *This entire product and/or portions thereof are copyrighted by NewsBank and/or the American Antiquarian Society. 2004.*

Hon. James Arnold has presented the Free Public Library of New Bedford with a copy of Audubon's large work on the birds of North America, in four immense volumes, valued at \$1000 to \$1200.

GenealogyBank.com

In 1843 President Adams and Charles Francis Adams returned to New Bedford.

“And our third visit was to Mr. and Mrs. Arnold, in the same house where we met an evening party in September 1835. The year after which they went to Europe, and traveled there three years. Their house was then graceful and comfortable, and furnished with elegance and at great cost. It is now embellished with many articles of exquisite luxury from Italy, so that it is like a second princely palace.” *Old Dartmouth Historical Sketches #52, June 1924, The Arnold Mansion and Its Traditions* – Zephaniah W. Pease, Delivered to members of the Wamsutta Club

In 1850 Charles W. Morgan, Arnold's County Street neighbor and former friend felt abused by Arnold and called him “a man totally devoid of sensibility & true kindness of feeling--as the table at which he sat.” Morgan often had problems in his business and was later forced to sell his ship, the *Charles W. Morgan* to the Howland family. It is a National Historic Landmark and the last existing whaling ship. His diary owned by Mystic Seaport has been recently transcribed and placed on-line.

Tuesday. April 2 1850 A glorious day indeed--bright & balmy--**Busy all this day making financial arrangements, in which I shall succeed notwithstanding a cold & cruel attempt to crush & dishonour me by an institution with which I have been connected ever since I came to New Bedford--I may forgive it & its authors--but I will never forget and they shall know my mind, when I am properly prepared--**The sentence of Dr Webster is commented on largely by the press--and generally the verdict is deemed a righteous one--I trust he will make his peace with God, and confess the great crime--still I should never have convicted him--while there was one doubt to hang a chance of innocence upon....April 3, 1850 had the pleasure of paying off a very heavy note to the Bedf'd Com'l Bank this day--which or any part of which they utterly refused to renew--although they told me there was money enough they esteemed[?] my paper perfectly safe--this from an institution where I had kept my principal account for 30 years--Sat as director 20 years--have had transactions to the amount of over 6 millions of dollars--Kept a good & active account--while at the other banks what I asked was granted kindly, promptly and cheerfully where I had no claim--but that of responsibility **common citizenship & a common humanity--I therefore brand this proceeding here as one of the most cold blooded & cruel attempts to crush a man without rhyme or reason as affected the bank--not so individuals--one man sat at that board--a professing Christian a plain coated elder--**

who had in years gone by sworn, as much as a quaker could swear revenge--and who has since had an opportunity of venting it on several of our family--He was aided by his right hand man who calls me "esteemed Kinsman"--a man totally devoid of sensibility & true kindness of feeling--as the table at which he sat--Those are the controlling spirits at that board--and though I had some friends there--their influence could not be excited--I brand Geo Howland Pres't & Jas Arnold as director with an attempt to destroy me & injure W. R Rodman my endorser--without cause except on the one part the gratification of revenge & the other of the most cold hearted selfishness--which would not lift a finger to save me from destruction--henceforth I have no sympathies or fellowship with these men--I shall not act against them but I shall avoid & shun them--I have no common feeling with them--I hope to forgive them--I cannot forget—

On April 4th the bank and its directors were still on his mind.

Thursday April 4th 1850 A deluge of Rain this morning which continued several hours wind North East--changes to N West--and becomes cold & damp--and blowy with a misty rain this evening--**Resting today from the labours of yesterday in body & spirit--The more I reflect on the conduct of the B.C. Bank--the more am I astonished, mortified & hurt--I shall never rest till I let the authors of this infamous attempt to crush me know my mind--To one--the quaker I think I can speak daggers--to the other I have no idea of making any impression, as he is incapable of feeling.--I only am astonished that several at that board who are gentlemen should have sat quietly by and let this act be done without resistance--But two or three there rule & reign.**

It appears that Arnold and Morgan were never close again.

Emerson's closest friend in New Bedford was Sarah Arnold's Aunt Mary Rotch, a truly remarkable woman of deep faith. And she had a major influence on his life. In his book, *Liberal Pilgrims: Varieties of Liberal Religious Experience in New Bedford, Massachusetts* New Bedford, Massachusetts: Fish Island Books, 2009 Dan Harper formerly Minister of New Bedford's Unitarian Church writes of her and her relationship with Emerson.

"Sometime around 1830, Emerson came down to the New Bedford church as a substitute preacher — this is some years before his well-known stay here in 1833-1834. On this visit to our congregation, "Emerson had been deeply impressed by the sight of the leading Quaker of the town, Miss Mary Rotch, quietly leaving the church when the rite of the Last Super was about to be observed." Most of Emerson's biographers agree that Mary's example influenced him in 1832 when he resigned from Second Church in Boston.(15) 15) Gay Wilson Allen, **Waldo Emerson**, Rev Harper continues pp. 224-225.'

When Emerson came back to New Bedford in the winter and spring of 1833-1834, he got to know Mary Rotch better. At that time, Mary Rotch told the young Emerson something of the controversy between the New Lights and the Old Lights, and Emerson wrote in one of his notebooks that she had been "driven inward, driven home, to find an anchor, until she learned to

have no choice, to acquiesce without understanding the reason when she found an obstruction to any particular course of action.”(16) *Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, edited by Edward Emerson and Waldo Forbes, vol. 4, pp. 263-264; quoted in Allen, p. 225. That is to say, she learned to be self-reliant, to rely on her own inner strength, her own inner light; ideas which Emerson would integrate into his own thinking and writing.

Mary Rotch told Emerson another story. A little girl came to her and asked to do something. “She replied, ‘What does the voice in thee say?’ The child went off, and after a time returned to say, ‘...the little voice says, no.’” This story affected Emerson greatly.(17) 17) Moncure Daniel Conway, *Emerson Home and Abroad*, (Osgood, 1882), p. 87.

It affirmed for him that each of us can know what is right and what is true, if we would just listen to “the voice in thee.” Many years later, Emerson quoted (or perhaps paraphrased) Mary Rotch in his essay titled “Greatness,” expressing this same point in a different way:

“ ‘I do not pretend to any commandment or large revelation, but if at any time I form some plan, propose a journey or a course of conduct, I perhaps find a silent obstacle in my mind that I cannot account for. Very well, — I let it lie, thinking it may pass away, but if it do not pass away I yield to it, obey it. You ask me to describe it. I cannot describe it. It is not an oracle, nor an angel, nor a dream, nor a law; it is too simple to be described, it is but a grain of mustard-seed, but such as it is, it is something which the contradiction of all mankind could not shake, and which the consent of all mankind could not confirm.’ ”(18) 18) Ralph Waldo Emerson, “Greatness,” *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, edited by Edward Waldo Emerson (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1904), v.8, pp. 309-310. In an endnote, the editors state, “These were the words of Miss Mary Rotch of New Bedford, and they made deep impression on Mr. Emerson, when in 1834 he was invited to preach for a time in that city.”

Emerson also became a friend of James and Sarah Arnold. He particularly enjoyed discussing the New Light Old Light controversy with Arnold and found him a good enough conversationalist to quote to others.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journals* William Henry Gilman - 1982 - 596 pages

“James Arnold said to me, Give this town of New Bedford to one man, say, an Irishman out of the street, — tell him "it is his, & he must manage it the best he can," — and you will find he will govern it better than it is governed now”

In Emerson’s *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, P: 308 we find him writing to Sarah Arnold.

To Sarah Rotch Arnold
Concord,

March 12, 1852

My dear Mrs. Arnold,

My wife begs me to reply to your kind note, as it found her, I am sorry to say, a little more invalid than usual. But I fancy the note was better than her drugs & set her upon her feet before sunset. At any rate, she charges me to thank you for your kind invitation, which she is bent on getting well enough to accept; and meantime charges me to write to Mr. Rodman, that I am to be released from all claims, in order to go with her to visit you. I shall immediately execute this command & put myself in your hospitality, confiding that Mrs. Emerson will accompany me. Our day is Tuesday the 16th instant, & I think we shall not reach New Bedford until/by/the evening train.

With respectful remembrance to Mr. Arnold & to Miss Arnold,

Your affectionate servant,

The second floor guest bedroom is part of the remaining core of the Arnold Mansion.

