THE INGALLS FAMILY

IN

ENGLAND AND AMERICA

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BY
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In
Commemoration of the 300th
anniversary of the settlement of Lynn, Mass.,
by Edmund and Francis
Ingalls

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PREFACE

THE genealogy of the Ingalls family in America, or rather the genealogy of the descendants of Edmund Ingalls, has been compiled by Dr. Charles Burleigh (published in 1903). His was an experienced hand and he performed this work in a painstaking way. In it there are errors, as in such an effort there is bound to be, but they are not so numerous as to induce a general revision of his work.

The purpose of my present work is to be historical, reviewing what our forefathers did, how they lived, and how they migrated, and with that in mind I have abstained from entering into the genealogical except in respect of a few lines or into the biographical except in respect of our immigrant ancestor and his brother and his sons.

However, I have been necessarily genealogical in making three important corrections, or perhaps I should say contradictions, of Dr. Burleigh's work. I show (1) that contemporaneous with Edmund and Francis Ingalls there were other male adults of the name residing in Boston, from whom there are present descendants; (2) that the Ingalls family of Charlestown did not descend from Robert [3] Robert [2], who probably had no male posterity; and (3) that the Rehoboth branch of our family probably descended from John [3] Robert [2] and not from John [2] Edmund [1], inasmuch as the former is known to have removed from Lynn to Rehoboth, while there is no evidence that the latter did so.

In referring to individuals in my text I have adopted the system indicated in the paragraph immediately hereinbefore,

the superior figures representing the generation counting from Edmund [1] and the succession of names showing ancestry, e.g. Robert [3] Robert [2] means Robert, who was the son of Robert who was the son of Edmund.

A principal part of my study is with reference to the lands and houses of the family in Lynn and Andover. In this I have obtained some help from men older than I am, but such memories seldom have gone back more than 70 years, while my own memory of things in Lynn 50 years ago is clear and generally superior. However, while memory may improve the perspective, the writing of the history of a family like that of a nation is done truly only by reference to documentary records and by personal examination of them. I feel that much of what I have put into this history of the Ingalls family would have been lost if I had not collected it and made it of record in this way.

My study has revealed some interesting things in respect of the tracing of the details of a family history. We may in general follow the history of a piece of land from the deeds of record, but we experience embarrassment when we find that there must have been transfers that were not recorded. The descent of property by will or by deed of gift is followed quite simply when the inheritance is by one person, or when several heirs subsequently convey their interests to a single person, but when the division is made by will the areas and boundaries are seldom described in any but the most general terms, and commonly not even so. My text in respect of the Ingalls family will illustrate how the searcher of titles must inevitably run into many blind alleys.

The tracing of the history of a house is even more difficult. It is rare that any New England house has an authentic inscription or a documentary record. We are therefore in

general reduced to inference and tradition; the former may be more reliable than the latter. Unfortunately we have now passed beyond the time of the survival of tradition, or nearly have passed it. The historian is bound to experience repeatedly the feeling that his inquiries might have been answered by some old man who died 50 years ago, whose descendants never asked the questions that they might have done.

I am conscious of my own derelictions in not conversing 50 years ago with men of the family who were then old; in not seeing to it that the family documents, then extending back through 200 years, were preserved; in failing to make a careful record of the old homestead of Nathaniel Ingalls, which as a boy I used to pass almost daily; and in short neglecting to do many things.

In writing this history of the Ingalls family I have touched lightly upon numerous political, economic and legal conditions. In the formal histories it is rather obscured that the beginning of the colonization of Massachusetts Bay was of commercial inspiration and that many of our forefathers came hither primarily to better themselves rather than to obtain religious freedom. I like to think of them in that way. It is not without interest, therefore, to review how fared an inconspicuous family, which is doubtless typical of many others.

WALTER RENTON INGALLS.

INGALDSBY
BOXFORD
MASSACHUSETTS
Dec. 31, 1929.

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I

ORIGIN OF THE NAME

THE Ingalls family, which has lived in America for 300 years, is of Anglo-Danish origin, Edmund Ingalls, its American progenitor, having come from Lincolnshire, where of all the counties of England the consequences of the Danish conquest in the latter part of the ninth century are most strongly marked. The language of those invaders was Old Norse and it is from Ingjvaldr = Ingjaldr in that language that we get our present name. Ing was an eponymous hero of great fame, and valdr means keeper or guard. Consequently Ingevaldr means Ing-guard. Precisely analogous names were Har-aldr, Arn-aldr, and Thor-aldr, whence Harold, Arnold and Thorold. Other names were derived from the same root, with a different suffix. Thus, Ing-ulfr, meaning Ing-wolf. As Ingjaldr became Ingold, so did Ingulfr become Ingolf. The last was the name of the first settler of Iceland, who was contemporaneous with the Danish invaders of England. Two centuries later the names Ingald, Ingold, and Ingolf appear in those forms in Domesday Book.

These were personal names and were commonly used. Referring to place names in Lincolnshire, Ingoldsby means the place where Ingold lived, Ingoldsmells means Ingold's sand dunes, and Ingoldsthorpe (in Norfolk) means Ingold's village. Those place names and some others evince the existence among the Danish conquerors of captains of this name, but it does not follow that they were members of

the same family, or progenitors of any existing family of the name. There is no present means of identifying families at that time, for family names did not then exist.

Lineage could then be traced only in respect of a few very important persons, as to whom records were preserved in sagas and otherwise. Thus Ingolf, the viking who first settled in Iceland, in 877, was Ingolf Arnarson. Ingolf had a son Thorstein, who set up the Thing, and his son was Thorkell Moon, the Law-Speaker, and his son was Thormond, who held the supreme priesthood when Christianity was first brought to Iceland. This is a digression, but it illustrates the nature of Old Norse personal nomenclature up to 1080 in the Danelagh, as well as elsewhere, and probably for a century later. Unfortunately the Danes in England were not given to writings and this period of English history, more than two centuries, is a blank.

Two hundred years after the invasion of Ingvar and Ubba, about the time of the Norman Conquest, the name Ingjaldr had changed from that Old Norse form to the simpler Ingald and Ingold. The difference means nothing, for the a in this combination approaches o in its sounding and the d is silent. Consequently the transition to the modern Ingal and Ingol was natural. The doubling of the l followed old English custom. How we in America acquired the final s, which has not been used so generally in England, I am unable to explain. Etymylogically it does not seem to belong and I doubt if our immigrant ancestors brought it from England. Ingall and Ingold still occur as family names in England and some of the persons who bear them are probably descended from the same stock that we are, but those names are now rather sparse in England.

In the paragraph immediately preceding I have been guarded, for it is certain that some persons bearing the

name Ingold in England at the present time trace back through a family originating in Switzerland and emigrating to England in the seventeenth century. This is not perplexing inasmuch as we know that the same Scandinavian root appears in Flemish and German family names, e. g. Inghels (Flemish) and Ingoldt (German), and in Ingolstadt, a city in Germany.

The use of surnames did not begin in England until about the advent of the thirteenth century, and it was a century or more after that before they became common. In the absence of surnames it is manifestly impossible to trace ancestries any further back except in the relatively few instances where families were associated with landed estates.

The variation in the spelling of the name in documents of 300 years ago and even more recently is of no significance other than that clerks wrote it down as it sounded to them and bearers of the name were equally careless. The same person would often write his name in several ways. This was a common failing in respect of many family names.

In English records the following forms appear:

Ingold	Ingalds	Ingolls	Ingals	Ingles
Ingald	Ingoll	Ingols	Ingyll	Ingholls
Ingholde	Ingol	Ingole	Ingle	Ingal

In American records we get nearly all of the above, and also

Ingollds	Ingels	Ingills	Engols	
Ingulls	Ingells	Engal	Engolls	Ingoles
Inguls	Ingill	Engalls	Ingell	Ingolles

Ingalds is probably the truest form. The other variations were merely fantastic or illiterate. We may marvel only at the ingenuity of representing the same sound in so many ways. Our pronunciation of our name with the final s is, and always has been, Ingolz. This is very close to the pronunciation of another English family name, viz., Inglis = Ing'lz, which is of quite different origin.

II

ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY

THE first record of Ingalls as a family name in Lincolnshire that I have been able to find occurred in 1384. The first of our own ancestry of whom we know was Henry Ingalls of Skirbeck, probably the great-grandfather of Edmund, who died in 1555 and probably was born about 1505. There are some good reasons for the inference that the family was in existence with the identification of its surname for at least two centuries previous to the latter date, and was living in the fenland in the vicinity of Boston.

Skirbeck is a village adjoining Boston, downstream on the river Witham, but Boston is in the hundred of Skirbeck, in the riding of Holland, in the county of Lincoln. At the time when Edmund Ingalls was living in Skirbeck, the village, there were other families of the name residing in Boston and the near-by villages of Kirton and Heckington, and in other places further away, some of whom can be definitely connected and many of whom probably were, more or less remotely. We may imagine a family multiplying and scattering, just as the descendants of Edmund Ingalls did to Ipswich, Andover, Marblehead, and Rehoboth. It appears however, that the multiplication was not so rapid in England previous to the emigration as it was subsequently in New England, the reason for which clearly was unfavorable economic conditions on the one hand and favorable on the other. The same reason answers the question why the family has not increased more in England during the last 300 years.

ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH.

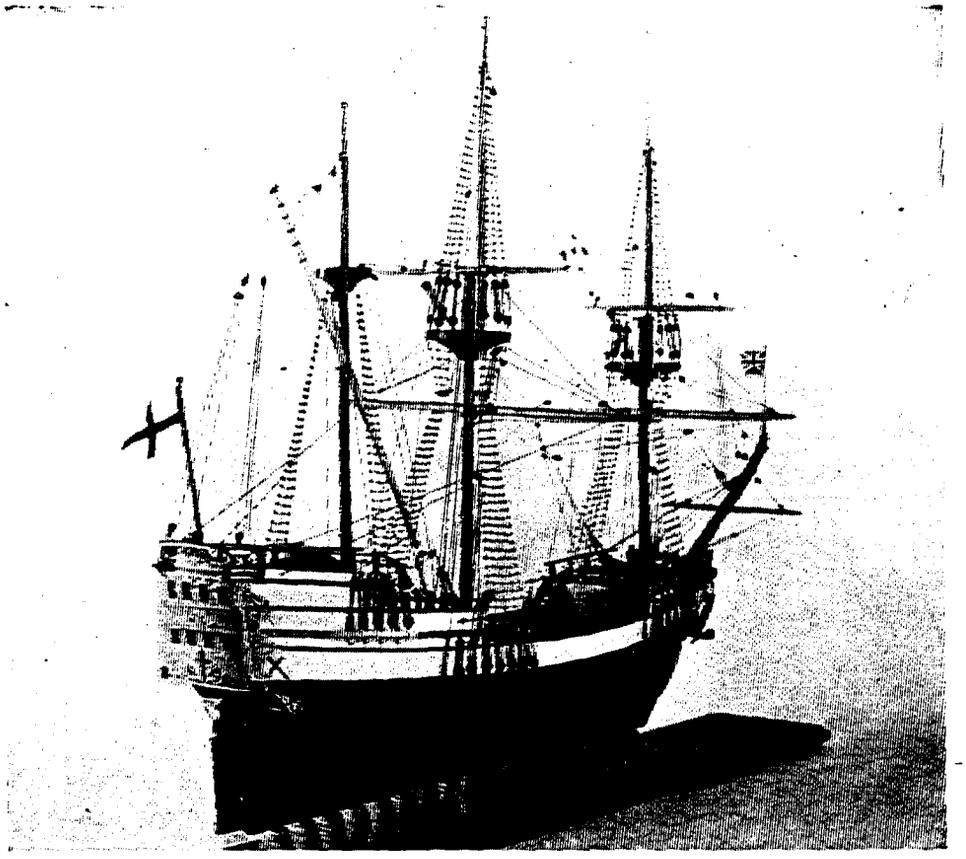
St. Nicholas Church at Skirbeck dates from about 1180, the tower having been added about 1450. It is situated right on the bank of the Witham and was damaged by the high tide of 1571 and repaired in 1598. Edmund and Francis Ingalls may be imagined attending this church, with which anyway they must have been familiar.

The tracing of families in England is difficult in that births, deaths and marriages were recorded only in the parish registers, and those do not go very far back. There are some parishes in Lincolnshire that have a few entries in the latter part of the sixteenth century, but they did not become numerous until the early part of the seventeenth, and the records of Skirbeck begin only with 1662. An elderly gentleman, Mr. John J. Ingold,-and his sister who live in Kirton (close to Skirbeck) are the only representatives of our name in this district at the present time, but they do not come from our stock, but rather from the Swiss family to which I have previously referred. The name of Ingall is remembered as having been in existence in this district about 70 years ago, but since then it has disappeared as an indigenous name, just as it has disappeared from Andover and Rehoboth in this country.

We do not know the date of birth of Edmund Ingalls, but his younger brother Francis was born in 1601, and he himself was executor of his father's will in 1617 and was married previous to 1621, wherefore his own birth may have been about 1595. His father, who was Robert and described himself as a yeoman, died in 1617, whereupon Edmund as the oldest son, succeeded to the farm as then was the custom. Probably he married soon afterward. Of his wife we know only that her name was Ann. Previous to the emigration she bore him five children.

We can do no more than conjecture the status of Edmund Ingalls and his immediate progenitors in England. They described themselves as yeomen and they owned some land, which probably they tilled, the eldest son inheriting and the younger sons entering into trades. Edmund Ingalls after he had been in Massachusetts for 20 years still retained a three-acre parcel of land in England, which he mentioned in his will. His ancestors for several generations at least had been well-to-do for the time. They kept a servant or two and they were of sufficient importance to make wills, and modest bequests to collateral relatives, and even a little to the poor. This being their position it would be of the greatest interest if we could know the motives of Edmund and Francis Ingalls in emigrating to Massachusetts. We can but infer that they thought they could improve their welfare, wanted to do so, and were bold enough to enter upon what must have been a great adventure.

The colonization of Massachusetts was only partly of religious inspiration. It was largely commercial and largely appealing to men who desired more freedom and especially more opportunity. Indeed it must have been similar to our colonization of the West following the Civil war. A com-



THE TYPE OF SHIPS IN WHICH THE PURITANS CAME.
Photographed from a model built by Professor James R. Jack.

pany had obtained a grant of a strip of the sea-coast and its hinterland indefinitely. It wanted to get settlers upon the land in order to develop trade. It offered to assist them in getting there and to them it promised 10 acres of land. To those who could pay their own way it agreed to allow 50 acres. Edmund and Francis Ingalls were evidently of the latter class, inasmuch as when the allotments of land were finally made they jointly received 120 acres. In this company the Countess of Lincoln and her daughters and sons-in-law were greatly interested. One of these daughters had a residence in Boston. We may discern in this a reason why so many men from that district, including Edmund

and Francis Ingalls, were led to enter into the emigration. The majority of the first party came, however, from Dorsetshire, in the southwest of England, while Lincolnshire is in the northeast. This is rather significant. The headquarters of the proprietary company were at Dorchester, but the Clinton family, whose head was the Earl of Lincoln, was seated in Lincolnshire.

No ships sailed directly to Massachusetts from Boston or other ports on the North Sea and we are bound to imagine Edmund and Francis Ingalls, along with others from the fenland, proceeding by sea half way around England in order to join the ship sailing for New England. What an undertaking this must have been! Edmund and Anne with five young children, the oldest but seven years. Probably along with them Ann Skipper, an old family servant. Francis and Mary, with perhaps a young daughter. All the household goods and farming utensils that they could carry with them, for they were obviously going with the intention of remaining and not merely upon a reconnaissance. At least, this is how we may imagine the adventure. We have no proof that it was just so that they acted, and no proof that Edmund and Francis did not come first, causing their families to follow, but considering ages and other circumstances that does not seem probable.

Nor do we know positively in what ship they came. We think that they came with Endicott and a party of about 100 in the "Abigail," which sailed from Weymouth and arrived at Salem, Sept. 6, 1628, after a voyage of 11 weeks. The passenger list of the "Abigail" has not been discovered. Our belief that Edmund and Francis Ingalls, with their families, came in that ship is based on the fact that no other ship arrived from England until June 30, 1629, and Alonzo Lewis, the historian of Lynn, refers to manuscripts showing

that Edmund and Francis settled in Saugus (Lynn) as early as the first of June.*

Arriving at their destination at the very end of summer the Abigail's company had but little time in which to make preparations for the winter and their hardships speedily became great. Exposed to the winter of a severe and untried climate they suffered from poor feeding and poor housing, so that many fell sick and there remained well persons scarcely enough to take care of them. They were destitute of medical assistance and many of them died. Besides their physical sufferings during this winter they lived in fear of the Indians, with whom they were not yet familiar. Rev. Thomas Cobbet tells us that "About the yeare 1628; when those few that came out with Collonel Indecot, and began to settle at Naumkeick, now called Salem; and in a manner all so sick of the journey, that though they had both small and great guns, and powder and bullets for them, yet had not strength to manage them if suddenly put upon it, and tidings being certainly brought them of a Lord's day morning, that a thousand Indians from Sugust (now Lyn) were coming against them to cut them off they had much odoe amongst them all, to charge two or three of theyr great guns and traile them to a place of advantage where the Indians must pass to them, and there to shoot them off; when they heard by theyr noise they made in the woods, that the Indians drew neare, the noise of which great artillerie, to which the Indians were never wonted before, did occasionally (by the good hand of God) strike such dread into them, that by some lads, which lay as scouts in the woods they were heard to reiterate that confused outcrie, O Hobbomuck much Hoggery, and then fled confusedly back with all speed, when none pursued them."

* Alonzo Lewis published his history in 1829. He was an experienced and intelligent investigator and he had access to manuscripts that have since been lost.

Mr. Cobbet inscribed this tale in his narrative from hearsay long after the event and clearly exaggerated. From all other accounts the Indians who lived in Saugus were a peaceful lot and there was certainly no such number of them as 1000. However, it is not unlikely that the colonists, newly landed from the "Abigail" had a scare, perhaps from what was intended as a friendly visit, in more or less the way that Mr. Cobbet relates. His story is chiefly of interest in its illustration of the physical distress of the "Abigail's" company during the first fall and winter in Naumkeag.

Along with this some of them felt uncomfortable under the restrictions of Endicott, who considered himself responsible not only for the safety but also for the habits of his colonists, and evidently was self-willed and arbitrary, even temperamental. Edmund and Francis Ingalls, clearly did not relish his restrictions and considered it preferable to risk themselves and their families among the Indians, in spite of the scare related by Mr. Cobbet. So they applied to him "for a place to set themselves down in" and received from him "leave to go where they would." With that permission they moved to Saugus, where there was primeval forest save where the Indians had cleared small patches in which to plant their corn.

III

THE SETTLEMENT OF LYNN

EDMUND and Francis Ingalls, arriving in Lynn, were received kindly by the Indians, who were of the Pawtucket tribe, and the Indians gave them leave to dwell there and occupy what land they would. It may naturally be conjectured that there was some consideration in the way of gifts or bargaining in this arrangement with the Indians. However, these Indians were few and humble, having suffered severely during a recent war with a hostile tribe, the eastern Taratines, and from disease. The Indian chief of Saugus was Montowampete, a younger son of the great Nanepashemet, and he lived with his tribe on the southern slope of a hill, known later as Windmill hill, and later still as Sagamore hill. How Edmund and Francis sought this place and proceeded to it we may conjecture. It is only a few miles from Salem. They may have followed an Indian trail through the woods or they may have coasted around by boat and landed on the beach, perhaps at Deer Cove.

Anyhow, Edmund chose for his dwelling "a fayre plain" beside a sedgy pond, which became known as Ingalls pond and so appears on the maps of only 50 years ago, but is now called Goldfish pond.* The site of the house that Edmund

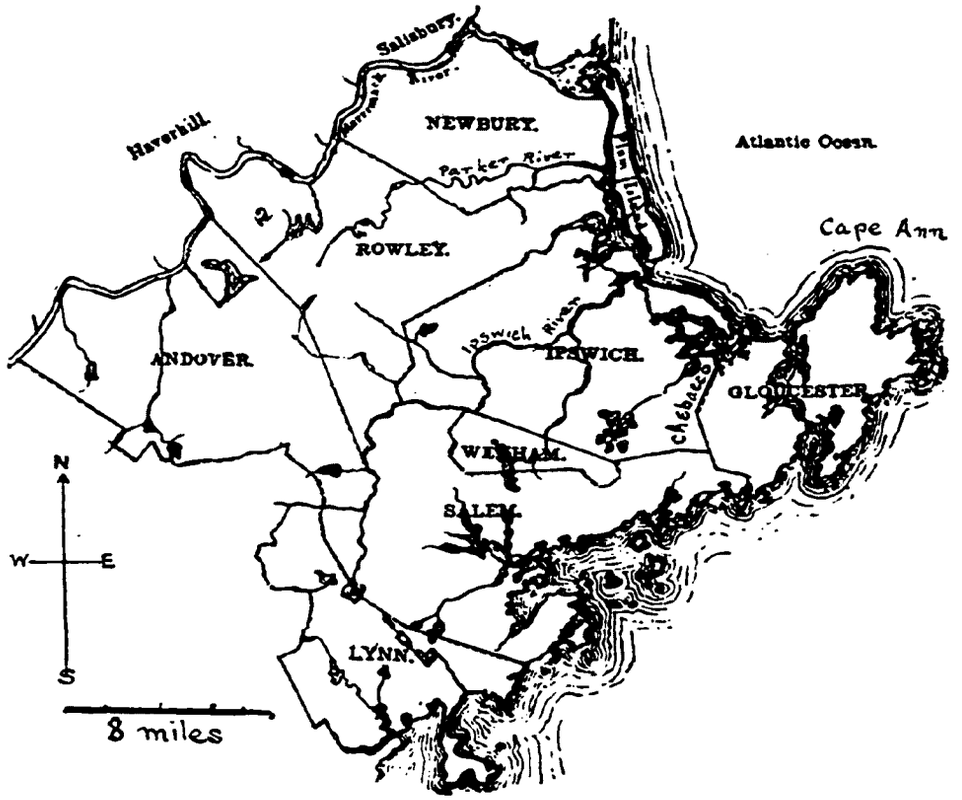
* Mr. Stetson put goldfish in a pond on his estate in Swampscott. Some boys captured some of them and put them in Ingalls Pond, to which they then began to refer as the goldfish pond, whence the present name. I do not believe there was any official renaming. Collins Swamp, a little to the north, which appears as such on a map of 1852, became Silver Lake, which is purely fanciful, while for Goldfish pond there was at least a reason.

Ingalls built was between Nos. 33 and 43 of Bloomfield street at the present time. John Augustus Ingalls, who owned this part of the land and lived and died upon it, in plowing, while still a young man, uncovered ancient brick, which doubtless formed part of the house. This was perhaps about 1830. I have talked with other old men, who remember the ancient well, just south of the site of the house. The malt house that was built later was farther down the slope, near the pond.

There hangs in the museum of the Lynn Historical Society a painting which purports to be anno 1700 and to show the homestead of Edmund Ingalls. I think that this may be apochryphal. However, its representation of topography is correct and it may have been done by an artist who pictured the description of some old man who had seen the original. There is enough plausibility in this conjecture to justify me in offering an engraving from this painting.

I have been unable to trace the history of this painting. No one living within my memory has had any recollection of this house and its accompanying buildings. However, the tradition in respect of them is strong and Alonzo Lewis writing in 1829 refers to them and describes things substantially as shown in this picture. But surely it was not the first house built by Edmund Ingalls, which was rather a cabin of logs, cribbed up and plastered with clay, and thatched with straw and rushes laid upon poles, as was the manner of constructing primitive dwellings. The more comfortable house doubtless followed after he had become established. I conjecture, moreover, that this was subsequently the home of Robert Ingalls. To this I shall refer again when I describe the house of Nathaniel Ingalls further on.

Francis Ingalls in 1630 built a tannery on Humphrey's



THE EIGHT TOWNS OF ESSEX COUNTY IN 1643.

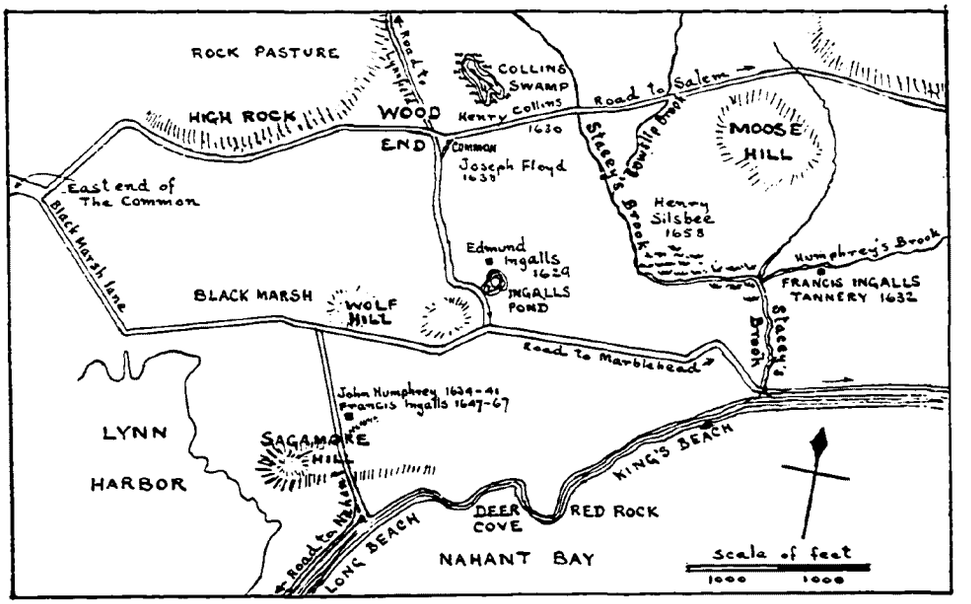
brook where it is crossed by Burrill street, in what is now Swampscott, and he is supposed also to have built a house and to have lived there. His vats existed until 1825, when Alonzo Lewis reports observing them. This tannery was a primitive affair, comprised in a building about 30 x 16 ft. Near to its ruins were the remains of an ancient brick kiln.

The natural thing was for Edmund and Francis, probably in company with other men and especially the Woods, to explore the country around Salem and when they found the place that they liked a habitation had to be erected, their families remaining in Salem in the meanwhile. Their friends came along to help put up the house. Among them was Zachariah Hart, who on this day did more labor, sweat more, ate and drank more and swore more than any other man. A diarist subsequently wrote that "there was discourse

much of hys skill and handiework and of hys godlie exhortations on ye ocacion. But it hath been given oute yt he did use manie prophane workds mch to ye scandall of those aboute. And upon hys being reprimanded therefore he did stoutlie denie ye same; whereat they greatlie wondered, there being so manie witnesses. But he further sayd yt if jt so seemed to them, he could say yt was onlie a wrong working of ye tongue, there being no evil speech in hys hearte."

Yet this must have been a fearsome time for these newcomers. Only a year later Obadiah Turner wrote in his journal that "some of us did go afar into ye wildernesse . . . And this did wee yt wee might discover what ye land and productions of this our heritage be. * * * As wee journied wee did sometimes see skulking about among ye trees what we conjectured to be Indjans or Devils. * * * But wee doe soon expect to have over from Nehumkeage a big ordnance whereby to defend ourselves from ye one, and some goodlie books and catechisms to fortifie against ye other. And God being on our side wee feare not what Indjans or Devils can doe."

The way to Salem even in 1631 was "harde to travell by reason of ye stumpes and rockes yt be in it." In Salem "they now have some bigge saws wherewith to make boardes," but the men in Lynn had to do as best they could with their axes, adzes and small saws, and "what few boardes wee can from time to time make out to haul hither." There were some cold winters and "ye famishing wolves howle piteouslie about our habitations in ye nighte." In the spring the settlers early set about the planting of "payr and appill trees" having in mind that "cyder is a good drink," and planting flax for spinning and weaving. Salt was got from sea water, being needed for the curing of fish, whereof many were caught. Thus may we picture the early life of Edmund and Francis Ingalls in America.



MAP OF EAST LYNN

The roads are shown as of the 17th century.

Nevertheless, the rapid multiplication of the families testifies to the relative ease of getting a living from the new land. This is not to imply that our ancestors were not required to work hard. During the first few years they experienced many hardships and always were they obliged to toil, sweating in summer and shivering in winter. The felling and hewing of trees and the handling of heavy timber in the erection of houses and barns; the pulling of stumps and the hauling of great stones in the clearing of land; the breaking up of the virgin turf with primitive plows; all of these tasks and others necessitated great muscular exertion and long days.