Although Herman Melville visited the Arnold garden, it is known if he met the Arnold's himself. His visit is documented in *The Melville Log, A Documentary Life of Herman Melville, Volume I, 1819 – 1891*, Jay Leyda, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1951, p: 451

July 6, 1852

Melville and his father-in-law leave on their excursion (...on Tuesday morning we left in the Cars for New Bedford, Mr. Clifford met us by appointment at Cars, & after riding about the town a little while, visiting Mr. Arnold's beautiful garden, we dined with Mr. Clifford. After dinner, Mr. Clifford went with us on board the Boar (the Massachusetts) for Nantucket, where we arrived about sunset. It was too late to open the court that day. –Lemuel Shaw to his son, Lemuel

In 1857 the Arnolds joined the usually impossible effort of friends to help Bronson Alcott and his literally at times starving family. The charming educator, philosopher, professional genius refused to work at any job after he was forced to give up the Temple School in Boston.

He did agree however that he would accept money for conversations and eventually toured the country giving them. A close friend of New Bedford historian, Daniel Ricketson, in April 1857 Alcott came to New Bedford and gave three conversations in the Arnold double parlors.

On April 7th Alcott wrote his long suffering wife “I dined on Saturday with the Arnolds... They offer their spacious drawing rooms for the Conversations, and their invitations are sent out for our first gathering on Thursday evening coming – some sixty or more – the best families – the Rotch’s, Morgans, Rodmans, etc. are to comprise our Company.” Historian Sally Sapienza quotes the letter in her typescript lecture on Mr. Arnold.

Richard Henry Dana. Sr. once had a reputation far greater than his son who became famous for his autobiographical book, *Two Years Before the Mast*. Dana Senior was the son of the Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. He had been, tossed out of Harvard after a small riot and was later allowed back in. He became a non-practicing lawyer and a writer, poet and critic. He often lectured in New Bedford and stayed with the Arnolds.

His letters to Mrs. Arnold are informal and delightful. One is even quoted in

The Letters of Charles Dickens:

His [Dana’s] own letters show how captivated he was by him. To Mrs. Sarah Arnold he wrote on 14 Feb., “No sooner was it known that the steamer with Dickens on board, was in sight, than the Town was pouring itself out on the wharf; and when this remarkable man reached the Boston side, the “hacknies” were all calling out, each anxious to have the honor of carrying ‘Boz’. And for days the streets were a flutter with ribbons and feathersWhen my eyes first fell upon him I was disappointed. But the instant his face was turned toward me, there was a change. He has the finest of eyes; and his whole countenance speaks life and action – the face seems to flicker with the heart’s and mind’s activity. You cannot tell how dead the faces near him seemed.”

Later he shared with her his sadness when following the wrong family tradition Richard Jr. was also ordered to take leave from Harvard. Writing in *The New England Quarterly*, *The Education of Richard Henry Dana, Jr.* James David Hart noted:

Although the elder Dana had been rusticated for a similar offense twenty-four years previous to this, the punishment of his son, and his own melancholy temper made him extremely despondent. In letters to the family friend, Mrs. Sarah Arnold he wrote of ‘my banished boy’ and ‘Richard’s exile.’

The Arnold's and the Dana's spent a great deal of time together both in New Bedford and Boston. Richard Henry Dana, Jr. in his Journals seems to have been a bit infatuated with Mrs. Arnold. On June 30, 1842 at the age of twenty-six and already famous because of *Two Years Before the Mast*, he wrote:

Dined at Mrs. Arnold's. Mrs. Arnold is the most charming & dignified of women. There is something about her which interest your feelings, makes you love to be near her, & at the same time commands your highest respect & insures without enforcing it the most deferential address & manner in all who approach her. I know of nothing in society so beneficial in its influence upon young men as to be thrown into intercourse with married ladies much older than themselves & of the character & manners of Mrs. Arnold. The fopperies and affectations which they are liable to contract from being beaux to young ladies they feel t be out of place & they insensibly fall into a respectful style of address, tax their sense & knowledge to appear to advantage & pay attentions from which they know they can have no return but increased self respect & the esteem of a superior woman. [Add Journal info]

Arnold's Gardens

Although only a pair of cherished beeches remains of the Arnold's gardens, they made horticultural history and ultimately led to the establishment of the Arnold Arboretum. The earliest complete description was published in *The Magazine Horticulture*. October, 1840.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS. The description is worth quoting in full especially because standard histories of the Arnold Arboretum imply that Arnold had no interest in horticulture.

ART. 1. Notes on Gardens and Gardening, in New Bedford, Mass.

By the EDITOR.

We shall notice the three first named in course. Residence of James Arnold, Esq., County street. August 24th. — The delightful grounds of Mr. Arnold are situated on the west side of County street, nearly opposite the head of Union street. The site is one of the most elevated in the street, and commands a view of the harbor, and beyond, on the opposite side of the river, the neat and flourishing village of Fairhaven; to the west stretches out a vast extent of country, well wooded,

and in some directions presenting varied and interesting views. The grounds around the house fall away in a very gentle slope, bounding upon the street on the east, and extending to the west into the yet uncultivated portion of the town. The whole, we should judge, comprising some six or eight acres, which are laid out in a pleasure ground, a flower garden, vegetable garden, orchard, &c. It is our intention, at some future period, with the consent of Mr. Arnold, to present our readers with two or three engravings, illustrating some of the most interesting portions of his garden: so pleased were we with all the arrangements, that, had we had the time, and liberty to do so, we should have made one or two sketches upon the spot.

Mr. Arnold's grounds are decidedly the most ornamental that we have ever seen, and convey to those who have not a good conception of the modern or English style of gardening, a better idea of what this style consists in, than they could learn by reading a hundred descriptions of the same. We shall therefore, at the present time, only enumerate some of the principal features, and leave the complete details till we have an opportunity to present them in connection with the views which we have just referred to.

The house stands about one hundred and fifty feet from the street; a broad carriage-way enters on one side, and, sweeping by the entrance to the house, in a semicircular form, opens to the street on the opposite side. Between this carriage-way and street there is a fine lawn; this is varied by two or three elegant groups of trees, which break the view of the house from the street, and likewise convey an idea of greater extent, by partly preventing those who are entering upon the approach, from seeing those who are departing from the house. From the approach, on the south side of the house, about two thirds of the distance from the entrance, a walk leads up to the conservatory, the back of which stands up against a wall running west from the rear of the house. In front of the conservatory is a fine flower garden, laid out with dug beds on turf. This garden is bounded by a wall on the west, and by the back of the grapery on the south; and, to screen the latter building from the eye, a vigorous and luxuriant growth of the woodbine has covered it so completely, as to scarcely leave an open space. A rock-work, in a small way, hut erected mostly with rare specimens of quartz, &c., and covered with verbenas and petunias, is an interesting feature of this garden. and judgment. The work was executed by Mr. Jones, formerly gardener to Mr. Arnold.

Continuing through the winding walks, shady bowers, and umbrageous retreats, through which rustic seats were placed, we arrived at the shell grotto. This is an ingenious piece of work, finely executed under the direction of Mr. Arnold. The roof is supported by columns of rough trunks of trees, the outer part of the roof thatched, and the ceiling elegantly inlaid with shells, quartz, &c. A rustic sofa and table are the only articles in the interior. So secluded is this grotto, that the robin has built its nest and reared its young in some of the niches left for that purpose.

From this we pass through other portions of the ground, and enter upon the main walk which leads round the kitchen garden, near to the southerly boundary, to the place from whence we started; the kitchen garden is shut out from view- by a hawthorn hedge. This may be called a general view of the grounds, and, though necessarily an imperfect sketch, will convey some idea of the good arrangement of every part. We should remark, that between the lawn in

front, and the pleasure ground, a belt of trees, composed principally of evergreens, running at a right angle with the street, to the grapery, screens the whole from the view of any person entering the house. On the north the grounds are planted mostly with ornamental trees and shrubs.

The conservatory contained little in it of merit at this season. Mr. Young, under whose management the grounds are highly kept, has succeeded in impregnating the *Cereus grandiflorus* with the *C. speciosissimus*, and the pod was now, (Aug. 24,) swelling finely. The collection of camellias is quite limited, but Mr. Arnold informed us, he should augment it considerably the coming year, and also add many other new and beautiful plants. In the grapery the vines were just recovering and making good wood, after they had been suffering under the mismanagement of the gardener who last had the care of them. On the back wall the peach trees had made an excellent growth of young wood. The collection of dahlias is very good, and a choice variety of annuals filled the dug beds in the flower garden.