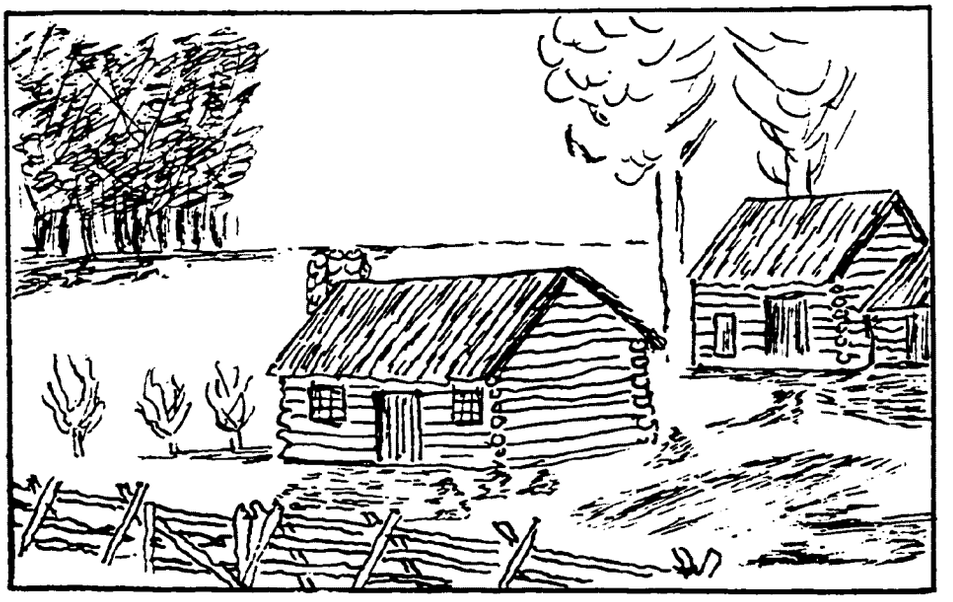
On the other hand, the soil was of unexhausted fertility, the pasturage was good, and the privilege of fishing was free. The forests furnished the chief material requisite for building and all needful fuel. The fields and the beaches, the brooks and the sea yielded plenty of food and of wide

variety, while from the forests and pastures game, nuts, sugar and berries were also to be had. The hides and skins of animals killed for food afforded leather. For the manufacture of clothing flax and wool were raised and were spun and woven in the homes. Thus, with the natural resources and the labor of strong arms the major things necessary for existence were at hand.

The great things that were missing were iron for tools, nails and utensils; ammunition; potteryware and cordage; but especially the metals. The production of iron did indeed begin at Saugus in 1639, but it was on only a small scale. Brick also was scarce in the early days, though soon it also began to be made locally, a brickyard being started in Lynn in 1630. However, there were for a long time many things of such natures that had to be imported.

Thus it will be perceived how a sturdy yeoman was able to get along in the new colony, bring up a large family and enjoy a good living without being able to accumulate any gold and silver. Such surplus of produce as there might be over the requirements for living was bound to find expression in the acquisition of land and cattle rather than in money. In fact money was so scarce in the colony that in 1637 the General Court ordered that wampumpeag be treated as currency and this use continued for more than 20 years thereafter.

As the children of the large families grew up their labor became available to their parents, the sons working in the fields and forests and the daughters in the home, cooking and sewing, spinning and weaving. It was therefore advantageous for a man to have a large family, inasmuch as he enjoyed some years of labor for the mere cost of supporting the boys and girls while they were little. Even after the boys attained manhood some of them would continue to live



AN EARLY HOME IN SAUGUS.

on the farm, assisting their father and looking forward to succeeding him, when he became too aged to work.

Out of this general description of early colonial economic conditions we may imagine the life of Edmund and Francis Ingalls, in no wise differing from that of the other pioneers in Saugus (Lynn) and the seven other towns of Essex County. In so far as there was any government, this part of Saugus was in the jurisdiction of Salem. I conceive that Edmund and Francis Ingalls and their companions, and also the settlers who came during the next few years, were what we should now call squatters. They had obtained leave from Endicott to settle where they would and had made arrangements with the Indians. Their immediate requirements for land were small, and indeed what they could clear and plough was limited. They probably did not attempt to lay out metes and bounds, but built their dwellings at considerable distances apart, so that their operations would not conflict. In 1638 official allotment of the lands was made by the town under authority of the Court. Just

how this allotment was arranged is not at all clear. I shall refer to the position of Edmund and Francis Ingalls in respect of it when I come to the description and history of their land.

IV

AN OAK THAT GREW FROM AN ACORN

EDMUND and Francis Ingalls have been to us heretofore but little more than names to which we have given scant attention beyond thinking of them as our progenitors. We have carelessly taken them for granted, without picturing them as pioneers half as much as we have the adventurers to our western frontier after the Revolution. We read the words of John Fiske telling us that the settlement of New England between 1629 and 1642 sifted out and shifted across the Atlantic the most virile stock of England and read them quite impersonally. This immigration was of a different nature from anything that ensued in the history of America.

The great migration of this pure and selected English stock, most largely East Anglian, began in 1630. Up to the middle of 1629, according to John Fiske, not more than 500 persons had come over. Among them were Edmund and Francis Ingalls, who had not only adventured over the ocean but also had left their companions and had struck out alone into the wilderness. If we try to imagine ourselves in their places we fear that we should be less strong and resourceful.

It remained for the tercentenary celebration of the founding of the Third Plantation to awaken in our minds reflections upon what kind of men they were, what they did and what they experienced. Quoting from an editorial in the *Daily Evening Item*, of Lynn, June 29, 1929:

Three hundred years ago this great city of homes and industries, commercial establishments schools and churches, was born in brotherly love and cooperative effort. For it, was two brothers, seeking a wider field than the earlier settlement of Salem afforded, who came here with their families to meet the conditions that then prevailed in a land where nature had wrought with lavish hand, but had hitherto been the habitat of true American Indians, some friendly and many hostile.

Edmund and Francis Ingalls came with the pioneering spirit. They well knew that they and their loved ones must suffer hardships. That they were not made the victims of savage treachery, is undoubtedly due to their regard for justice in all their dealings with their red brothers. They bartered with the Indians; were generous with them. Undoubtedly they overpaid them on many occasions. In any event, they won their confidence, gained their respect and held their esteem. That was the beginning of Lynn, three centuries ago.

But the two brothers did more than lead the way. One of them instituted the industry upon which was to be based that which made Lynn prosperous and famous. Commenting upon this a writer in the same issue of the *Daily Evening Item* remarks:

The fact that Francis Ingalls, when he became the first settler, close to Humphrey's brook (in Swampscott), there set up the first tannery in America, was a factor of no mean importance in giving Lynn an early start toward becoming one of the great shoe centers in the United States and later a center for the manufacture of women's shoes, famed throughout the world.

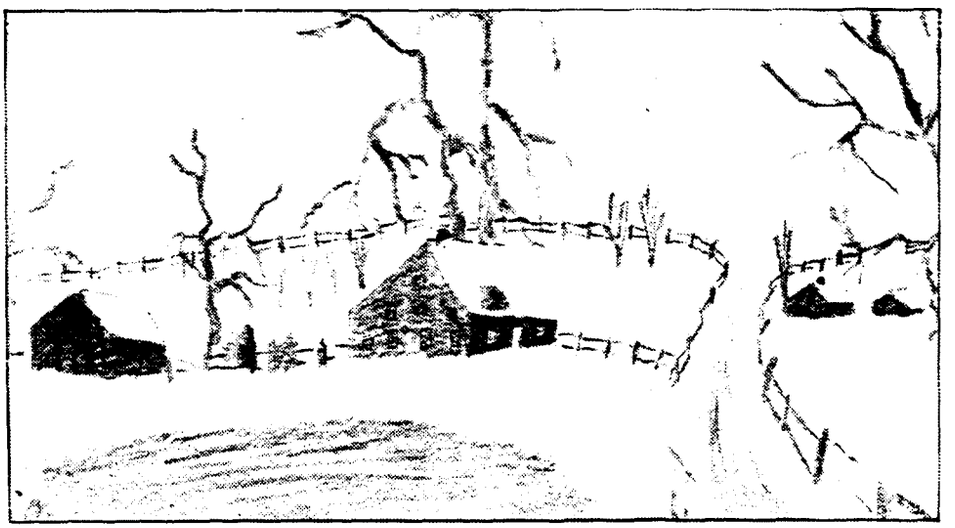
Ingalls' tannery situated close to a big oak forest, with an abundance of running water obtainable from Humphrey's brook, and with plenty of skins purchasable in that early day from the Indians for beads and other means of barter, became a flourishing industry, for the farmers needed leather for both clothes and footwear.

Shoemaking, though a primitive sort at first, was to these farmer-settlers as much a necessity as breadmaking. Each farmer settler at first, after a hard day's work, would sit at his bench and attempt with a few crude tools to make footwear for himself and household. Few had skill at the craft, but after much effort produced what at least gave them needed foot protection.

It was in 1635 that Philip Kirtland and Edmund Bridges, shoemakers from England, came to America and, doubtless attracted by Ingalls' tannery, settled in Lynn. These two men were real craftsmen, and it was their determination which played an important role in the development of Lynn into one of the leading centers for the manufacture of shoes. Thomas Beard, who located in Salem was the first shoemaker of record in this country. He came in 1629, the very year Lynn was settled, and his influence in neighboring Salem was doubtless helpful to the Lynn settlers who had at first made their own shoes. Beard brought with him tools and material and had his diet and house room at the expense of the colony.*

Ingalls' tannery in Lynn was not only of great help in furnishing leather for shoemaking, but this one-man establishment was the beginning of a nation's business in leather and leather goods.

* The great importance of craftsmen to the new colony was fully appreciated. Land, housing and subsistence were frequently voted to them. The tendency of craftsmen to become farmers was frowned upon. It was more to the public welfare to hold them to their trades.



THE HOME OF EDMUND INGALLS.

From a painting in the museum of the Lynn Historical Society.

It was appropriate therefore that in the pageant on July 1, 1929, that was one of the features of the tercentenary celebration, there was at the head of the historical division a float representing the growth of the Ingalls family in America, provided by the members of the ninth and tenth generations, which was immediately followed by one representing the institution of the first tannery, provided by the town of Swampscott.

While this was the 300th anniversary of the Ingalls family in Lynn, it was its 301st in America. In February, 1928, I visited Skirbeck in Lincolnshire, and it must have been just 300 years previously, almost to the month, that Edmund and Francis, and their families, were preparing to break away from the old home and emigrate to Massachusetts. We can imagine the wrench to their feelings, the forebodings, but above all the courage.

Skirbeck is situated on the low land along the river Witham, so low that the river has to be diked to prevent it overflowing when its water is high. The marshland

between Lynn and Chelsea is similar in its appearance to the Lincolnshire fenland, and Edmund and Francis must have thought of that when they selected their new home on the upland sloping off toward the broad expanse of Black marsh and Rumney marsh to the westward.

V

EDMUND AND FRANCIS INGALLS

As to the character and qualities of Edmund and Francis Ingalls we can do no more than deduce. We know of no words of either of them except in their wills. Nevertheless we have strong grounds for inferences.

They must have been bold and courageous men to enter upon the great adventure that they did. Also were they independent and energetic. They did not like Endicott's ways and they cut loose from him at the first opportunity. They were confident of their ability to conduct themselves alone and to get along with the Indians. Consequently we may infer their intelligence. As the immigrant population increased they never fell into step with the ruling religious party and consequently kept aloof from public service. On the other hand they kept out of trouble, which is not saying a little, for the bigotry of the theocratic, governing faction was terrible and the treatment of infractors of the rules was cruel. As we study colonial records we find that human nature was the same in the seventeenth century as in the twentieth, but the domination and repression by the church was of a nature to make us shudder and reflects a state of mind in respect of which we may feel no ancestral pride, and therefore we rejoice in evidences of dissent on the part of Edmund Ingalls.

It is of record that Edmund had a malt house, whence it is to be inferred that he knew how to malt grain and brew beer, and probably did so. It is likewise probable

that he drank of what he brewed. According to the accounts there was a convivial time, with much hilarity and profanity, when his house was erected with the assistance of his friends. We do not therefore imagine our ancestor as being a severe Puritan. On one occasion (in 1646) he was caught by a neighbor in the act of carrying a bundle of sticks on a Sunday and was hailed to court and fined for this violation of the Sabbath.

We may remind ourselves that from the earliest years in Massachusetts there were two parties among the colonists, one the sternly Puritan and the other the more broad-minded. Out of the bitter controversy between them the Puritans emerged on top and for many decades thereafter they ran things in their own way. We may infer that the Ingalls' were in the opposition. It is not of record that Edmund Ingalls ever became a freeman, which means that he did not acquire the right to vote. This implies nothing in respect of social status. In order to become a freeman a man had to be a member of the Congregational church in good standing. Edmund Ingalls either could not so qualify or he did not want to. Francis Ingalls was sworn as a freeman in 1661. Liberalization was then in the air and in 1665 the General Court enacted that thereafter the political rights of citizenship should be extended to others than members of the church, though a certificate from a minister was still required. It is significant that Robert Ingalls and his sons did not become freemen until after 1690, in which year the religious qualification was entirely abolished and there was substituted the requirement of a certificate of good standing by the civil authorities. Immediately following this the principal adult male members of the family enrolled.

Edmund Ingalls lost his life in March 1648, by falling with his horse through a defective bridge over the Saugus

River where it is crossed by the road that is now Boston Street.* He was probably then about 53 years of age. His eldest son, Robert, who was then 27 years of age petitioned the General Court for damages in the amount of £100 in accordance with a law just previously enacted in the Colony. This may have been the first claim of that sort in New England. I believe it was allowed, after finding by a jury.

It is interesting to examine the inventory of the property that Edmund Ingalls left in 1648. Let it be remembered that at that period there was but little gold and silver in circulation and there were no bank accounts. Property could not therefore take the forms of gold and silver or of bank credits, but had to find mainly a physical expression, i.e., in land and goods. So it was that Edmund Ingalls left his house, barn and outbuildings along with his original farm and also his grant of land. In addition thereto he had a house and land in West Lynn, that he had acquired from Jeremy Fitts, and another house with six acres of land together with three acres in Rumney Marsh that he had got from Goodman West.† These must have been acquired as investments, seeing that they were remote from his own estate. Besides these lands he still retained three acres in England. Let it be remembered that Edmund Ingalls was an Englishman, and that his descendants for four generations after him owed allegiance to the King of England.

* Lewis gives this date. It is perplexing that the will of Edmund Ingalls is dated Aug. 28, 1648, having been offered for probate Sept. 14, 1648. Indeed, it is rather astonishing that Edmund, who was then only of middle age and evidently in good health should have executed a will in the same year when he met with accidental death. There seems to be no doubt in respect of the time of the accident. On Mar. 23, 1648, the General Court allowed the town of Lynn £20 toward repairing the bridge. I make no attempt to explain this puzzle. The will of Edmund Ingalls was signed by his mark, which does not ipso facto imply illiteracy. In fact at this period the same man is to be found signing himself autographically and subsequently by his mark. There are numerous instances of this. In the first autograph of Francis Ingalls, whereof I know, he signs himself, in 1645, Francs Ingols.

† The valuations of estates at this time were clearly more or less nominal, especially as to houses and lands. Edmund's sons John and Henry, to whom respectively he bequeathed

Of chattels Edmund Ingalls left one ox, two steers, three cows, one calf and four yearlings, one mare, two sheep, and four hogs, which would constitute a good inventory of livestock for a farmer in New England today. He had farming implements, household furniture and household utensils. He had no silver ware, but he possessed some pewter and he had three brass kettles. He had two guns whence we may infer that he knew how to use them, and three bibles, wherefore we may imagine him reading from them by rush light or candle light during winter nights; and we may conjecture that he was pious even if not a member of the Congregational Church. Finally the inventory of his goods lists one beer barrel, which reminds us that he malted grain, and probably brewed beer, and likewise probably drank it. We may also picture Edmund Ingalls as a kindly man. In his will he remembered all of his children and he was especially solicitous that his daughter Mary should have a heifer calf of which she had been fond. Our evidences are scanty, but from the fragments we get a homely, pleasant picture.

If we give any thought to our immigrant ancestors we probably visualize them much as we do our immediate grandfathers. We are prone to forget that they were not Americans but were thorough Englishmen, who had migrated from the old country to the new, carrying their customs with them. I think that many of the latter and even their speech would be quite unfamiliar to us. They may have had some difficulty in conversing with each other, especially the first comers; for the common speech of Lincolnshire is very different from that of Dorsetshire. Difficulty of that nature diminished as more persons came from Lin-

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the houses and lots of Jeremy Fitts and Goodman West, within a few years sold them for sums aggregating nearly to the total valuation put upon all of the real estate of Edmund. It would be interesting to know why Edmund retained a parcel of land in England for 20 years after he had abandoned his home there, and what eventually became of it.

colnshire and the dialect of the Danelagh made the same profound impression upon the language of New England that it did upon that of old England. Indeed many of our present peculiar words and phrases are those of three centuries ago in East Anglia. While retaining those, however, the differences of dialect evidently were rapidly amalgamated, and the people of all classes and all origins could understand each other, which in England they can not do at the present time.

The history of Francis Ingalls between 1629 and 1647 is obscure. We know only that he located his tannery in 1630. What he was doing previous to that date we can do nothing but surmise. We can not place him in the same way that we can Edmund and fail to do so chiefly owing to the absence of land history. We know that Robert the son and heir of Edmund gave a deed in 1697 that defined the northern portion of his land and as regards the southern portion we know the lines pretty well from the fact that his descendants owned them until recently. But in respect of Francis we have no such guides. The place where he built his tannery was far from the center of settlement that had then developed in Lynn, Edmund being on the eastern edge, while Humphrey's brook was further east. We can only imagine that Francis took up the land to the east of Edmund and tilled it until he went to live on Sagamore hill. Probably he was accompanied to America by his wife, Mary, and early in this period he had a daughter, Lydia. We may only be sure that he had a family and was under the obligation to support them, and that the tanning of leather alone would not have been sufficient at that time, wherefore he must have done some husbandry.* Probably

* The vital records of Lynn previous to 1650 are practically non-existent. Interments were largely in private graveyards, whereof there are no traces. Private records were lost. The main resource of the genealogist for this period is wills and inventories.

he worked to the west, in the loop of Stacey's brook, but I do not know his lines and consequently made no attempt to indicate them on my map. (See p. 15.) It may be pointed out that the land both to the north and the south of Edmund remained untaken for nearly 10 years.

In 1641 John Humphrey mortgaged his Sagamore Hill farm and windmill to Increase Nowell for 21 years to secure a loan of £80, the windmill itself being valued at £100 at this time. Henry Dunster subsequently became interested in this mortgage. Some years later Mr. Humphrey's agent suggested a settlement, and in 1647 Messr. Nowell and Dunster sold the property to Francis Ingalls, they having obtained the permission of the Court of Assistants, which decided that this would be to the best interest of Mr. Humphrey. However, this transaction was destined to cause trouble. In an affidavit long subsequently Francis Ingalls testified that when he went there to live the farm had been idle for six years and was in a state of waste and disrepair. This property was only a short distance to the west of Edmund's homestead at Ingalls pond. From this time onward Francis appears to have pursued jointly the avocations of tanner and farmer. It is clear, however, that he was a primitive manufacturer rather than a farmer.

In a description of Lynn in the History of New England, by Edward Johnson, published in 1651, it is said that the place then comprised about 100 houses, widely scattered. In speaking of trades he remarks that "As for tanners and shoemakers it being naturalized into their occupations to have a higher reach in managing these manufacturers than other men in New England are, having not changed their nature in this, between them both they have kept men to their stand hitherto, almost doubling the price of their commodities, according to the rate they were sold for in

England, yet the plenty of leather is beyond what they had there." This implies prosperity for Francis Ingalls, at this time.

There is an economic significance in this. We see here a community of persons thrown upon their own aptitude to utilize natural resources in the raw. They can grow their own food. They can do their own building with the use of axe, adze and saw. They can gather clamshells and burn their own lime. They can make their own clothing out of wool and flax to be spun and woven in their homes. But they need the assistance of the miller in grinding their wheat and corn, for that requires power. And above all things they need iron and leather, which they are unable to make for themselves. The people of Lynn essayed to make iron and erected the first smeltery in America, but they failed in this for the reason that they did not have either good or ample ore. In respect of leather the condition was different. The hides could be supplied and Francis Ingalls could do the tanning. Shoemaking naturally followed.

The inception of the great industry of Lynn is therefore directly traceable to the accident that Edmund and Francis Ingalls chose to become its first settlers. Otherwise Lynn might have remained as stagnant as Ipswich, let us say, for it had no natural advantages as a seaport, like Salem and Boston, or in any other way. In the industrial history of the United States it is outstanding that Lynn is the place where it was first tried to make iron and leather, that both were done and that the manufacture of leather was enduring. Francis Ingalls must have been an artisan of real capacity, and must have been an important figure in the economy of the community. Besides being a tanner there is some reason to believe that he was also a brickmaker. It is not until the third generation in the Massachusetts Bay colony that

men began to be commonly described as coopers, smiths, carpenters, housewrights and shipwrights, or as artisans of other kinds. Previously most of them had been husbandmen, i.e. farmers. I take this from the records of the Ingalls family, and it probably is a good sample.

For some reason that is obscure the windmill on Sagamore Hill was torn down. This was to the great inconvenience of the Lynn farmers, who then had to carry their corn to Salem to be ground. There was another mill in Lynn, but its operation was irregular and unsatisfactory.*

John Humphrey, having died in 1651, his administrators in 1662 brought suit against the executors of Henry Dunster to recover the Sagamore Hill property, for having illegally disposed of it, and they obtained judgment in their favor. This was evidently on the ground that the mortgagees had no right to foreclose a 21-year mortgage, notwithstanding the sanction of the Court of Assistants. The records do not show how Francis Ingalls fared in this denouement. It may be inferred that he was the victim. However, he continued to occupy Sagamore Hill as tenant, paying a yearly rental of £10 10s.

The farm house of Sagamore Hill stood on the east side of Nahant street between Ocean and Baltimore. The administrators of John Humphrey's estate having regained this property in 1663 it passed to Ann Humphrey who in 1681 sold the house (which was still standing in my boyhood) to Richard Hood, together with part of the land, while another part of the land passed to William Bassett, jr. The Sagamore Hill farm extended to the eastward of the summit of the hill, where the windmill was, and is supposed to have connected

* According to deposition by Henry Collins. The Humphrey windmill was built in 1636. Other mills, all water power, are mentioned in early records, but evidently they did not survive. Apparently they were driven by undershot wheels. The brooks were small and they froze in winter. With such conditions the windmill was the more practicable.

with John Humphrey's farm called Swampscott, which he sold to Lady Deborah Moody in 1641. Toward the end of the seventeenth century a large part of this was known as the Bassett farm, this being to the south of Lewis street and the Lewis land.

Francis Ingalls was clearly a man of many parts and many interests. We find him continually appearing as an appraiser of estates, as debtor or creditor in accounts, as figuring in law suits and as sitting year after year on the grand jury at Salem. In 1657 he was one of the commissioners to allot the common lands of Nahant. As late as 1663 he was still pursuing his trade as tanner. About 1668 he gave up the Sagamore Hill farm, and between that time and 1672 he sold to John Pearson his half of the Ingalls grant and removed to Boston, apparently to follow his son-in-law, Joseph Belknap, who previously may have worked with him in the Swampscott tannery. This removal may have been associated with the death of Lydia Belknap at about this time.

It may be deduced that Francis Ingalls, as a pioneer manufacturer, had business troubles. He left but little property, including only five acres of meadow land at Lynn, besides a parcel in "the wilderness of Lynn," and the inventory of his estate makes no mention of his tannery. Possibly it was comprised within the five acres of meadow land. From such evidence we may infer that Edmund was the more substantial man of the two, and probably was the leader. He established an estate, which Francis failed to do. Nevertheless in the history of Francis Ingalls, shadowy though it be, we sense something interesting and attractive. He must have known everybody and must have been esteemed. He was the first industrialist of Lynn and he paved the way for its great industry.

Francis Ingalls died in 1672 at the age of 71. His widow

survived him. Their daughter Lydia, she who married Joseph Belknap, had died previous to 1670. There is no record of any other children. Francis named Elizabeth Farnham of Andover as his residuary legatee, for which he must have had some good reason, but we are unable to discern any connection. Anyhow, it is certain that there is no record of any male descendants from Francis. All of the Ingalls family in America who emanate from Lynn therefore trace their ancestry to Edmund.

VI

GENEALOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

It is a common assumption among amateur genealogists that American families trace back to a single immigrant ancestor, or to two or three brothers. That idea rather implies that only one representative of each name came hither; but obviously that is a fallacious, even an absurd, assumption. Ingalls was not so common a name 300 years ago as were some others, but I have previously shown that it was more or less widespread in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century, especially in the vicinity of Boston, and it is by no means improbable that Edmund and Francis were accompanied by, or were followed by, one or more cousins. In the early records of Massachusetts there occur some references to persons of the name whom we are unable to associate with Edmund and Francis, or otherwise to place.

There are, however, others for whom we can account. Thus, there are persons of the name at present who trace back to Maudit Engles, a fuller from Wiltshire, who came to Boston in 1635. There was a Barnet, Barnard, or Bernard Ingolls in Boston, as an adult, about 1660, who had posterity. The Ingalls family of Charlestown, whom Mr. Burleigh traces to Edmund Ingalls, erroneously I am sure, may come from either of those stocks. At a much later period a family of Scotch descent, of the name Inglis or Ingles, arrived in Boston and their children took the name of Ingalls. Dr. Burleigh in his genealogy of the family has rather a long list of persons of

the name whom he was unable to connect with Edmund. In respect of some of them no doubt this was owing to failure of records, but as regards some the explanation is doubtless that in fact they do not connect.*

I may pause here to make some further genealogical remarks. The Ingalls' who emanate from Rehoboth probably descend from Edmund, although there is no documentary proof of their connection so far as I am aware. Their progenitor was John Ingalls and John [3] (Robert [2]) is known to have removed from Lynn to Rehoboth between 1691 and 1694, and probably this is the John who was the forefather of the Rehoboth branch. There is, however, some confusing evidence. There is but little trace of John, the son of Edmund, following the mention of him in his father's will in 1648. Later in that year John Ingalls is of record as a resident in Ipswich, and was probably the same. There is no positive evidence of his ever subsequently living in Lynn. In the early part of 1649 John Ingalls, described as being of Lynn, sold to Daniel King his house and six acres of land adjoining (which was probably his inheritance from his father) together with several other parcels of land and this looks like clearing out.

In the record of the death of a daughter of John and Elizabeth in 1676 the father is called John, jr., which implies the contemporaneous existence of John, sr., who would be John [2]. However, in 1676 and again in 1678 the oath of fidelity and allegiance was taken by Robert, sr., Robert, jr., John, Samuel and Nathaniel, the latter four being presumably the sons of Robert [2] and these five being all the male adults of the name in Lynn at this time. John, jr., was doubtless the son of Robert and the suffix implies that John [2] was still living, but not

* Uriel H. Crocker in the American Law Review, October, 1875, tells a romantic story of how William Ingalls, of Boston lost a valuable property in that city by a defect in title and recovered it by tracing back his ancestry to Mauditt Engles who had conveyed it in 1660 under conditions that had been broken, thereby invalidating all subsequent transfers.

necessarily in Lynn and probably not. In 1687 John Ingalls, "late of Tiverton," was recorded in Bristol, R. I. Dr. Burleigh jumped to the conclusion that this was the son of Edmund and that he removed from Bristol to Rehoboth. This was mere conjecture, expressed in ignorance of the records in respect of John [3] (Robert [2]) existing in family papers. Uncertainty is increased by the fact of record that Benjamin Ingalls, whom we do not associate with Edmund in any way, was living in this district in 1682, implying the possibility of relatives of his own being there, and that the Rehoboth branch descended from one of them. Nevertheless the certainty that John [3] (Robert [2]) went from Lynn to Rehoboth and the recurrence of the name Edmund (a rather unusual given name in the early colonial days) among his descendants implies this descent and I adopt it as a reasonable assumption in the absence of proved connection and hereinafter shall describe descent in that way without further reservation.

Even more difficult is the case of Eldad Ingalls who married in Haverhill in 1719, removed to Chester, N. H., and became the progenitor of an extensive family. Dr. Burleigh assumes that he emanated from Andover, but the vital records of that place, which have been collected more fully than when Dr. Burleigh compiled his genealogy, do not contain his name. Nor does it appear in the genealogy of the Andover branch compiled by Solomon Ingalls about 1800. This is rather weighty negative evidence, and Dr. Burleigh was reduced to an assumption that does not well withstand critical analysis. Haverhill is close to Andover and Eldad was associated by marriage with Samuel [4] (Samuel [3] Henry [2]) but whatever be conjectured in respect of him we can only safely say "parentage unknown." I concede the probability of his coming from the Andover branch of the Ingalls family, but nevertheless there is the possibility, that he derived from a different family.

VII

THE INGALLS FAMILY IN LYNN

EDMUND Ingalls left four sons, viz. Robert, John, Henry and Samuel. Our immigrant ancestors adhered to the old custom of leaving their land to the eldest son, wherefore Robert inherited in Lynn. The younger sons shifted for themselves. So it was that John, Henry and Samuel went to Ipswich, and from there Henry removed to Andover.

Of Robert Ingalls, the eldest son, who remained in Lynn, we know but little, i.e. as to his personality. He married Sarah Harker, the daughter of William Harker (Harcher or Hacker). He became a large landholder and in some documents he described himself as a planter. In 1663–64 he was the town constable, although he was not then a freeman. He also sat on grand juries at Salem. He had five sons, viz. John, Robert, Samuel, Nathaniel and Eleazar. John, who must have been born in 1646, married Elizabeth Barrett (or Baraet) of Salem, and removed in 1694 to Rehoboth, where he became the progenitor of that branch of the family. Eleazar, the youngest son, went to Marblehead, where he entered the trade of cooper and became a wealthy merchant and the progenitor of the Ingalls' of Marblehead. He owned land at Peach's Point and one of the beaches there used to be known as Ingalls' beach.

So far as I am aware the original boundaries of the Ingalls lands in Lynn have not heretofore been carefully traced. However, we know approximately as to their situation and extent and are able to define many of the lines with accuracy.