Mr. Arnold, with his lady who is a great lover of flowers and plants, has travelled much in England, and on the continent, and has visited all the fine public as well as many private gardens, which exist in France or England. And it is to his good taste, in connection with that of Mrs. Arnold, that his grounds present such a finished and picturesque appearance. It would delight us to see other gentlemen follow the example of Mr. Arnold; and if it should be in our power to offer, hereafter, such plans and views of his residence, as we hope to have the pleasure of doing, we shall look forward to see the gardens of many gentlemen, which are capable of being made equally beautiful, but which have presented no attractions to the visitor, laid out in the same style, and kept up in the same finished manner that characterizes every part of Mr. Arnold's grounds. We are confident that nothing is wanting to render villa residences generally as attractive as Mr. Arnold's, but a judicious and tasteful method of arrangement, without any more expense than is generally attendant upon planting them in the ordinary manner. We shall undoubtedly notice this place at an early opportunity.

Two previously unknown photographs of the grotto are included in this nomination.

In 1858 Thoreau commissioned Daniel Ricketson to find him specimens of autumn leaves for his work.

Letter from Daniel Ricketson to Henry David Thoreau

The Shanty, November 10th, 1858

Friend Thoreau –

Your very pleasant and encouraging letter reached me on Monday (the 8th). Pleasant from the cheerful spirit in which it was written, and encouraging from the appreciation you express for the little portraits of my late traveling experiences I sent you.

This forenoon I made a visit to Arnold's garden, walking to and from through the woods and fields most of the way on the route by the upper road by which the wind-mill stands. In company with the gardener, rejoicing in the appropriate and symphonious name of Wellwood Young, whose broad Gaelic accent rendered an attentive ear necessary to catch the names, I made the following list. The Scotch larch, for instance, he said came from Norrway (Norway), the yellow fringes of which are still hanging on the branches.

The following is the list I made in accordance with your request. I give the names without any order, just as we happened to meet the trees. Horse-chestnut, quite full of yellow and green foliage. English walnut, do. Beech, Linden, Hawthorn (nearly perfect in green foliage, only a little decayed at the top, but in a sheltered place), Silver Linden, Copper Beech, Elm, Weeping Ash, Weeping Willow, Scotch Larch, Euanimus European (Gardener's name), I suppose correct. These are all European or English, I believe.

I give a few others not European, viz: Osage orange (or Maclura), Cornus Florida (handsome) Tulip, three-thorned Acacia, Mexican Cypress.

There were numerous shrubs in full leaf, among them the Gulder Rose, Vines, Bignonia radicans and Bignonia cuminata.

I send a few leaves. The largest green leaf is the American Linden – the smaller, the European copper leaved Beech. One English Elm (green), and the two smaller and narrower leaves, the Euanimus Europeus.

I am sorry the list is no fuller, but I think it includes all in these grounds. The location is quite sheltered. I could not ascertain from the gardener what trees exhibited particular brilliance of foliage, last month. I conclude however, that these I have named were quite fresh up to the last of October.

It is barely possible I may reach Concord on Saturday next and remain over Sunday, but hardly probable as they say.

Channing I understand has been to Concord since I wrote you last and is now here again. Is he not quite as much a 'creature of moods' as old Sudbury Inn? But I am in poor mood for writing, and besides it is nearly dark (5 p.m.)

May I not hear from you again soon, and may I not expect a visit also ere long?

As this is only a business letter I trust you will excuse its dullness. Hoping I have supplied you (Channing has just come in) with what you wanted, I conclude.

Yours faithfully,

D.R.

P.S. If I should not go to Concord I will endeavor to get one of my books to you soon.

Andrew Jackson Downing, perhaps the single greatest influence on gardens and appropriate houses in the 19th century included the Arnold gardens in *A treatise on the theory and practice of landscape gardening*.

By Andrew Jackson Downing, Henry Winthrop Sargent,
Edition: 6 - 1859

In the environs of New Bedford are many beautiful residences. Among these, we desire particularly to notice the residence of James Arnold, Esq. There is scarcely a small place in New England, where the *pleasure-grounds* are so full of variety, and in such perfect order and keeping, as at this charming spot; and its winding walks, open bits of lawn, shrubs and plants grouped on turf, shady bowers, and rustic seats, all most agreeably combined, render this a very interesting and instructive suburban seat. (Fig. 11.)

A line drawing of Figure 11 is included in this report. It has been reproduced in nearly history of gardening in America since that first notice.

Original research has found James Arnold's first and perhaps greatest gardener, James R. Lowe.

Pen Pictures From The Garden of the World or Santa Clara County, California,
Illustrated. - Edited by H. S. Foote.- Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1888.

In 1854 came James R. Lowe. This gentleman was an Englishman by birth, and a professional botanist. He had been engaged in some of the most prominent landscape gardening operations of the English nobility, and had come to America to superintend some work for New England nurserymen. He came to California at the request of Samuel J. Hensley. He laid out the famous Hensley grounds, which, up to the time they were subdivided into city lots, contained more rare plants than any similar area in California. Mr. Lowe was in constant communication with the superintendent of the gardens of the Duke of Devonshire, who was an old-time friend, and hardly

a mail was received at the post-office in San Jose that did not contain some rare plant, bulb, or cutting, from the Duke's gardens. These were propagated with care, and from this beginning sprang many of San Jose's most beautiful gardens

..... His father was born in Chesterfield, England, in 1808. Educated as a landscape gardener and horticulturist, he displayed such rare taste and skill in laying out and embellishing large parks and gardens, that he was employed to come to the United States and superintend the laying out and adorning the exquisite grounds and horticultural plots of James Arnold, of New Bedford. He later did similar work for the late Ben. Perley Poore, at Indian Hill Farm near Newburyport, Massachusetts. He removed to California in 1852 with his family, and engaged in San Jose in the same profession. There are many places in San Jose and California that bear witness to his master skill and rare taste and culture in the art of beautifying the face of nature. He was the means of bringing to California, and propagating here, many valuable plants and trees, to which employment he was devoted up to his death, in 1874. A man of genial, affable disposition, fond of telling and listening to a good story, he had many and valued friends; in fact, a very happy type of the representative English gentleman. He was several times elected a member of the City Council of San Jose. Mr. Lowe's mother was a native of Newburyport, Massachusetts, and a member of the celebrated Sherborn family, of New Hampshire.

In 1890 Arnold was still remembered and still made good copy in *The New England Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly, 1890*, Digitized by the Making of America Project

PP: 585 – 586

“Tarry at Home Travel” III – Edward E. Hale, D.D.

Dear Mr. Arnold! I remember him so well! He was always so good to me, as he was to everybody. The true princes are always good to everybody, and he was one of the true princes, one of that New Bedford dynasty. It exists to this hour. His house was on the upper side of County Street, and the grounds must have been of several acres, and they were an arboretum in themselves. The house was a palace with the comforts of a log cabin and that is more than you can say of all palaces., and he and all his were so cordial to everyone who came in. Please let me tell the story of his dog and then I will tell you about the Arboretum. The dog was a magnificent fellow, Newfoundland I think. But he grew very old. He seemed to enjoy nothing, and had as many sores and ailments as poor Lazarus himself; and so Mr. Arnold said to his right hand man one day: “It will be a mercy to kill him. Life is a burden to him. Shoot him some day when you can be sure of your mark, and we will put him out of him misery.” Upon which the dog rose from that place between the door where he used to lie, and left the house and grounds, and was seen no more of men for weeks on weeks. Only the good angels took care of him, and that not too

well; for after many weeks the poor creature returned, nearly starved this time, and with that imploring eye which said, better than words, "I know you'll not shoot me now." And they did not shoot him. He lived till he died, and if you go to New Bedford, you may see his memorial stone.