Edmund Ingalls built his house a few rods north of Ingalls pond. He probably selected that place out of the consideration that in the "fayre plain" stretching eastward it was close to a pool of fresh water and was not far, i.e., less than half a mile, from a cove that afforded good landing on the beach, which was desirable for fishing. He built his house on a southern slope, sheltered from the north wind and to the eastward there was a natural clearing amidst the woodland. As the first comer he had unrestricted choice and it seems to me now, and as I remember the topography 50 years ago, that he selected the fairest place. John Wood, and his son William, who came to Lynn soon after Edmund and Francis, being the next settlers, established themselves at what is now the northeast corner of Essex and Chestnut streets, about a third of a mile northwest of where Edmund Ingalls had his house. In subsequent years the part of Lynn where the Woods lived became known as Woodend, and it is still so known by old-timers, though the official designation is now East Lynn. Essex street, originally known as Lynn road, has long been a main highway between Salem and Lynn and it is possible that the first settlers worked their way through the forest along what subsequently became its course. It is not improbable that previously it had been an Indian pathway.

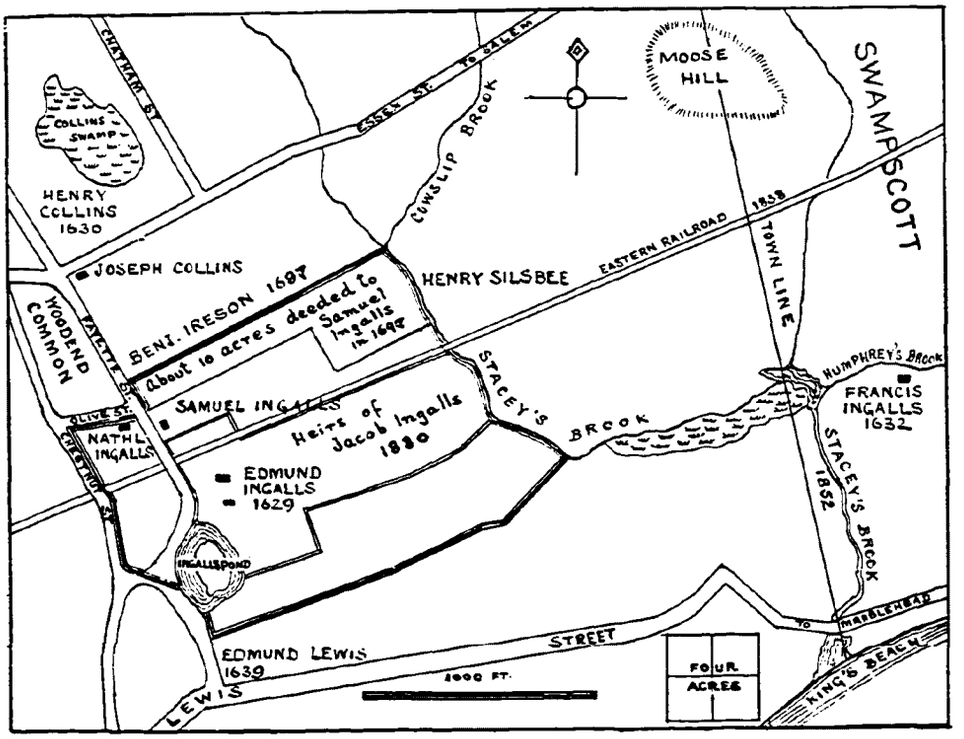
In 1637 a committee was appointed by the town of Lynn to divide the lands; or as it was expressed in the record "to lay out farmes." The land was laid out in those parts of the town best adapted to cultivation; and the woodlands and Nahant were reserved as common property. In 1638 the committee appointed by the town to divide the lands completed that task and a book was provided, in which the names of the proprietors, with the number of acres allotted to each were recorded. That book became lost, but a copy of the first three pages was preserved in the files of the Quarterly Court, at

Salem, from which Alonzo Lewis made a transcription. The first page begins with the words "These lands were given to the inhabitants of Lynn, A.D. 1638." On the same page is the entry "Edmund and Francis Ingalls, upland and meadow, 120 acres."

It has been heretofore assumed, even within the family, that this entry referred to the original Ingalls farm in Lynn, extending eastward from Ingalls pond or the general vicinity of Chestnut street, although in that assumption there have always been perplexities, which ought to have been evident to anyone of an analytical turn of mind. I shall now show, beyond any shadow of doubt, that this grant of 120 acres of upland and meadow was miles away from Ingalls pond and was in fact just to the northeast of what is now Lynnfield Center and just to the south of the bend of the Ipswich river at Phelps mills. Recognizing this fact, in order to explain events and situations we shall have to fall back to a large extent upon inferences.

It may be here remarked that the allotment of lands in 1638 appears to have been to some extent, at least, only nominal, i.e., certain persons were granted rights to a certain number of acres of land without the latter being actually laid out, which in some instances was not done until many years later. I shall presently cite an instance of this.

Between 1630 and 1637 there was an influx of settlers into Lynn, who apparently set themselves down where they desired in places that were vacant, and of course during the first year or two most of the land was vacant. I can not discover that there was any official allocation or any organization during that period. However, it is to be remembered that the early records of the town were lost. It is clear that Edmund and Francis Ingalls had no near neighbors for several years. Immediately to the southwest of them was the Sagamore Hill farm,



MAP OF THE INGALLS FARM IN EAST LYNN.

The streets are shown as of 1830.

that I have previously described, which was laid out previous to 1636. In 1638 Edmund Lewis located just south of Edmund Ingalls, and from him and his lands Lewis street derived its name, his farm stretching easterly. The Lewis lands adjoined the Ingalls lands and remained in the possession of the Lewis family for many years. To the north of Edmund Ingalls was Joseph Floyd, who located previously to 1638 and received a grant of the land extending from the town common (Woodend) to the "little river" (Stacy's brook), which he sold to Henry Silsbee in 1666. This land subsequently passed to Benjamin Ireson, and Henry Silsbee obtained the land to the east of the brook, which remained in the Silsbee family for more than two centuries.

Further north, near the corner of Fayette and Essex Streets, Henry Collins was situated. Henry Collins was a starch maker

who came from Stepney, London, England, in 1635, accompanied by wife, children, and five servants (probably meaning his workmen). Collins Swamp, now Silver Lake, got its name from Henry Collins, whose land stretched eastward from the road to Lynnfield and along what is now Essex Street, lying mainly to the north thereof. The parcels of land in that territory subsequently in the name of members of the Ingalls family clearly resulted from the intermarriages between the families. The Ingalls land proper did not extend so far north.

Edmund Ingalls placed himself on the slope rising to the north of Ingalls pond and appropriated the fair plain extending eastward, probably by negotiation with the Indians, as I have previously suggested. Francis Ingalls when he instituted his tannery in 1630 placed himself on Humphrey's Brook where Burrill street crosses it in what is now Swampscott. The distance between those points is about five-eighths of a mile.*

The main settlement of Lynn in this early period was to the westward of the plantation of Edmund and Francis Ingalls, being extensively in what subsequently became known as West Lynn. There, in West Lynn, were the meeting house, the common, and the burying ground. Later a little village grew up at Woodend and in deeds from 1666 to 1721 references are made to a common there, which long ago ceased to exsit as such. Adjoining Francis Ingalls to the south was William

* In the early days of Lynn land was of little value, £1 per acre being a nominal figure. In principle it was a basis for subsistence and a man had no use for more than he could cultivate. There were some purchases for investment or the use of sons, as appears from the accounts of Edmund Ingalls. There were some large grants, e.g. to John Humphrey, who contemplated exploitation through tenancy, and there was some tenancy, but commercially this quickly proved a failure, the grants soon disintegrated, and the creation of large landed estates in Massachusetts was abortive. The attempt of John Humphrey, who had been one of the principal promoters of the company, was disastrous to him. In the course of a century land value increased a good deal. In 1697 a portion of the Ingalls land was reckoned at £3 to £5 per acre and in 1737 the same was inventoried at £18.

Witter and immediately to the east of them was the Humphrey farm called Swampscott.*

To the westward of them the situation was quite different, and owing to the rapid influx of settlers during the first few years it obviously became necessary to allocate the lands among them, wherefore the appointment of the town committee. That committee probably could not, or did not want to, oust the original settlers from their positions, who no doubt were left as they were, but it assigned areas and defined bounds. In making the allotment in 1638 the committee, for some reason that we can not now determine,† granted to Edmund and Francis Ingalls 120 acres of land which was in addition to that which they were occupying. We must therefore make a sharp distinction between the Ingalls farm and the Ingalls grant. The former is shown in my map of East Lynn, and the latter in my map of Lynnfield.

There is no original definition of either of these tracts of land and in tracing back title to them the searcher would come to an end with the recital of definition in documents of

* There were several Humphrey farms, tracts or grants and consequently it is important to refer to them by name. There were (1) Sagamore Hill; (2) Swampscott; (3) the Plains Farm, adjoining Swampscott; and (4) the Pond Farm, embracing Suntaug lake. The farm called Swampscott extended westward from Phillips' Beach, south of the Salem line, upon which it abutted for 1.2 mile. From there the line ran southwesterly to the beach just west of Stacy's brook, this tract comprising about 1200 acres. John Humphrey sold Swampscott to Lady Deborah Moody in 1641.

† This was perhaps in response to their demand for such an allotment by virtue of their having paid their expenses in coming from England to Massachusetts. The size of the parcel is rather indicative of such an explanation. We may imagine their contention that they occupied their lands in East Lynn and Swampscott by deed from the Indians, resulting from their own adventure, and that they were further entitled to 120 acres promised them by the Massachusetts Bay Company, to which the town committee acceded with a grant in an out-of-the way place. How else may this be explained? This view seems to be supported by this allotment being made jointly to Edmund and Francis, which otherwise would ipso facto be strange. We may remind ourselves also that Lady Susan Humphrey was then living in Lynn and that she was sister of Lady Arbella Johnson, whom the Ingalls' had probably known in Boston (England) previous to the emigration. So we may conceive a powerful and favorable influence. This association may, moreover, have preserved for the Ingalls' a link with their old home. It is worthy of mention that Rev. Samuel Whiting, the honored pastor of the Lynn church for many years, also came from Skirbeck.

1685 and 1686 in respect of the grant and the mere fact of possession in respect of the farm.

There is some vagueness in regard to early titles, or rather the methods by which they were obtained. The seacoast from three miles south of the Charles river to three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimac, together with the hinterland indefinitely, was claimed by the Massachusetts Bay Company under patent from Charles I, March 19, 1628. That company made specific promises of allotments to the settlers that it persuaded to come over. Edmund and Francis Ingalls probably had such a promise. Inasmuch as they, together with Edmund Quincy, of Fishtoft, were the first party to come from Boston (Lincolnshire) it may be conjectured that they had some special backing from the Clinton family. Anyway, if we so imagine we may more easily understand some subsequent events, and especially their claim for an additional allotment of 120 acres in 1637.

They left Salem with a roving permission, and making up their minds to settle in Lynn they doubtless obtained a deed from the Indians. We know that they made arrangements with the Indians; and their intelligence and shrewdness, and clearly they were endowed with both qualities, would naturally have directed them to secure such a document. This was done later by others. There was a feeling that the company had promised to bestow what it did not really own and that it would be safer to obtain title from the Indians whom they found in actual possession. Also, there was not in 1629 any organization that would have obtained and maintained for them any promised allotment, and anyhow they had cut loose.

As more settlers arrived and learned the situation in the new country they did not like the idea of a proprietary company administered in London and in rather short order the seat of government was transferred to Massachusetts and the

titular ownership of the land was assumed by the people themselves. This was something like a revolution. This assumption was confined, however, to those who had obtained the privileges of freemen, which were restricted to those who were members of a church and had certificates from their ministers that their opinions were approved. An exception from this formula was made in the instances of "the old planters." (It is possible that Edmund and Francis Ingalls came under that head.)

There was no incorporation of the several early towns. Incorporation occurred ipso facto by the freemen of a town appearing in the General Court or general assembly and into it being admitted. Thus was Lynn incorporated in 1630. By 1634 this method became too clumsy and thereafter the freemen sent representatives.

With the incorporation of the towns in this way and the definition of their bounds the lands within them became the common property of their freemen, subject apparently to prior rights and subject to allocations by the General Court. Thus, Edmund and Francis Ingalls were not disturbed and the General Court did lay out some large farms, e.g. several for Mr. Humphrey. In the main, however, the lands having become common property, town by town, grants to individuals were made by the several towns, as was done in Lynn in 1637–38. Not all of the land was at once allotted, however, and some remained community land for a long time. Thus, the peninsula of Nahant was not divided among the people until 1657. Other holdings were not individualized until much later. It was not until 1706 that a division was made of all the remaining community land of Lynn, only the "training field", or the Common, being reserved.

It is clear that some settlers were not quite satisfied with their titles by town grant and therefore obtained confirmatory

deeds from the Indians. In fact all along during the first half century, the people of Lynn were nervous as to the rights of the Indians and they did not become at ease in their minds until in 1686 the heirs of Wenepoykin* gave a deed confirming the title of the town to the lands on which it stood, thus assuring the allotments of 1638, and giving to everybody a blanket quitclaim.

The Ingalls farm had therefore been unallotted probably for the reason that there was already an Indian deed for it. In respect of this farm many of the lines are traceable from ancient deeds and from a property map of 1852 that still showed them clearly. For more than 100 years following 1629 there were no deeds of record disposing of any of the property except among members of the family. In 1686 when Robert Ingalls made his deed of gift the southwest corner of the land was on Chestnut Street near the Ingalls Pond. Thence the line ran northerly to the town common in Woodend which was somewhere in the neighborhood of the intersection of Chestnut Street and Olive Street. On the easterly side of the common it abutted for 13 rods (about 215 ft.). From that point it ran easterly for 80 rods (1320 ft.) along the line of Benjamin Ireson (previously Joseph Floyd's) to Stacey's Brook ("the little river"). Thence it turned southward along the brook (the land of Henry Silsbee being on the other side of the brook) to about the present line of the Boston & Maine railway (originally the Eastern railroad). From this point there is a stretch in respect of which we are at present uncertain, especially as to whether this, the southern portion of the land, extended eastward beyond the brook. As for the rest, the line, returning to the pond, was substantially as shown on the property map of 1852, and in my accompanying map which

* Erroneously spelled Winnipurkit and Wenepurket. He was the son and heir of Montowampete.

outlines the description hereinbefore. The farm thus described comprised about 50 acres. On my map the triple line encloses the original area and the double line delimits what remained in the possession of the heirs of Jacob Ingalls in 1880.

William Harker had died in 1661 leaving all of his property, which was considerable for the time, to his daughter, who was the wife of Robert Ingalls, with the intention that it should devise to their children.* Among other things William Harker left a right to an allotment of 30 acres, according to the division of 1638, which had not been exercised by him. Robert Ingalls caused this to be laid out to himself in 1681. There were other instances of such delay, but I know of no other so long postponed as this. In 1697 Robert Ingalls deeded this parcel to his son Eleazar, describing it as a square abutting easterly on the Mr. Humphrey's farm and being surrounded on the other three sides by common land, showing that even then there was much territory unoccupied. It is to be conjectured that this location was in abutment on Mr. Humphrey's farm at Suntaug lake.

On Jan. 1, 1686, Robert Ingalls, sr. conveyed all of his property to three of his sons, viz., Robert, jr., Samuel, and Nathaniel, they to take care of their parents during the remainder of their lives. The three sons were bound to the fulfillment of the agreement on their part upon penalty of their father's displeasure and the forfeiture by any delinquent to his other two brothers of his part interest.

It is noteworthy that in this deed of gift no mention is made of sons John and Eleazar. This may have been, of course, that Robert, sr., thought that he had previously adequately provided for them. John was then living in Lynn and owned a house and land in Woodend. Eleazer removed, while still a very young man, to Marblehead, where he was as early as 1681.

* I have been unable to discover the situation of the Harker farm.

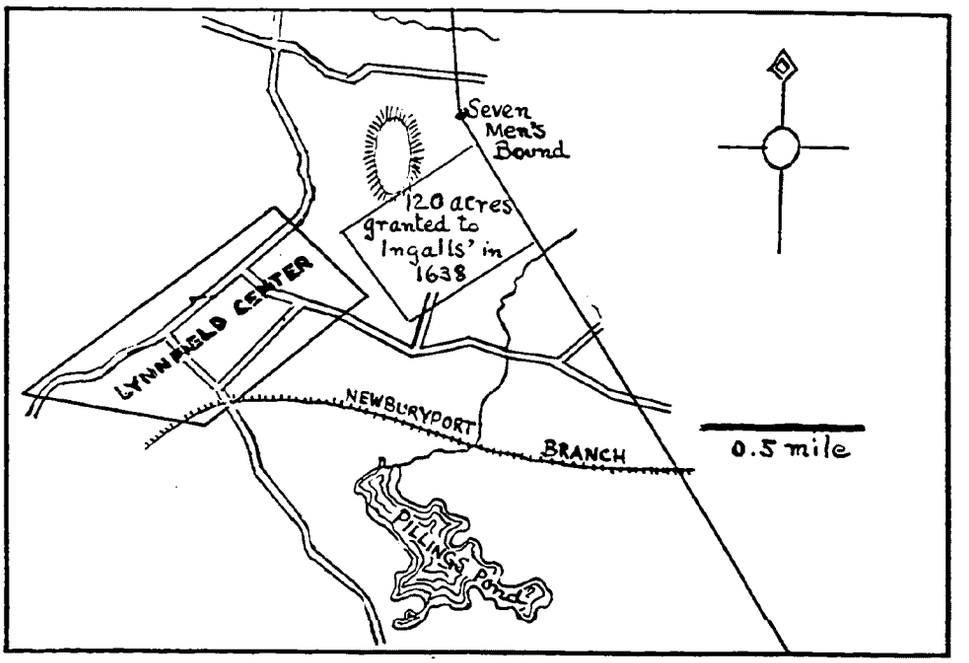
At some time previous to 1672 Francis Ingalls sold his share of the grant in Lynnfield to John Pearson of Lynn. On May 21, 1685, Pearson conveyed his interest to Joseph and Benjamin Pope, of Salem. Up to this time this property had not been divided.

Soon after their purchase the Pope brothers evidently began to press for a division of this land. From the fact that for nearly 50 years it had remained undivided implies that the Ingalls' regarded it as being of no immediate importance to themselves. However, it adjoined land in Salem that was owned by the Popes, in fact was contiguous to the home farm of Joseph Pope, and probably they were desirous of extending their definite bounds. Consequently an agreement for division was executed March 30, 1686, and recorded April 15, 1686 (Essex deeds VII, p. 398). This agreement was signed by the two Popes and by Robert Ingalls, sr., by Robert Ingalls, jr., and by Samuel Ingalls, "with the consent and allowance of his father", Robert, jr., signing for Samuel. This language is peculiar. Why should Samuel, who was 36 years of age have had to have the consent and allowance of his father? Why did not Nathaniel sign? Why did Robert, sr., who had previously made a deed of gift, recorded, have to sign?*

Anyhow, this document is of great importance. It begins by reciting that 120 acres of land had been granted to Edmund and Francis Ingalls by the town of Lynn, thus checking with the town book of 1638. It then proceeds to describe the grant as abutting easterly upon land that had been Edward Farrington's but was now in tenure of Joseph and Benjamin Pope; northerly upon the Salem line; westerly upon the land of Isaac and John Hart; southerly upon the land of John Poole.

In the partition the Ingalls' were to have up to the middle of the tract as nearly as could be determined, to the westward

* Probably the signature of Robert, sr., was required in view of the conditional character of his deed of gift.



SITUATION OF THE INGALLS GRANT IN LYNNFIELD.

of a bound tree of John Hart's, to the northward of John Poole's meadow about 30 rods from John Hart's bounds eastward, and from thence to the northward upon a line to a small pine tree standing near the Salem line about 30 rods eastward from a tree called "Seven men's bounds."

The Popes were to have their half on that part lying on the eastern side of the tract, bordering and ranging on the land that was Edward Farrington's; and on the meadow of John Poole on the southward; and on the Salem line on the northward side.

This was a good description. We may visualize a tract of land about half of a mile wide and half a mile long, with its northwestern corner at or near the "Seven men's bounds." The last is a well known historic spot. In 1639 upon order of the General Court a Committee had run the line between Lynn and Salem from a cliff by the sea straight to the long pond (i.e., Spring pond); thence straight to the island in Mr. Humphrey's pond (Suntaug Lake); thence in a straight line

to six great pine trees, called "Seven Men's bounds", from the seven men who laid out the line. In 1673 another committee perambulating the line extended it from the Seven Men's bounds in a straight line to the Great River (Ipswich river). Thus is definitely located the 120-acre grant to Edmund and Francis Ingalls in 1638. The Ingalls grant had therefore nothing to do with the Ingalls farm and is not especially identified with the name. What finally became of the Ingalls part of it I have not traced.*

Following the deed of gift by Robert Ingalls and the division of the 120-acre grant, both in 1686, events are obscure. Robert Ingalls in bestowing his property upon three of his sons evidently did not intend that they should divide it, but rather should jointly work upon it, for the maintenance of their parents; for the insurance of which the integrity of the property was doubtless deemed necessary. The provision for forfeit of interest implies the absence of division. Likewise does the fact that Robert, jr. dying in 1689, was insolvent and his brother Samuel had to, or anyway did, advance money to clear his estate. Robert, jr. had forfeited his interest by his death. Samuel also supplied money to his father. In order to settle these accounts Robert, sr. in 1697 deeded to Samuel the northern portion of his farm.

This last is a perplexing document. In 1686 Robert, sr. had deeded away all of his property. No annulment of that deed is of record. In 1697 he deeds a portion of it, which according to the record is no longer his to deed. In 1698 Rober, sr. died leaving no will and there was no administration of his estate, wherefore it is to be inferred that the deed of gift of 1686 then came into full effect.

* Between 1686 and 1736 there are no deeds of record in respect of this property. Title to it should have passed to Samuel [3] and Nathaniel, [3] but it does not appear in the inventory of the estate of either of them. However, it is to be observed that many conveyances of real estate were made at that time without being recorded.

About this time also, John, the eldest son, removed to Rehoboth, where he is of record as being in 1694. He had lived on a portion of the farm that had been given to him previous to 1686. In 1696 he sold this to his brother Nathaniel.

Equally perplexing is a deed for the 30 acres of Harker land laid out in 1681 that Robert, sr. executed in favor of his son Eleazar in 1696, also for the purpose of raising money. Although this deed is of record I believe that Samuel and Nathaniel challenged this transaction. However, on May 30, 1698, they quitclaimed to Eleazer, referring to the deed of gift of 1686 as having been made conditionally and to the death of their brother Robert before the conditions were fulfilled.*

Altogether there were events in the history of the Lynn branch of the Ingalls family that we can only vaguely surmise. Robert Ingalls had inherited the farm of his father and a few years later that of his father-in-law. He had exercised the right of his father-in-law to a 30-acre allotment and he owned 60 acres from the allotment to his own father. He owned a tract on Blood's brook in Rumney marsh and he had some other scattered parcels. In his deed of gift to three of his sons he refers to his farms, farm houses and dwellings, all in the plural. Yet, scarcely more than 10 years later he evidently finds himself in difficulties. Anyhow, he seems to have repented of his deed of gift. Robert, jr. dies and his family disappears from the picture, his widow going to live with her father. Robert, sr. endeavors to raise money from son Eleazer and probably precipitates a family dispute. We sense these things

* It was a common custom among our forefathers upon approaching old age to convey their property to one or more sons upon the condition of maintenance. The deed of gift by Robert, sr. was evidently interpreted beyond its text, i.e., it was understood to be more conditional than would follow from its language. Obviously none of the sons were to acquire title until their father died, then only if they survived him, while he himself considered that he had reserved rights. This produced rather a strange and unsatisfactory situation, but if we look at it in such a way some of the legal perplexities are perhaps clarified.

from the scanty records. It is only clear that Nathaniel Ingalls emerges as the chieftain of the family in Lynn.

At this time the sons of Robert Ingalls were men of maturity, even of middle age. Robert [3] had died. John, Samuel and Nathaniel were living in Lynn. Robert, sr., John and Samuel registered as freemen in 1691. It is significant that this followed an order of the General Court, Feb. 12, 1690, repealing the clause of the law requiring a certificate from a minister of the gospel and substituting a property qualification and a certificate from the selectmen of a town to the effect that the applicant "is not vicious in life." The three sons were married and lived in houses built for them, or by them, on the farm. There were evidently family difficulties, but anyhow all passed unscathed through the terrible witchcraft year of 1692.

Political and social events are often of only indirect bearing on family life, but the witchcraft delusion was a terror that occurred right at home.

Samuel [3] Ingalls lived always in Lynn and when he died, in 1711, he left a farm of 14 acres to his son Samuel. His descendants, who were not numerous, continued to live there until 1805, when James [6] (Samuel [5] Samuel [4] Samuel [3]) removed to Littleton, and during the next 40 years I find no record of any member of this branch of the family in Lynn. At some time previous to 1852, however, Tyler Ingalls (of this descent) took up an abode in Fayette street, near Essex, but this was not on a part of the original farm. In the division of the latter Samuel [3] had the northern part and Nathaniel [3] the southern.

Nathaniel Ingalls [3] was born about 1660. Zaccheus Collins in mentioning his death in his diary gives his age "about 80" at that time (1737) which is not contradictory of "about 1660" as the date of his birth. In 1676 he was drafted to go with the troops in King Philip's war, but his father objected on the ground that "the boy was not fit" and offered to go

in his stead. He did not join with his father and brother in taking the freeman's oath in 1691, whence it may be inferred that he did not then own property and was probably living with his father. About 1691 or 1692 he married Anne Collins, daughter of Joseph Collins, who was a son of Henry Collins, the immigrant. They had 10 children, of whom five were sons, viz.:

Nathaniel,	b. 1692;	m. Tabitha Lewis, 1722;	d. 1772
Joseph,	b. 1700;	m. Rebecca Collins, 1726;	d. 1760
William,	b.	m. Zeruiah Norwood, 1729;	d.
Henry,	b.	m. Sarah Richards, 1734;	d.
Jacob,	b.	m. Mary Tucker, 1737;	d. 1791

Rebecca Collins, who married Joseph Ingalls [4] was the daughter of Eleazar Collins, who was son of Henry Collins [2]. Consequently Joseph Ingalls and Rebecca Collins were cousins and their descendants derive doubly from Henry Collins, the immigrant ancestor. The farm of Henry Collins was a little to the north of that of the Ingalls' and owing to the marriages between the families much of the Collins land eventually passed to the Ingalls name. Ingalls street, north of Essex street, derives its name in this way.

Nathaniel Ingalls died in 1737. He lived at the corner of Fayette and Olive Streets in a large house that subsequently became the home of his son Jacob. This house was demolished about 1881, or a few years later. I remember it as an ancient, forbidding structure, in a sad state of disrepair. This was the oldest house associated with the name of Ingalls in Lynn. It was of architectural style of the seventeenth century, two stories in height, with a long roof sloping down to one story in the rear, with huge chimney, central door in front, that were characteristics of the time. It is written that to drag in the heavy sticks to fill the great fireplace in the house a horse was walked into the house. Even 50 years ago there were grandchildren who remembered enjoying the warm corner by the side of the fire or sitting on the settle in front of it. Those

were the days of sanded floors, pewter on the shelves, and a spinning wheel by the fireside.

This house was occupied in succession by Nathaniel [3] Jacob [4] and Jacob [5]. Upon the death of the last, in 1823, it passed to his son John who lived in it until his death in 1848 and during his time he reduced the old chimney and fireplace to modern proportions.

It is safe to assume that his old house was built about 1691 by Nathaniel Ingalls about the time he married Anne Collins; perhaps some years earlier by his brother John who sold a house, orchard and other land to Nathaniel a few years after his removal to Rehoboth. There must have been another old house near by that was occupied by Samuel Ingalls and is mentioned in his will, but of this I have neither recollection nor definite record. On the northeast corner of Fayette and Olive streets there used to be an ancient well and this may have been close to the house of Samuel Ingalls. The house of John Ingalls was in the same vicinity. There were therefore three or four Ingalls houses of about 1690, or earlier, on this tract, the oldest near the pond and the others near Woodend. All of the latter were around the little "Common," as were also houses of the Iresons and Collins'. It may be imagined that Robert Ingalls lived in the house built by Edmund, which is portrayed on p. 21 while his sons built their own houses on edges of the farm in proximity to the village center. The oldest houses in New England were built in sheltered places favored with water supply, there being no other considerations such as proximity to roads and neighbors for then there were neither of them. Later they built on the roadsides for the sake of convenience and society. I conjecture that the succession of Ingalls houses in East Lynn was something like that. We can now do nothing but conjecture.*

* Of the houses now standing in Fayette and Essex streets none is either ancient or historic. The Gustavus Andrews house on the west side of Fayette street, near Bloomfield, was

Of the personality of Nathaniel Ingalls we know nothing at all. Upon his death in 1737, when he was known as "old Nathaniel Ingalls," he left an estate, chiefly in land, that was large for this time, and the inventory of it in comparison with the total valuation of the town indicates that he must have been one of its well-to-do men. His son William left Lynn and became the progenitor of the Ingalls family of Sullivan, Me. The other four sons remained in Lynn and most of the present bearers of the name in that place are descended from one or another of them. In his will Nathaniel bequeathed his land to his sons Nathaniel and Jacob. The last received the old homestead and the land south of the present line of the Boston & Maine railway. Nathaniel had the land to the north. The homestead that was thus divided consisted of 18 acres.

Nathaniel, sr. owned a good deal of land in scattered parcels throughout the town, some of which was derived from the partition of the common lands in 1706. However, it appears that the land holdings of Robert Ingalls had shrunk to a small fraction of their proportions in 1686, although there are no deeds of record to explain that, except the deed of one parcel of the Harker land to Eleazer.