Now as I say, Mr. Arnold has this beautiful place, which you may call an arboretum of his own. That was where I first saw a Spanish chestnut growing, - and why other men in Southern New England do not have Spanish chestnuts I do now know. It seems to me that he told me that the nut it came from grew in Mt. Vernon, and that some general of the Revolution planted it, perhaps General Cobb, possibly Lafayette. If Mr. Arnold ever had any other business than caring for his trees, he never spoke of it, though he was interested in everything that was public spirited and large. He knew everything about trees or almost everything; and what he didn't know, that saint, George Barrell Emerson, told him. And Mr. Emerson knew almost everything about trees, and what he did not know, James Arnold told him; and if you read your Emerson's *Trees* as carefully as I hope you do, and that means much more carefully than you read your Shakespeare, you will see how often he is quoted there. Well, when Mr. Arnold died, he did what he knew would please George Emerson most of all. He left a noble endowment to Harvard College, with which they should establish an arboretum in which should grow every tree which can be made to grow in any part of New England. I think he and Mr. Emerson had often talked it over.

Finally in 1995's *Science in the Pleasure Ground – A History of the Arnold Arboretum* –

Ida Hay, Northeastern University Press, Boston, MA 1995 Arnold receives some credit for knowledge of horticulture, although the major emphasis is on his brother-in-law, George Emerson.

"After two and a half years, in late November 1834, (George Emerson) he remarried. Emerson's second wife was a widowed sister of Sarah Arnold, Mary Rotch Fleming. Mary had one daughter by her first marriage, and she and George raised the four children together. Emerson continued to keep school, but moved it to a new location. With assistance from "father Rotch" he purchased a lot and had a house built at Pemberton Square, a new residential development on the site of Pemberton Hill (which had been taken down to fill in a bay on the shores of the Charles River). Home and school were under one roof for the Emersons; there were twin doorways, one of which led upstairs to spacious classrooms located over their living quarters.

With his second marriage George commenced a close friendship with the Rotch family including James and Sarah Rotch Arnold. During visits to New Bedford, George and Sarah found they shared an interest in shell collecting, and James led them to neighboring geological sites.

Emerson and William Rotch compared their views on religion and reform discussing such matters as Dr. Channing's notable book upon slavery."

"The third trustee named by Arnold to oversee what became the Arboretum bequest was John James Dixwell, a prosperous Boston merchant and president of the MA Bank. He and Emerson were old friends long united in their support of the Boston Society of Natural History. Dixwell lived on a ten-acre estate atop a hill that rose between the Bussey farm and Jamaica Pond. There he grew as many kinds of trees as he could obtain. This fondness for trees was shared with the Arnold family, whom he visited often in New Bedford. When James, Sarah, and their daughter were in Boston, Dixwell escorted them to Mount Auburn Cemetery."

In the turbulent years before the Civil War the Arnold's abolitionist work continued.

Much of took place in silence and it needs to be noted that New Bedford's primary newspaper the *Mercury* was not an abolitionist paper until the war broke out. At the time of John Brown's execution the paper remained silent while the New York Times reported that church bells had tolled throughout New Bedford. Most information regarding activities in the city needs to be traced through copies of the *Liberator*. Their report on August 14, 1851 specifically mentions the Arnolds.

The Liberator, Boston, August 15, 1851 – William Cooper Nell Report on New Bedford Meeting
"Among the civilities extended in honor of the day was an invitation to the military and strangers to visit the splendid residence and ornamental grounds of James Arnold, Esq., who with his family tendered the utmost kindness and courtesy in exhibiting the beauties of nature and art so lavishly adorning this New Bedford palace. Rodney French, Esq., also with characteristic courtesy, through open the doors of his hospitable mansion to the military visitors and invited guests. These voluntary manifestations of good will, at one honorable to the donors and grateful to the recipients, should be accepted as a harbinger of a better day coming."

During 1859 while John Brown's raid on Harper's ferry was being planned, and financed from Boston, Sarah Arnold was asked by her friend Maria Weston Chapman to shelter Harriet Tubman. Both Tubman and Frederick Douglass knew of the planned raid and John Brown expected both to participate. As Tubman's biographer explains.

Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories (Wisconsin Studies in Autobiography) Jean M. Humez

“During her time in Boston Tubman also met Maria Weston Chapman, who was one of the original founders of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, and a strong supporter of William Lloyd Garrison's philosophy and work. Chapman gave Tubman a letter of introduction to an antislavery friend in the seaport city of New Bedford, Massachusetts (“where many of her protégés are hiding), suggesting that she might be “the suitable person to undertake to bring off the children of Charles, about whom I had so fruitless a correspondence with the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee & other.” (Chapman, 1859) footnote 51

D21 Maria Weston Chapman Sends Harriet Tubman to a Friend in New Bedford (1859)

When I wrote to you yesterday I had not learned what I have just heard – that Harriet Tubman our black heroine, is about to start for New Bedford where many of her protégés are in hiding. I venture to furnish her with a letter to you, in the hope that you may find a suitable person to undertake to bring off the children of Charles, about whom I had such a fruitless correspondence with the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee & others.

There maybe many persons of general humanity in New Bedford who would rejoice to aid this noble woman in her present purpose of securing a home for the parents she has rescued; and if your kind commendation of her to such, should prove the means of success to her, it will also be a real obligation to me.

Referring to my former letters for her history in brief (23)

I am dear Madam

Your obliged and obedient'

M.W. Chapman (Maria Weston Chapman to Mrs. Sarah Rotch Arnold, June 4, 1859)

There is every reason to believe that Sarah Arnold did grant her friend's request. Maria Weston Chapman's, sister Deborah, had been sent to New Bedford in the 1840's and taught

school briefly at Friend's Academy and later opened a school of her own on Mechanics Lane. The real reason for her prescience in New Bedford, however, was to work in organizing other abolitionists in the city. Other more social correspondence between Chapman and Sarah Arnold exists in the BPL collection of family letters.

The statement regarding Harriet being in New Bedford at the time of the raid is repeated in *Conductor on the Underground Railroad*, by Ann Petry, 1955.

Harriet never heard from John Brown again, never saw him again. She was unaware of the fact that Brown and his assistants kept referring to her in the letters that they sent to the Boston Abolitionists who were helping to finance his project. "Harriet Tubman is probably in New Bedford, sick. She has staid in N.E. [New England]a long time. And been a kind of missionary." "I have sent a note to Harriet requesting her to come to Boston." "When Harriet comes. , . ."

But Harriet never came. Perhaps she was ill, perhaps Higginson had told her that he had lost confidence in the plan, perhaps word of Frederick Douglass's absolute refusal to enter what he believed to be a steel trap had influenced her in any event, she was not at Harper's Ferry, nor did she send any recruits from Canada.

Sarah Arnold was a major contributor to Maria Weston Chapman abolitionist magazine, *The Liberty Bell*. In 1861 she gave \$50 one of the largest contributions that came from New Bedford

The Liberty Bell

Celebrated January 23, 1861

Subscription List of the National Antislavery Twenty Seventh Anniversary

Raised Total \$5,500

Mrs. Arnold New Bedford MA \$50 2008 dollars **\$1,184.45**

Andrew Robeson, Esq. New Bedford \$50 2008 dollars **\$1,184.45**

William C. Coffin New Bedford \$10	\$236.89
Sarah Coffin New Bedford \$5	\$118.44
Rev. William J. Potter New Bedford \$10	\$236.89
L.C. Ray New Bedford \$1	\$23.69

After his death Unitarian minister, William J. Potter summed up James Arnold's life and specifically described his attitude toward giving and in somewhat veiled terms his actions. Since Potter, as noted previously, did not shrink from mentioning the Rotch Scandal, it is safe to assume that his statement's regarding Arnold's pre-war abolitionist activities. Potter states: "There were comparatively so few, he said, who cared for this wronged and unfortunate people, there was so much prejudice against them, that he felt it to be a peculiar obligation resting on himself to aid their cause, whether in the way of escape from bondage, or of education, or of relief to want and suffering. Few if any of this class were ever turned away unhelped. Aid has gone from that house in times past to help many a fugitive slave on to liberty...."