As I have previously mentioned, Nathaniel [3] married Anne Collins, and Joseph his son married Rebecca Collins, who was the daughter of Eleazer Collins and Rebecca Newhall. Up to this time the members of the Ingalls family in Lynn had mostly been farmers, tilling their own land. Eleazer Collins, however, was a mariner, and evidently he brought his son-in-law into a maritime atmosphere. His sons John Ingalls and

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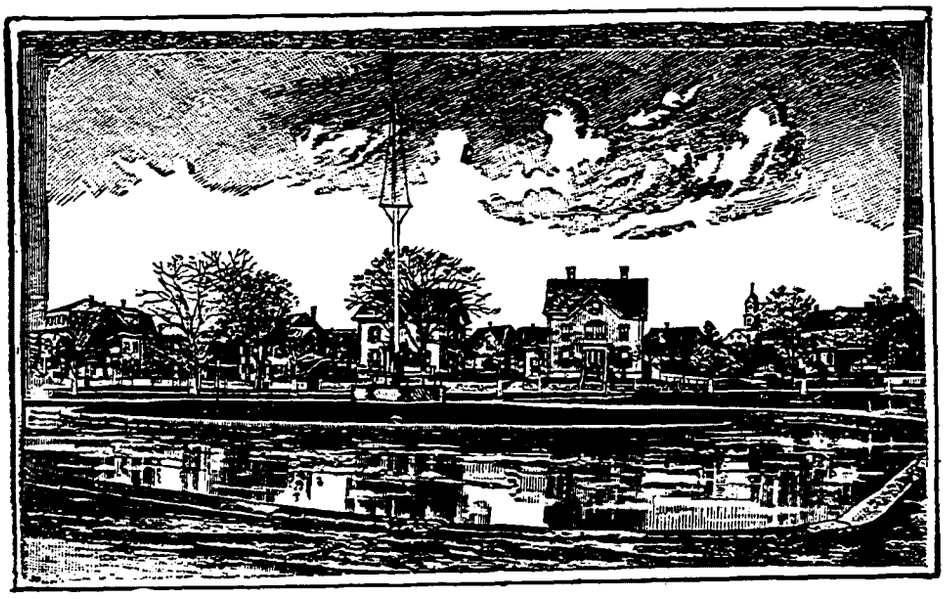
built by Jacob Ingalls, 3rd., about 1818. The house on the east side of Fayette, opposite Olive, was built by James Ingalls about 1801. Several houses in Essex street that are known as Ingalls houses and date from about the middle of the eighteenth century are on Collins land. Parrot street was opened through Ingalls land and there is a small house there that is old. However, Parrott street itself is comparatively modern. It does not appear on the map of 1852; nor does the extension of Chatham street from Essex to Lewis.

Eleazer Collins Ingalls both followed the sea, as likewise did Captain Abner, who was the son of John [5] (Joseph [4] Nathaniel [3]) and Captain Collins, who was the son of Eleazer Collins.* Captain Eleazer Collins Ingalls (1731–1801) is noteworthy as the first of the family to have a middle name. This custom did not become common, however, until well along in the eighteenth century. Previous to that time it was the practice to distinguish among those of the same Christian name by referring to one as John, another as John, jr., another as John, 2nd, and so on. About the beginning of the nineteenth century there was in Lynn a string of Johns up to John 4th. This did not imply descent but simply relative date of birth, which is important for the genealogist to bear in mind. Thus the occurrence of John, jr., does not imply that he was the son of John, but rather that contemporaneously there were two Johns.

Vocationally, the Ingalls' of Lynn were first farmers. Then a branch of them became mariners. Later some of them, living in Swampscott were fishermen. In the course of time, especially toward the end of the eighteenth century the farmers, mariners and fishermen tended to become cordwainers. They might be farmers and mariners part of the time and cordwainers part of the time. Soon they were shoe makers all of the time. The Lynn directory of 1841 evinces that then to have been the principal occupation. About the time of the Civil War the more enterprising among them began to be shoe manufacturers. The transition from the old shop to the factory employing many persons had then occurred.

The descendants of Samuel [3] and Nathaniel [4] gradually parted with their portions of the original farm. The descendants of Jacob [4] on the other hand hung on to theirs and a map of Lynn property in 1852 shows that practically the whole

* Capt. Collins Ingalls kept a journal of a voyage to Sumatra in 1827–28, which is preserved in the collections of the Essex Institute.



INGALLS POND IN 1886.

The home of Edmund Ingalls was beyond the pond, to the extreme right of this picture.

stretch from Ingalls pond to Stacey's brook, south of the line of the Boston & Maine railway was still in their possession, especially in the names of John Augustus Ingalls [7] and the heirs of Sydney Ingalls [7] (1816–1848). A map of 1880 shows some excisions, but large parcels still remaining.

Even in 1880, as I remember it, this land was mainly an open field, upland and meadow. Bloomfield street, running easterly from Ingalls pond, was merely a farm lane, closed by a gate that I had to open in order to make a short cut toward Stacey's brook.

At the present time small plots of the original land are owned by Parkers, descended from a sister of John Augustus Ingalls, while Sydney Ingalls [8], a gentleman of 81 years, who was the son of Sidney [7], owns a fraction of an acre of the original land and lives on it. In this instance therefore there is a possession of 300 years with the name.

After the death of John Augustus Ingalls I examined the contents of an ancient iron safe in his house. It was packed

full with family documents going back to 1690. These were mainly deeds, drafts for wills, financial accounts and letters. From them I gleaned important genealogical data, but no doubt I overlooked much of historical interest, my attention not then being so directed; or perhaps, I should say I was too inexperienced to interpret what I read. Recently I have endeavored to ascertain the whereabouts of those documents, but no one but myself appears now even to know that there was such a collection. This illustrates how family records disappear.

In 1915 a tablet was erected on the north slope from Ingalls (Goldfish) pond, inscribed as follows.

A FEW RODS NORTH OF THIS SPOT
EDMUND INGALLS ONE OF THE FIRST
SETTLERS OF LYNN LOCATED HIS DWEL-
LING IN 1629 AND MUCH OF THE LAND
IN THIS VICINITY IS STILL OWNED BY
HIS DESCENDANTS HAVING COME DOWN
TO THEM IN DIRECT INHERITANCE
1915
ERECTED TO THE MEMORY
OF ONE OF HIS DESCENDANTS
ELIZABETH FRANCES (PARKER) VIALL

This tablet is a bronze plate set into a boulder. The inscription is not entirely satisfactory in its phrasing, but anyhow it marks the historic place. The reference to much of the land in the vicinity being still owned by descendants of Edmund Ingalls is correct, but as I have previously explained there is only a small parcel now with the family name.

The name of Ingalls is now becoming scarce in Lynn as previously it had become in Ipswich, Andover, Marblehead and Rehoboth. Divisions of lands among children, the urge to go elsewhere to look for better things, and multiplication

from the stocks have all promoted dispersion. For some reason or another also the Lynn family was less prolific than other branches. Among its members we do not find so large families as there were at Andover and elsewhere. It may be remarked that Lynn was growing up as a town and becoming a city, and the Ingalls' there came to be living in a community while their cousins elsewhere were living on farms. However, in my boyhood, 50 years ago, there were still a good many Ingalls' in Lynn. Most of them were descendants of Nathaniel Ingalls.

Nevertheless, I am sure that there are more of the name still living in Lynn than in any of the other towns with which the family was associated during the first two centuries. The explanation of this is primarily that Lynn was situated on the sea; and secondarily and principally that it developed into an industrial place. Consequently there were better opportunities for livelihood and as the family multiplied the sons and daughters could do as well at home as they could anywhere else. Moreover, there were the satisfying social attractions of a community.

In the country towns on the other hand the basis of livelihood was always the farm, which seldom was more than 100 acres in area, and would not support more than one family. Consequently the sons were constantly being flung off to seek farms elsewhere or to adopt trades and the original farm would come down through one line, which might end with daughters only, or with one son who did not desire to be a farmer. Even at the present time the two groups of what were Ingalls farms in Andover are in sparsely settled regions and remote from railway stations.*

* This may be rather misleading. Both these groups of farms were near stations on the Salem-Lawrence branch of the Boston & Maine railway, but since the abandonment of that line a few years ago they have become remote.

VIII

THE ANDOVER BRANCH

NEXT to Lynn, the strongest association of the Ingalls family has been with the town of Andover, especially with the north parish thereof, which in comparatively recent times (1855) was set off as the town of North Andover.

Andover was one of the original eight townships of Essex county. The first settlements in it, which occurred previous to 1640, were in the vicinity of Great Pond, or Cochickawick, in what is now North Andover township. The original settlement was called Cochickawick. It was first called Andover in 1644. The church was organized in 1645.

In the early days of Essex county the township was the unit of local government, but within the townships the meeting houses became the foci of association and as in the course of time it became desirable to have more than one meeting house the districts adjacent to them became known as parishes and in fact the township itself was after a while divided geographically into parishes, each with the obligation to support its own church and attend to some other local matters.

Thus, as the settlement of Andover proceeded there developed the north, south and west parishes. Later on, as some parish attained more distinct importance, it might be set off as a separate township. In this way the north parish of Andover became the town of North Andover. There are occasional instances of towns that never grew, wherein the old

parish system still survives, e.g., in the town of Boxford, adjoining North Andover, which has its east parish and its west, town meetings being held alternately in their respective villages. The village greens, or commons, belong to the parishes, however, and in deeding a parcel of land for the Catherine Ingalls Memorial Library in the west village conveyance of title was made by an act of the members of the church, or parish, rather than in town meeting.

As to why two sons of Edmund Ingalls, Henry (1627–1719) and Samuel (1634–1717) moved from Lynn to Ipswich, with Henry subsequently moving to Andover we can but conjecture. John Ingalls is of record as being a resident of Ipswich in 1648. We think that he was the son of Edmund, but of that there is no proof, nor is there any surely identifying record in respect of him subsequently. Following the death of Edmund Ingalls his son Henry went to Ipswich and it is no great stretch of the imagination that he was led thither by the presence of his brother. Anyhow, he acquired land in Ipswich, but he sold it in 1652 and removed to Andover, where he settled in the vicinity of the church. This second removal may also have been inspired by family associations. His sister Elizabeth had married Rev. Francis Dane, who in 1649 became the pastor of the Andover church (which he led until his death in 1697). His sister Faith had married Andrew Allen, of Andover, and was living there. Henry, who was still a bachelor at this time, in going to Andover rejoined a family group. In 1653 he married Mary Osgood.

Going to Andover, or indeed to the Merrimac valley in which it is situated, at this time was like going to the frontier. The early settlers in the towns along the coast had no trouble with the Indians, although occasionally in the very early days, they had scares, but a few miles inland the Indians were a real menace, and continued to be so until nearly the end of

the seventeenth century, especially when unrest was leading to King Philip's war (1675) and later, in the '90s when the French were instigating them to mischief. As a measure of protection the settlers designated and equipped some of their houses as "garrison houses," i.e., those were strongholds into which the people of a neighborhood might retire in the event of an attack. In Andover there were numerous houses of that character. Inglehurst is said to have been one and the Ingalls house of which Miss Lodemia was the last Ingalls possessor is said to have been another.

Henry Ingalls upon moving to Andover and marrying there obtained a parcel of land where the church now is, the meeting house in his time being elsewhere. The parish being desirous of building a new church, however, came to the conclusion that his location was the most convenient and arranged with him in 1681, to surrender it in exchange for a grant of 70 acres of land about a mile south, extending over Mosquito brook.

This new place, where he and his descendants lived for more than two centuries, was along what is known now as Johnson street and in the region where that road crosses Mosquito brook. The farm was partly on the upland to the north of the brook, sloping down into the meadow, and rising to the upland to the south, where the Reynolds cider mill now is. The house of Mr. Reynolds was formerly an Ingalls house. Its last Ingalls owner was Lodemia (or Loderma) Ingalls (1789–), in whose time it was a one-story house, but back of her we are unable to trace its history, although probably it passed to her from her father Stephen [6] (Joshua [5] Joseph [4] Henry [3] Henry [2]).

The meadow through which flows Mosquito brook, was formerly known as Ingalls' great meadow, and is thus described in deeds of 200 years ago. Reference is also made to Johnson

street, evincing that it bore that name thus early.* In his will Henry Ingalls mentions a great rock in the meadow. Inability to find such an object at the present time might be confusing, were it not known that Mr. Reynolds many years ago blasted it out, and grassed over the place, as he informed me.

Henry Ingalls quickly became a man of importance in Andover. He joined the church, no doubt through the influence of his brother-in-law, and became a freeman. He was known as Sergeant Henry Ingalls and for several years was commander of the Andover company in the Essex regiment, a company of infantry at this time being led by a sergeant (captain)†. With the Indian menace existing at this time the captain of the militia had real responsibility. Also for several terms he was constable of the town, the constable being the chief executive officer and having a considerable measure of authority. Among other duties he was charged with collecting the tithes of the church, and in instances of default he might sieze and sell property without further process of law. Henry Ingalls had a large family and probably the more part of the present descendants of Edmund Ingalls trace back through him.

The will of Henry, sr. executed in 1714, is of particular interest, especially in the directions given to his son James, named as executor, to care for his widow. This provision reads "I order my son James to keep a cow for my wife, and to give her yearly 10 bushels of corn, one half of it in Indian corn the other half in English corn, and five pounds of wool, five pounds of flax and to provide her with firewood."

* Previous to that it was known as Boston meadow-way. This is an ancient road, having been the route from North Andover to Boston. The next main highway to the east was the route to Salem, now known as Salem street. There was also an old road from Andover to Ipswich, passing through Boxford.

† The commander of a regiment was a sergeant major; and the commander of two or more regiments was a sergeant major general.

INGALLS' GREAT MEADOW, NORTH ANDOVER.

Looking eastward from Johnson Street. Mosquito brook is shown cutting across it. The dam built by Henry Ingalls, Jr., is in the thicket in the distance. The homesteads were situated to the north, on the plateau to which the slope that is shown in the picture rises. This is now well-tilled attractive farming country.

She was also to have annually 100 pounds of meat and the use of one end of the dwelling house. This provision for food and fiber was not very different from the average requirement per person at the present time. Ancient wills were not commonly so specific as this one. However, the stipulation that the widow should have housing was common.

As for the rest, Henry, sr., divided his farm among his sons, and referred to the dwelling house that his son Samuel already had. A peculiarity of the will is a bequest to his son Henry, although the latter had been dead 16 years. Son James inherited the homestead house, barn, and orchard.

I infer that Henry Ingalls and his sons constituted a little community and that there were several houses, antedating 1700 on the property, but no one of them now exists.*

* On the subject of old New England houses I may remark that what are known to be ancient houses did not always look as they do now. Additions and alterations both were made. Our forefathers conducted themselves just the same as we do. The old houses used to have fireplaces and a big chimney to draught them. When stoves became available they were,

Following the death of Henry Ingalls sr., there were numerous conveyances of parcels of land from one brother to another. Some of these transfers were associated no doubt with the removal of two of the brothers to Abington, Conn., and Salem, Mass. Samuel and Josiah and the sons of Henry, jr., remained in Andover. In the next generation the sons of Samuel moved northward to Haverhill and thence into New Hampshire, while the sons of Josiah and a branch of the line of Henry, jr., spread southward toward Middleton, which anyway was only two or three miles south of Mosquito brook. Place names, such as Ingalls street, Ingalls Crossing (a railway station), and Inglehurst (an estate) still identify the family with that region.