William Potter Funeral Sermon The Friends Intelligencer – p:780-81 William Potter on James Arnold 1869

And this leads me to speak more in detail of the practical benevolence into which his life gradually rose, and which especially marked his latest years. For here was the crown of his career. In the last twenty-five or thirty years do I find the great glory of his long life, — in the deliberate consecration of himself, of his opportunities, and of no small portion of his time and means to the interest of charity and philanthropy; in his conscientious painstaking effort to be true and just and helpful to his fellow-men; in the ripening of his successful career of accumulation into wise and generous usefulness He seemed to come more and more to believe, as his years increased, and more and more to act on the belief, that all material success and material possessions are only so far worthy of human aim as they can be made to minister to human welfare and advancement. It cannot be said, I think, that he was indifferent to any cause of human well-being. Yet among the many objects of philanthropy presented to him, he selected and held with a good deal of tenacity certain ones which he believed himself best adapted to advance. And because he did not give to all, he has sometimes been thought illiberal. But he was giving constantly and largely in his chosen ways. Few knew how much he gave, for his ever

repeated charge was that his name was not to be published. And very few requests were turned away without something, even when he might doubt their utility and argue long against them. " During the war he was for a time not a little criticised and judged somewhat harshly, because he would give nothing towards raising bounty-funds for helping enlistments in the army. But no criticism or argument could move him from his position. It was with him a position of conscience. He did not believe in war — he adhered to his Quaker principles in this — and he would not give a dollar to equip men for fighting and killing each other. Yet the battles fought and the men wounded and killed, he was ready and unwearied in relieving the suffering in field and hospital. Let those, he said, who believe in fighting (and he would not say it might not have become a necessary retribution for national sin,) do it and pay for it.

For himself, he only believed in staunching blood, in binding up wounds, in saving from suffering and violent death. And by that position he stood; and from the beginning to the end of the war, the gentle, healing stream of his bounty flowed down to the Southern battle-ground, into camp and hospital, to hear witness to his conviction. One member of his household reckoned up fifteen thousand dollars, coming under his knowledge, as going in the direction of this benign charity to the country and its soldiers. And he does not profess to have counted all.

Another of the special objects of philanthropy to which he felt himself called, was to befriend and aid the colored race. Of this he often spoke to me. There were comparatively so few, he said, who cared for this wronged and unfortunate people, there was so much prejudice against them, that he felt it to be a peculiar obligation resting on himself to aid their cause, whether in the way of escape from bondage, or of education, or of relief to want and suffering. Few if any of this class were ever turned away unhelped. Aid has gone from that house in times past to help many a fugitive slave on to liberty, and after the great act of emancipation came, aid continued to flow from his hands, to palliate the freed people's condition, and give them the school and tin meeting-house and the home. One of his latest acts was to fill a check for \$1000 for the destitute and homeless among this class, an act of which no one knew at the time but he receiver and one other member of his household. During the days of the anti-slavery agitation and struggle he was a regular and large contributor to the funds of the anti-slavery societies, and also loved more to give to individual workers in the cause. Yet it must be added that he did not connect himself as a member with the anti-slavery societies, nor much attend their public meetings. Nor did he associate himself directly with any other organized enterprise of social and moral reform. This came in great part from the fact, not that he did not sympathize with the objects sought, but that he had little faith in associated action of any kind, and especially suspected all reforms that connected themselves with politics. The politics of the country, he was accustomed to say, are helplessly corrupt, and the moral Reform of Philanthropy that becomes political in its action he feared would be contaminated and lose something of its high aim. In this fear of associated action I think he was mistaken, though his moral instinct in the matter doubtless pointed to a great danger, and one from which some of our great reforms have not entirely escaped. I think he was somewhat mistaken, too, in the general principle of his charities, which was to relieve suffering rather than provide methods to prevent it, — though it should be added that it is a principle to which he did not by any means very strictly adhere.

The trustees of the New Bedford Free Public Library in their annual report reprinted James Arnold's obituary from the Morning Mercury. It was written by one of the libraries founders and unofficial New Bedford historian, James B. Congdon . The tribute is slightly less religious in tone and more an examination of the public James Arnold. The New Bedford Free Public Library trustees with donations from members of the community purchased a William Alan Wall portrait of Arnold. The portrait is one of Wall's best and still hangs in the library.

Annual report, Volumes 1-30, By Free Public Library (New Bedford, Mass.),

HON. JAMES ARNOLD.

The following notice of our deceased fellow citizen, James Arnold, was published in the New Bedford Mercury, a few days after his death. We consider it due to a man whose benefactions have not only enriched our institution, but have, for many years blessed our whole community, to republish this just and feeling tribute to his memory. It was written by James B. Congdon.

The brief notices of Mr. ARNOLD, which have appeared in the papers of our City, do not as we believe, satisfy the claims which his life and character have to the attention and regard of this community, and of those who intimately knew him.

While, as a public man he was but little known, and no associations with public events are connected with his memory, there was much in his character as a man and as a merchant that gave prominence and interest to his name, and much in his position and life as a citizen of New Bedford to render that name worthy of affectionate remembrance.

JAMES ARNOLD was the son of THOMAS ARNOLD, of Providence, R I, a prominent member of the Society of Friends. By birth-right, he too, was a member of that religious denomination; and whatever may be thought of the peculiarities of this religious body, one fact is beyond controversy, that, in proportion to its numbers, no sect of Christians has blessed the world with a larger share of noble men and women, who have exemplified in their lives that personal purity and devotedness to the welfare of humanity, which are the foundation of the gospel of peace and good will.

In early life Mr. ARNOLD gave a direction to an intellect subtle and vigorous beyond the average of his fellow-men, by a careful perusal and study of the classical literature of our language. None but those who were favored with his intimacy in the most vigorous period of his life, can be aware of the extent and richness of his knowledge of our best authors, and of that keen and exhaustive appreciation of their powers and beauties with which he was endowed. "I

honor that man," said Ephraim Peabody, one whose memory will long be cherished by this community, "who, in addition to that calling upon which he depends for a livelihood, gives a portion of his time to the cultivation of his intellect and his taste." During his long and active life, Mr. ARNOLD, felt and enjoyed the advantages of this extensive acquaintance with the best portions of English literature, and of this richness and fullness all were partakers who were favored with his intimate acquaintance.

There are two or three persons, still among us, who were, with him, members of the association, which in later years has been known as the Old Dialectic Society; and these remember with distinctness and pleasure the instruction and enjoyment which his frequent participation in its discussions afforded them. He was an earnest, an honest, and forcible speaker; and from the rich and full stores of his intellect he could, in a manner equalled by few and excelled by none, give an interest to the subject of debate which did not end with the occasion that excited it. Thus it was that, without having, or assuming to have, those exact and comprehensive gifts of scholarship which belong to those whose lives are devoted to literature, he had that degree of attainment and that discriminating love of letters, that gave a zest to his leisure hours, soothed and comforted him in seasons of sorrow, and rendered him always a profitable and pleasant companion.

As a merchant, Mr. ARNOLD held a place prominent and honorable. He was among the last of that successful and high-minded race of men, who, in the first quarter of the present century, were the merchant-princes of New Bedford. He took his place while yet a young man, as the son-in-law of William Rotch, Jr., and as his mercantile partner, among those who were known throughout the commercial world as enlightened and successful men of business; and while the success of his devotion, skill, and enterprise, demonstrated his right to share with them their elevated position, no act of his ever sullied the purity of the reputation they had won.

An incident, of no great importance in itself, that occurred when he was in the prime of life and largely engaged in mercantile pursuits, will illustrate the character of his mind, and the views which he held and so strikingly exemplified in his business career.

President Wayland was in New Bedford for the purpose of soliciting aid for the increase of the library of Brown University. A meeting of our merchants and monied men was held, and the President, in a short address, endeavored to show how it was that liberality towards our institutions of learning was fruitful of benefits to all classes and conditions of men. Some word which he or some other gentleman had dropped, which indicated that the merchants were too much absorbed in money-making, called up Mr. Arnold, who, in a few brief and eloquent sentences, vindicated the character of our men of business, and the claims of the pursuit in which they were engaged to an honorable and elevated position. He declared that the occupation of the merchant was as free from mercenary tendencies as any in which man could engage; and that the devotion which gave reputation and profit, was due, not so much to a low and grovelling love of gain, as to that generous and commendable desire for success which was the stimulus to all high and enlightened effort in every department of human affairs.

As has already been intimated, Mr. ARNOLD was but little in public life. In the days when the good old plan of town meetings allowed him to be somewhat active in our town affairs without

holding office, he gave a fair portion of his time to our municipal business. For a short period he was a member of the Governor's Council while the Governor's chair was occupied by George N. Briggs. He filled the office of Councillor with much credit and usefulness. The good Governor informed the writer of this sketch, that at no period during his long term of office, did he have more efficient assistance from any member of his Council than from Mr. Arnold. His was a well-trained, well-disciplined, and a well-informed mind, fitted for usefulness in any direction to which its energies were given.

During that unhappy period, when the activity of the elements of discord in the Society of Friends resulted in the disruption of that denomination, Mr. ARNOLD left that body of Christians and joined the religious society with which he was associated for the remainder of his life. Free from bigotry and sectarianism, he continued to hold and to cherish those fundamental views of human obligation, and of the highest human elevation and attainment, which were and are characteristic of that religious society into the membership of which he was born. The members of the First Congregational Society, however they may have differed from him in judgment, will long retain a respect for their departed associate, and will with pleasure remember that his counsels were always for that course of action the most pure and honorable, and the most worthy of an enlightened Christian body.

As illustrative of this, and of the happy results of such counsels and actions, the course taken by the Society in extending an invitation to the Rev. Mr. Furness, of Philadelphia, to become its pastor, may be mentioned. A vote had been passed to this effect. Under a belief, that not alone to the pastor should the action here be communicated, but to the Society as well, Mr. ARNOLD proposed that an address should be prepared and forwarded with that to the pastor, directed to the religious body of which he had charge, informing them of the request that had been made, and requesting them to co-operate with the Society here, should they think well of the proposed transfer. From the-lips of the Rev. Mr. Furness himself was the writer of this informed of the happy results of this noble and Christian-like course of proceeding. There had been a feeling of alienation creeping into the Philadelphia society, arising from the boldness and power with which their minister defended the cause of the bondman. At a meeting of the Society both communications from New Bedford were laid before it. The effect was immediate, surprising, beautiful. Under the influence of a course of proceedings so full of instruction and so well calculated to give activity to Christ-like sympathy and devotion, the difference which had made a disruption of the tie between the pastor and people probable, if not desirable, wholly disappeared, and closer than ever before were knit the bonds of affection and regard. "The Society in New Bedford," said Mr. Furness, "never can know how much we are indebted to them for their high-minded and Christian proceeding."

It remains for us to speak of the benevolence which was so distinguishing a trait in the character of JAMES ARNOLD. No man understood better than he the obligations which rested upon him as one who had been blessed by a bountiful Providence with ample means for the alleviation of human suffering and want. In the administration of his charities, it was his choice, as it was his practice to a very great extent, to act by himself. He was a strong man — strong in means, and strong 114 the ability to judge as to the most efficient manner of dispensing his bounties. "The cause which he knew not, he searched out." It needed not that his work might be

rightfully done, that he should associate with others. There id but little need for us, in this community, to extend our remarks upon this part of the life and character of our departed fellow-citizen. Never, from that princely abode on County street, did the stream of benevolence cease to flow. The exercise of the charities, of which that was the fountain, was one of the institutions of our city. Steadily, clearly, widely, always full and always overflowing, year after year the stream flowed on, diffusing throughout our city its healing, refreshing and encouraging influences. He, whose death has now made mourners of the poor and needy, stood not alone at the head of this fertilizing stream. Side by side, for a long course of years, stood this noble man and his princely companion, both to no small extent aided by that daughter, who, years ago, with the mother, left the father and husband alone to perform the work so long jointly and efficiently performed. And the last of this family of enlightened and devoted benefactors of the poor has now departed.

That beautiful residence, so long the home of all that can dignify and elevate humanity, the source from which, for half a century there has flowed a bounty which in its influence was not confined to the children of want, is now without a tenant. It cannot long remain so. The lights of that beautiful home will, we hope, soon be rekindled, and we feel an assurance which amounts to conviction, that the future of our city, as has been the past, will be blessed by the enlightened and beneficent influences which will flow from that spot so long consecrated to an active, wide-spread, and enlightened

In 1851 the cynical page turner, *The Rich Men of Massachusetts Containing A Statement of the Reputed Wealth of About Fifteen Hundred Persons with Brief Sketches of More Than One Thousand Characters* – Boston 1851 assessed James Arnold from a more public view.

P:187

Arnold, James

\$600,000.

Partly received by marriage. Native of Rhode Island, and now the owner of very large estates in Providence. At times very benevolently disposed. He gives the public free entrance to the tastefully cultivated grounds around his mansion. He has just given to the Port Society, for a Sailor's Home, the old mansion-house of his father-in-law, the said Port Society being a pet association with the merchants of New Bedford.

James Arnold's wife Sarah died on May 9, 1860. His daughter, Elizabeth, died the following October on the 26th. She was 51 and had married Dr. Charles M. Tuttle the previous March. Arnold died on December 3, 1868. With both his wife and daughter dead before him in the chilling words of the Chad Brown Memorial, "The line is extinct."

William J. Rotch acted as trustee for the estate. He carried out meticulously all of the terms of the will and oversaw the creation of New Bedford's James Arnold Fund (still in existence). The most famous provision of the will was the \$100,000 bequest that resulted in the establishment of the National Historic Landmark and internationally significant Arnold Arboretum. Using 2009 inflation calculations the bequest would be worth **\$1,592,172.86**. James Arnold's passion for horticulture had created one of the country's most beautiful private gardens. His devotion to the public good gave America, and of course Harvard University, the Arboretum.

William James Rotch was the second Mayor of New Bedford. He had earned a place in architectural history at the age of twenty-five. Then newly married to a daughter of whaling ship owner, Charles W. Morgan, he built a home that is an architectural masterpiece and National Historic Landmark. In 1846 he commissioned Alexander Jackson Davis to design a Gothic Cottage. 19 Irving Street is considered one of America's finest surviving Gothic Revival buildings. Twenty-four years after building the relatively small Rotch Cottage and eight children later, William J. Rotch decided to make the Arnold Mansion his own.

William J. Rotch and his family moved into the house in 1872 and it remained in the family until 1919. Mary Russell Rotch was born in the house on January 9, 1873, the last of the nine Rotch children. William had first married Emily Morgan, the daughter of Charles W. Morgan and with her had eight children. After her death, he married her sister, Clara. William J. Rotch died on August 17, 1893. Mary Russell Rotch, his youngest daughter, died on February 19, 1917. Clara Morgan Rotch died on August 24, 1919. After 47 years as the "Rotch Place", the

future of the property was in serious doubt. None of the remaining Rotch children had either the inclination or funds to care for a landmark property.

Zephaniah W. Pease described the “Rotch Place” in his History of the Arnold Mansion as it had been and made note of its future. He wrote: “William J. Rotch made the Arnold home his dwelling place and for fifty years, or thereabouts it has been known to New Bedford people as ‘The Rotch Estate.’ Mr. Rotch altered the Arnold mansion at an unfortunate period when architectural fashion was at its worst. He added the mansard roof and rebuilt the house in accordance with the vogue of that day. The grounds were curtailed of their proportions, but the wide frontage with the great tress that shade the lawns, were grateful to those who have watched the passing of one great estate after another as dwellings are pressing closer together and the shops are crowding the choice residential sections of an older day. During the lifetime of Mr. Rotch the house once more figured prominently in the social life of the city. Upon the death of Mr. Rotch’s widow, several years ago, the lights of the mansion went out once more, and it was feared the place would share the fate of other great estates which once distinguished the city. The family was interested to preserve the landmark and made favorable concessions which made possible the acquisition of the house and a part of the extensive grounds by the Wamsutta Club which is altering the mansions radically for clubhouse purposes.

Rotch’s architect Edward Delano Lindsey deserves better than Pease’s conventional views of late nineteenth century architecture. By 1870 when Rotch choose him, Lindsey had already established his architectural career and style. He had worked in Richard Morris Hunt’s firm and in 1867 designed the Chapel for the A.J. Davis/Russell Warren Unitarian Church. According to *The First Congregational Society in New Bedford, Massachusetts: Its History as Illustrative of Ecclesiastical Evolution*, by William James Potter, 1889, Printed and Published for the Society “The whole cost of the Chapel was \$7,841.13. The cost of renovation and of certain alterations in the interior of the church at the same time was \$1,237.65. These expenses, together with the furnishing of the chapel by the ladies of the Society, were nearly met by a very general subscription, ranging from \$1.00 to \$1000. The whole amount subscribed was \$9,623.”

The chapel was demolished when the society built their current Parish House. Existing photographs, however, detail a granite Gothic structure fitting the church’s original Davis design.

Lindsey’s Newport work is detailed and illstrated in *Buildings on Paper Rhode Island Architectural Drawings 1825 – 1945*, William H. Jordy, Chirstopher P. Monkhouse with Contributors, Bell Gallery, List Art Center, Brown University, the Rhode Art, Rhode Island

Historical Society, Museum of Art Rhode Island School of Design, 1982 (also went to MET) pp: 221-222

The catalogue notes:

Edward Delano Lindsey (March 30, 1841 – April 30, 1915)

Born in New Bedford, Lindsey was educated at Harvard, where he graduated in 1862. At about this time Richard Morris Hunt hired him and Maurice Fornachon to serve as draftsmen in his office, where they worked on the designs for the J. N. A. Griswold house in Newport. Hunt's training at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris seems to have inspired Lindsey to follow in his footsteps. He was enrolled in the Ecole from December 1863 to February 1875 and Henry Hobson Richardson used his influence to get Lindsey admitted to the atelier of Monsieur Andre, where he also was a student.

Upon Lindsey's return to America, he worked briefly for N. J. Bradlee of Boston before going to New York City, where he was in independent practice from 1866 to 1876. In 1868 he designed the French Theatre and the Drexel Building, both of which had the distinction of being among the first fireproof buildings in New York. In 1871 he designed a Newport cottage for Prof. Charles F. Chandler, but it was not executed. While working in 1875 – 1876 on the renovation and redecoration of the Equitable Life Insurance Building in Manhattan, he was noticed by some of the insurance company officers who arranged for him to be hired in the autumn of 1876 to fill the newly created Chair of Architecture and Applied Arts in the School of Science at Princeton University. While at Princeton he also looked after buildings and grounds: his 1880 designs for Edward Hall, a four-story pile with mansard roof, are still preserved in the university archives. In either 1880 or 1881, after suffering from typhoid fever and overwork, Lindsey left Princeton and resumed his architectural practice in New York. He designed a house for William H. Fogg (1888) on the corner of 67th Street and Fifth Avenue, along with large mercantile structures, such as the Consolidated Exchange on Broadway near Trinity Church, and the American Lithograph Building. C.P.M. Ref: Obit American Art Annual, 12 (1915), P:260. Francis, *Architects in New York City*, Harvard Class Reports (1880, 1882, 1912) Baker, Hunt. Withey. Information from Richard Chafee.

Castles on the Hudson from the Winterthur Portfolio creates Lindsey with additions to one of the great Hudson River Gothic homes.

JSTOR Winterthur Portfolio *Castles on the Hudson*, John Zukowsky

“Strawberry Hill (figure 4) in Irvington, New York, the first chateau to be built (ca. 1855) stands today much as it did 100 years ago, with the exceptions of a replacement balustrade at ground level and the removal of some iron detailing from the chimneys and gables. Little is known about John Thomas, the first owner, except that he was supposedly killed by lightning. The second occupant, banker John E. Williams, enlarged the house in the early 1870’s. The extent of these alterations is not known, **but it is probable that Edward Delano Lindsey was the architect.** Williams was an Englishman, and local legend has it that Horace Walpole’s ‘Gothick’ home of the same name in Twickenham, England, prompted the Irvington banker to remodel his villa on the same lines. Whether or not we believe this, in 1879 Martha Lamb assessed its qualities as Elizabeth, Gothic, and Swiss, with a touch of the ‘peaked turrets of Normandy’ as well Footnote 11 Yet the curved roofs, square tower wing, and granite construction also indicate a correspondence to Downing’s concept of a Rhenish villa.”

Note 11 Lamb, *Homes of America*, pp: 154-56. Data on Strawberry Hill are synthesized from Lamb as well as from J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Westchester County, New York*, 2 volumes (Philadelphia: Preston, 1886), 2:271, illustration facing p:189, **Lindsey’s ink and watercolor presentation plans are in the Hudson River Museum, Yonkers, N.Y. See also Henry F. and Elsie Rathburn Withey, Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased) (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1956). P:373**

As a son of Harvard, Lindsey’s obituary appeared in *The Harvard Graduates’ Magazine*

William Roscoe Thayer, William Richards Castle, Mark Antony De Wolfe Howe, Bernard Augustine De Voto , Published by Harvard Graduates' Magazine Association, 1915, Item notes: v.23 (1914/1915) Original from Harvard University Digitized Jul 2, 2008

Edward Delano Lindsey died at his home in Flushing, L.I., N.Y., April 80, 1915, after a lingering illness. He was the son of Henry and Susan Maxfield Lindsey, and was born in New Bedford, March 30, 1841. After graduation, he studied for three years at the School of Fine Arts at Paris, was in an architect's office in Boston for two years more, and in 1867 began the practice of his profession in New York. He early interested himself in the construction of fire-proof buildings, and was the architect of several theatres and mercantile buildings, including the Drexel Building, the Consolidated Exchange, and the French Theatre. In 1876 he was appointed professor of architecture and applied art at Princeton University. In 1880, however, he was obliged by ill health to resign his professorship: he returned to the practice of his profession in New York, where he became an architect of several theatres and other large buildings, as well as of numerous dwelling houses both in city and country; besides giving occasional lectures on art and archaeology. Of late years, however, his declining health has prevented him from doing much useful work. Lindsey married, in June, 1869, Cornelia Howland Swift, of New Bedford. Mrs. Lindsey, and their daughter, Mrs. E. L. Harrison, are still living. 1863.

As detailed in the architectural section of this nomination, the Wamsutta Club purchased the Arnold Mansion from the Rotch Estate and is the current owner of the house.

The Wamsutta Club was officially established in 1866 as a social club centered on the member's passion for baseball or "rounders" or the "New York game." Even today although the Club no longer has a baseball team, it still treasures its glorious record of wins

Gradually the Club became more of a gentleman's club patterned on those in Boston and New York. The first club house was in the "Old Ricketson" Block on Purchase Street in downtown New Bedford from 1866 - 1880. The site is now the University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth's College of Visual & Performing Art. They then moved to the "Old Masonic Building" on the corner of Pleasant & Union Streets from 1880 - 1890. From 1890 until 1925 the

club was across the Street from the Rotch Estate in the Perry House at 435 County Street on the corner of Union and County Streets.

In 1920 the Club's Executive Committee received permission from the Rotch Estate to have measured drawings prepared of the existing house and began serious discussions to determine the feasibility of the Club purchasing the house. The members of the Club were concerned that the Arnold-Rotch Estate be preserved if at all possible and secondly the Club needed a more spacious home. Copies of the plans were given to three New Bedford architects who each proposed a scenario for conversion of the "Rotch Place" to the "Wamsutta Club."

After a local competition failed to produce a design Club Members approved, architect Arthur H. Bowditch of Boston was selected for the conversion. The Club achieve contains full documentation of the entire project. By January 27, 1925, the Club project was close enough to being completed for an opening to be scheduled, although final installation of furniture and finish work would continue thorough out the rest of the year.

"Voted that the whole Executive Committee in conjunction with the House Committee be a committee to arrange for a formal opening of the Club House."

"Voted that the Club defray all expenses of the formal opening."

Although the formal opening of the Club was scheduled for later in the month, by January 31st, staff and members had officially moved in.

February 4, 1925 – Raeburn to Bowditch

"You will be glad to know that the clubhouse was opened on Saturday, January 31st. I think the members are exceedingly pleased with the arrangements and facilities afforded. Of course, we are nowhere near settled but we expect to have a formal opening later on in the month, probably on Monday, the 23rd, when we will hold 'open house'.

We will let you know later when things are definitely settled and we all hope you will find it possible to be with us."

On February 11, 1925 members received their invitation to the Wamsutta Club's opening in

its new home

Official Invitation Card on buff Card Stock – Club archives

Wamsutta Club

New Bedford

The Wamsutta Club will keep open house for members and their guests from 3:00 P.M. until 5:00 P.M. on Monday, February 23rd, 1925, for the inspection of the new clubhouse.

In the evening there will be music and dancing from 8:00 P.M. to midnight for members and their immediate families and buffet refreshments will be served, after 10:00 P.M.

No meals will be served in any of the dining rooms after 2:30 in the afternoon of that day.

Members should notify the superintendent on or before Friday the 20th whether they will be present at the evening entertainment.

Just prior to the official opening, reporters from the *Morning Mercury* were allowed to tour the Wamsutta Club and photograph many of the rooms. Each area of the club was carefully described. Their report ran on Friday, January 30, 1925.

Photographs were taken of: The Women's Lounge – Men's Lounge – Men's Private Dining Room with Men's Main Dining Room on the Right – Women's Dining Room

“On Saturday of this week the same club, for the past score of years a social institution frequented by the city's leading business and professional men will open its new home on the south-west corner of County and Union Streets, probably the most spacious and clubby in this section of the state.”

The reporter carefully noted, “...the new club retains many of the old features of the remodeled James Arnold Mansion.”

“Plans for the new building which combines the original Arnold Mansion with the addition of two wings were drawn by Arthur H. Bowditch of Boston....”

“The effect produced by the red tapestry brick, buff trimmings and green blinds carries out a type common in many of the famous country clubs of America.”

Re - Main lobby “which is furnished in black walnut, a greater part of which was used in the original building.”

“In both the library and main lobby are two handsome relics of the beautiful Arnold home. Two carved marble fireplaces grace these two rooms, the most prominent being the large one at the south side of the lobby. Straight ahead is the stairway – slightly changed from the original location but with the same black walnut balustrade retained. These stairs lead to the second floor where there are several private dining rooms and card rooms and to the third floor occupied by ten chambers.”

Each room was briefly described.

First floor south – Men’s lounge, billiard room, main dining room and sun room The lounge was called “a ‘comfy’ and decidedly clubby room is furnished in Windsor effect, the chairs being almost entirely of that design” Next west was the billiard hall

The sunroom was on the southwest corner of the main floor adjoining the dining room. The furniture was described as steel gray willow furniture with cushions in cretonne pattern. The Mercury reporter pointed out that it was bright, cheerful and appealing to women

Re: Women’s dining room “White panels serve to break up a tropical scene, in which the most vivid colors are used in excellent taste.”

This paper chosen by Irving & Casson was an important wood block printed-paper, Isola Bella. (See Photographs #30 A & B, #31) Although removed during successive re-decoration, it has been documented in the Ladies Dining Room by inventory and photographs. It is still being manufactured in Paris and if possible may be ordered and re-installed.

“Throughout the club there are several of the full length mirrors originally installed by the first owner. One of the most handsome of these is a large one in the ladies lounge room reaching from the high ceiling nearly to the floor.”

The basement contained the private Men’s only Grill, 4 bowling alleys, adjacent showers and a spiral staircase leading up to the squash courts. A second floor gallery allowed guests to watch the games

The second floor had 4 private dining rooms. One directly above the women’s first floor dining room was “being finished as a Japanese room.”

The third floor had 10 rooms for guests.

“For the lover of the antique, four of these rooms are gems. With the exception of the installation of modern plumbing and showers, they have been left practically as they were originally. The room are finished in light ash with mahogany strips and moldings a favorite

finish fifty years ago. These four rooms especially command a view of County Street from windows that still carry the quaint blind shutters that fold back into the wall.”

The New Bedford of 1925 was very different from the city of 2008. In 1925 the City was a far wealthier, more stable place.

Income from a myriad of textile mills for the most part locally controlled and a vast array of other local industries and businesses created a society that could afford the Wamsutta Club’s new home. It was the center of New Bedford’s social and business life. Guests from across the United States and Europe were entertained at the Club for lunch or dinner. The Club was second home for its members and a source of pride for the entire city. Therefore cost over-runs were worth every dollar. They created a remarkable institution.

July 20, 1925

Arthur H. Bowditch to Andrew Raeburn, Esq., Room 27, Masonic Building, New Bedford, Mass.

Dear Mr. Raeburn –

I received in this morning’s mail a check from the Wamsutta Club for \$3,500 which is the amount due me in full settlement for my architectural services. No receipt was asked for but I am writing you this to acknowledge the same and to thank you for looking after this for me.

I assume it may be sometime before I come to New Bedford again but I am going to ask you if you will extend my thanks to all of the good fellows that I met in connection with this work – Mr. Wheaton, Mr. Bourne, Mr. Herring, and all of the others.

I really think you have gotten a good job there and if you and the other members of the Committee have enjoyed the work one-half as much as I have I shall count it a great success. If anything further comes up that needs my attention either in regard to the Keith Estate or any other matters, do not hesitate to let me know and I will do my best to assist.

With kindest regards to yourself and all others, I am.

Sincerely yours,

A.H. Bowditch

Since opening in 1925, the structure of the Wamsutta Club has not altered in any substantial way. There have been redecorations of rooms most recently in 1969 and 1988. Individual rooms have altered uses. The first floor billiard room became a bar. The barbershop closed.

Card rooms on the second floor became bedroom studio units. There have been systems updates. The Club, however, is substantially as it was after the Arthur H. Bowditch re-design of the “Rotch Place.”

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Photograph List

Note additional Landmark nomination photographs will be taken by John Robson. Mr. Robson previously photographed the William J. Rotch Gothic Cottage for its Historic Landmark nomination

1. *James Arnold*, Sketch by Narcisse Othan, Paris, 1837, Collection of Harvard University, The Arnold Arboretum
2. *Mary Brown*, Portrait, Collection Brown University
3. *James Arnold and His Family*, Robert Scott Lauder, Rome 1837, Oil on canvas, 42 3/4" x 32 7/8" 1958 Gift of Arthur Rotch to Harvard Collection of Harvard University
4. James and Sarah Arnold's First Home, Southeast corner Water & Madison (Brick Lane) Streets, circa 1880's, Collection of Old Dartmouth Historical Society
5. The James Arnold Mansion - Scanned Reproduction of Painting from The Rotches, John M. Bullard, circa 1860 – Artist, Calvin Edson Bacon, Employee of James Arnold

6. The Andrew Robeson House, 1821, Federal mansion exact contemporary of Arnold Mansion, Originally located on North Second Street, New Bedford, Moved 1978, Collection of Old Dartmouth Historical Society
7. The Benjamin Rodman Mansion, 1821, Federal mansion exact contemporary of Arnold Mansion, North Second Street, photographs circa 1870, Collection of Old Dartmouth Historical Society
8. The Levi Standish House, South Sixth Street, 1825, Near contemporary of Arnold Mansion. Treatment of second floor, center window roughly similar, circa 1950, Collection of Old Dartmouth Historical Society
9. The John Brown House, 20 Power Street, Providence, Rhode Island, 1786-88, Arnold would have been familiar with this house growing up in Providence. Google Image.
10. Interior Abraham Russell Dining Room, c.1820, watercolor, Joseph Shoemaker Russell, Collection of Old Dartmouth Historical Society
11. Interior Abraham Russell Parlor, c.1820, watercolor, Joseph Shoemaker Russell, Collection of Old Dartmouth Historical Society
12. William J. Rotch and His Family, 19 Irving Street, National Historic Landmark Architect, A.J. Davis, 1846 - Scanned Reproduction of Photograph from *The Rotches*, John M. Bullard,
13. Residence of William J. Rotch scanned from *New Bedford Massachusetts – Its History, Industries, Institutions, And Attractions* New Bedford Board of Trade Publication, Published by the Board of Trade, 1889
14. William J. Rotch Residence, East façade of house facing County Street, c. 1880's, Collection of Old Dartmouth Historical Society
15. William J. Rotch Residence, South façade of house - Note brick has been painted and stuccoed, c. 1880's, Collection of Old Dartmouth Historical Society

16. William J. Rotch Residence, South façade of house - Note brick has been painted and stuccoed, Cupola is in place, Windows have been changed to large pane 2/2, c. 1880's, Collection of Old Dartmouth Historical Society
17. Mary Russell Rotch, c.1880, Collection the Old Dartmouth Historical Society
18. City of New Bedford Plan Showing New Location Wamsutta Club
19. Wamsutta Club First Floor Plan – Arthur H. Bowditch – Architect Boston – 1922
20. Wamsutta Club Second Floor Plan – Arthur H. Bowditch – Architect Boston – 1922
21. Wamsutta Club Third Floor Plan – Arthur H. Bowditch – Architect Boston – 1922
22. Wamsutta Club Basement Floor Plan – Arthur H. Bowditch – Architect Boston – 1922
23. A & B, Details of Repeat *Isola Bella* wallpaper, originally installed Ladies Dining Room, The Wamsutta Club
24. Detail *Isola Bella* wallpaper

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.

Previously Listed in the National Register.

Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.

Designated a National Historic Landmark.

Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #

Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

State Historic Preservation Office

Other State Agency
Federal Agency
Local Government
University
Other (Specify Repository):

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: approximately 1 acre

UTM References: **Zone Easting Northing**

Verbal Boundary Description:

Boundary Justification:

11. FORM PREPARED BY

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