Henry Ingalls [2] at the time of his death was a very old man. Indeed, his surviving sons were then elderly men. Some of them had obtained grants of land from the town of Andover to themselves. Others lived on portions of the farm of their father who had built houses for them. Henry, jr., the second son was a carpenter and builder. In 1686 he was granted liberty by the town to set up a saw mill on "Musketoe River" (Mosquito brook) below Boston meadow-way, i.e., the road to Boston meadow. Henry seems to have been a favorite with his father who gave him several pieces of land. In one document he said that "Henry had greatly to my approbation and liking contracted a marriage with Abigail Emery, daughter of John Emery of Newbury." In another document he expressed his appreciation of the good care that Abigail had taken of him while he was a

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of course, much better heaters than any fireplace ever was. So the fireplace was closed with a fireboard and a stove was connected. Many of the old chimneys were built on insecure foundations, often on beams that eventually decayed, wherefore the chimneys were taken down, and in rebuilding them they were made no larger than necessary for stoves. Sometimes the chimney was preserved, the fireplace only being taken out, which might be done in a one-story house.

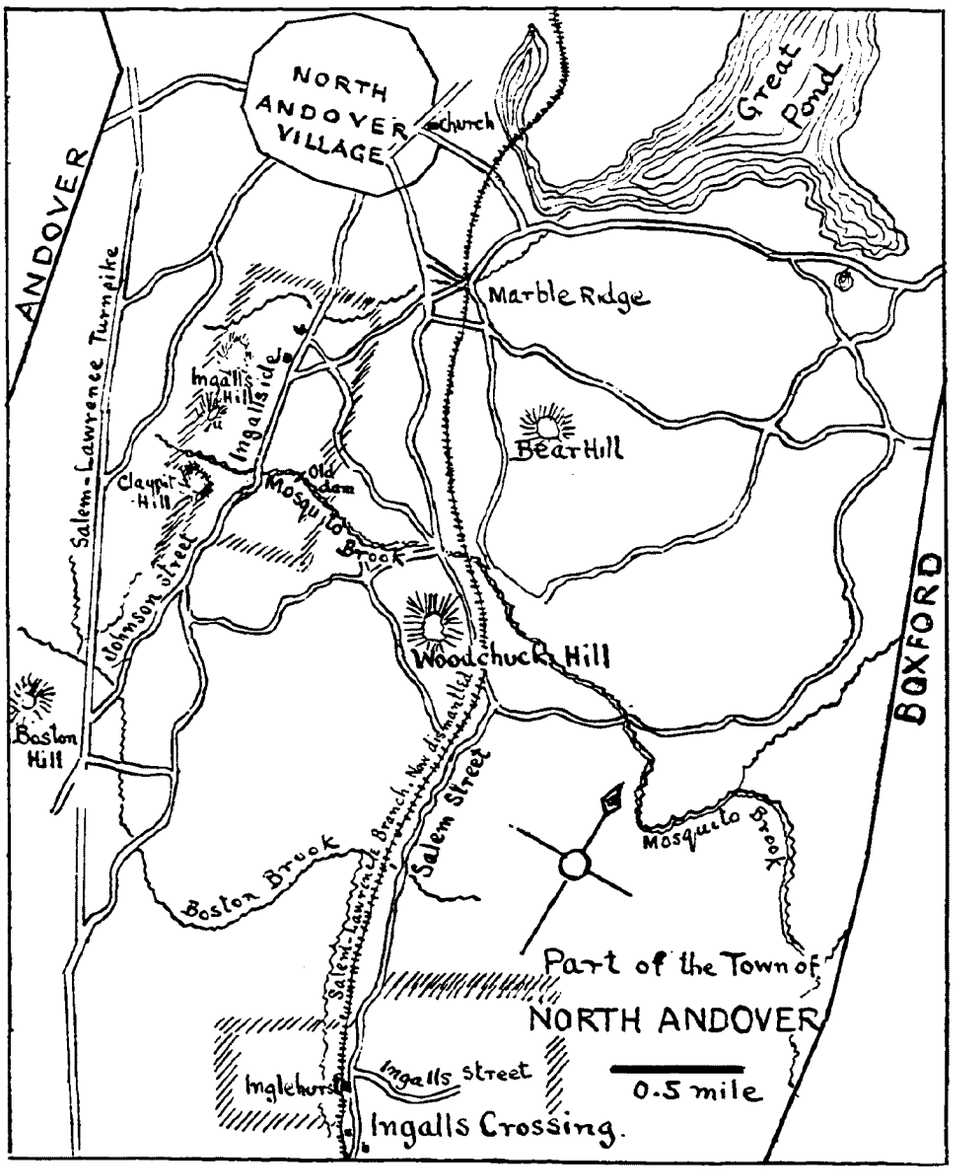
widower. At the time of her marriage she was only 19 and her husband was 32. There might be a romance in this story if we knew all of it.

Henry Ingalls, jr., died prematurely in 1698, and Abigail not until 1756. So she was a widow at 29. She lies buried in the old graveyard in North Andover and the headstone that marks her grave records pathetically that she had "lived a widow 58 years." But she had the satisfaction of seeing her sons and grandsons attain prosperity and distinction. As a wife she had lived through years of excitement including the witchcraft fear in 1692 and the frequent Indian incursions between 1690 and 1697.* The capture and escape of Hannah Dustan in 1697 occurred in Haverhill, only five miles away.

The remains of the dam that is supposed to have been built by Henry Ingalls, jr., are still clearly to be seen, its situation being about 200 yards east of Johnson street. Mr. Reynolds in exploring it excavated some hewed timber still in good preservation. He is of the opinion, however, that no saw-mill was ever built there. Mosquito brook is here a very small stream. During the drought of 1929 it was quite dry. We think, however, that our little brooks of to-day were much more important affairs 250 years ago, when the country was well timbered.

I have not traced carefully the subsequent history of the original farm on Mosquito brook. I think that all of it eventually came into the hands of Henry [4] (Henry [3] Henry [2]), who was a large land owner and a highly influential citizen in Andover. When he died, in 1749, he left an estate that was considered a large fortune at that time.

* During the witchcraft delusion her uncle, the Rev. Francis Dane was a suspect. One of his daughters was sentenced and three of his parishioners were hung. Mr. Dane did his utmost to brush away this preposterous delusion, wherefore the suspicion that was directed against himself, and eventually succeeded.



MAP SHOWING THE INGALLS LANDS IN NORTH ANDOVER.

The two areas are shown approximately by the hatched lines.

I infer that he owned all of the original lands of Henry [2] and his sons and probably more or less adjacent territory and that his estate was substantially as shown on the accompanying map.

The children of Henry [4] (Henry [3] Henry [2]) presented a remarkable example of longevity. He had four sons, who

lived to ages of 84, 82, 79 and 75 respectively. He also had four daughters. One of them married and we have no record of her death. Judith* did not marry and lies buried beside her brother, Lieutenant John, in the old graveyard at North Andover. She died in 1807 at the age of 86 years. So of this family of eight children we can account for five of them as attaining great age.

Two of the sons of Henry [4] moved away from Andover, but two—Captain Henry and Lieutenant John—remained and lived on the original farm. Both of them played leading parts in local affairs during the revolutionary period. They were then advanced in years beyond the call to military service, but their sons entered the army. Henry's son, whose name was Henry, became later the father of the Countess, and John's son, whose name was John, became known as Colonel John, and was a farmer, a school-master, and a picturesque character. He had been a soldier in the Revolution and later he served for many years in the 3rd. regiment of Massachusetts infantry, of which he became the lieutenant colonel.

Capt. Henry Ingalls [5] served as an officer in the French and Indian war. He was born in 1719, a few months after the death of Henry [2] his great-grandfather. He left a record in the papers of his branch of the family saying "Mr. Henry Ingalls from whom all these sprung, was born in the year 1627 and died in the year 1719, who lived 92 years and two months. After his death I, Henry Ingalls was born, who have lived 83 years. So that we two both have lived on this earth 175 years." This was written a year before the death of Henry [5]. His descent was:

* Her birth record is Judith, but her gravestone is inscribed Judah.

Edmund—Ann

Henry (1621–1719)—Mary Osgood
Henry (1656–1699)—Abigail Emery
Henry (1689–1749)—Hannah Martin
Henry (1719–1803)—Sarah Putnam

Henry (1752–1832)—Abigail Wingate

Mary (1786–1807) the Countess

Putnam (1763–1814)—Fanny Carlton

Henry Putnam

Henry [6] and Putnam [6] were half brothers, Henry [5] having married Sarah Putnam and after her death another Sarah Putnam.

In the fifth generation there were only five heads of families of the Ingalls name living in Andover. All of these were first cousins and descendants from Henry of the third generation. This fifth generation lived in the period 1719–1810. Three of these cousins lived on portions of the original farm at Mosquito brook. The other two lived at or near Inglehurst. However, previous to the middle of the nineteenth century everyone of the name had gone from this place, although portions of the property were retained and became reoccupied by owners who returned. A map of 1854 shows Dr. Charles Currier Ingalls as an occupant of a portion of the farm. He was born in 1807, the son of Dr. Jedediah (1768–1847) of Durham, N. H., and grandson of Lieut. John. Dr. Jedediah was graduated from Harvard in 1792. Dr. Charles was graduated from Dartmouth in 1829, and from the Harvard Medical School in 1833.

Henry Ingalls, of the fourth generation, evidently reassembled all of the lands of the original grants, which previously had been divided among the sons of the third generation, and added to them. Upon his death in 1749 his lands passed to his sons Capt. Henry and Lieut. John, the former receiving the northern portion. Henry Putnam Ingalls was a son of Capt. Henry. Lieut. John had sons Col.

John and Dr. Jedediah. Col. John, unmarried, lived with his sister Hannah, in the old house that subsequently was taken by the town for use as a pest house. Dr. Jedediah lived and died in Durham, N. H. His son Dr. Charles moved back to Andover and Col. John, his uncle, built for him the house now occupied by J. J. Clark. Dr. Charles lived there with his sister Hannah, both unmarried.

Dr. Charles died, intestate, about 1880, and his property passed to his heirs (sisters); and his nephew Charles A. Newhall, purchased the interests of his aunts, taking the first deed that had been executed upon the land in the possession of Dr. Charles. Portions of the original farm had previously been sold, however. Mr. Newhall repurchased several of these, and thus reconsolidated an estate of about 140 acres, which he called Ingallside, and on which he resided for many years and until recently.

Henry Putnam Ingalls at the time of his death had a farm of about 75 acres, probably a part of the original land. This reached north to the land of General Sutton (Farnham's Folly). His sons Henry Putnam Ingalls, jr. and Daniel occupied this farm for a number of years subsequently and then they sold it and the property thus passed away from the name in the early part of this century.

Johnson street heading southward from North Andover village cuts through what was the Ingalls estate, which began where the Sutton estate ended. To the west of Johnson street the land reached about to the crest of the ridge which rises to the westward. This boundary line turned eastward just south of Mosquito brook and then struck off the south over the summit of Claypit hill. This portion of the land was cleared of underbrush in comparatively recent years and the line of clearing, which is now perfectly plain, marks the Ingalls western boundary in that

portion. Continuing south the Ingalls land extended to the present land of Mr. Starrett. The distance from north to south is about 1.3 mile.

We are unable with certainty to identify the location of any of the homesteads of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth, but we can approximate them. The original homestead of Henry [2] was certainly in existence in 1719 and probably for at least a century later.

Col. John lived in the house that subsequently was used by the town as a pest house and was destroyed about 1865, and he inherited it from his father, Lieut. John. This was a large, hip-roofed house, with a hall running centrally through it in cruciform, and it had great fireplaces and chimneys. This was probably the mansion of Henry [4], from whom it passed to Lieut. John, his son.

Henry Putnam Ingalls, returning from Boston to Andover, occupied an old house upon the site of the new house (now belonging to Benjamin Cole) that he set about building. We may infer that this was an ancient house from the statement of Mrs. Sarah Ingalls Crocker that H.P.I. asserted to her father, Stephen William Ingalls, that his house was older than Inglehurst, which is supposed to have been built in 1675, but I think there is uncertainty in respect of the date of the latter.

Mr. Newhall states that his uncle, Dr. Charles, believed that an old cellar, with an old well near-by, a few rods northwest of the present house of J. J. Clark, was the remains of the original homestead.

The existence of several old houses on this tract through the evidence of remains and tradition, is not contradictory. We know from the will of the first Henry, in 1719, that he then had two dwellings on the place, and there is reason to suppose that one or more of his sons had houses on their own farms adjoining.

This does not help us, however, in identifying the location of the homestead of the first Henry. Probably it was not the old house that we trace definitely to Lieut. John. From the account of Mr. Newhall that was more of an affair than an original homestead would be expected to be, and of a different architecture from that prevailing in the country in the seventeenth century. I conjecture that this house was built by Henry of the fourth generation, who was a magnate. There is, of course, the possibility that this replaced an older house, but in the eighteenth century our ancestors were not yet sufficiently well-to-do to demolish wilfully and rebuild, and their constructions did not fall into grave disrepair until the nineteenth century.

Excluding this location, then, our thoughts turn to the locations near the present Clark and Cole houses. As to the former there is no evidence except the reported belief of Dr. Charles. As to the latter there is the evidence, at second hand, that Henry Putnam Ingalls possessed a house antedating another family house that was supposed to have been built in 1675; added to which is the knowledge that H.P.I. had family papers and may have been in a position to know whereof he was talking.

The two places herein indicated are not far apart, and physically there appears now to be but little choice between them, i.e. we are unable to spot either of them as a place that would be naturally selected by a first settler. When the first Henry surrendered his original lot where the North Andover church now is and moved southward we may conjecture that he would plant his homestead near to the village rather than far away from it. However, we know that the place that he chose was not in the extreme north of his grant for the northern 20 acres he willed to his son

INGLEHURST, NORTH ANDOVER.
The southern exposure.

John and his homestead was in the 20 acres immediately south thereof. This is only approximately identifying. The site of the house of H.P.I. is the nearer to a little brook and proximity to such water supply was favored by the early settlers. I am inclined to identify this with the first homestead but obviously the evidence is far from conclusive.

Henry Putnam Ingalls was the last of the name to live and die on this property. Mr. Reynolds as a young man knew Henry Putnam as an old man. He tells me that in his woodshed he had a great collection of guns—old flint-lock muskets, old muzzle-loading rifles, etc.—and could not understand why the old man should have been such a collector, and what ever became of his collection nobody knows. I can imagine that Henry Putnam was not a collector of firearms, but I know that he came from a military family and I can conjecture that his guns, carelessly preserved, were those that his forefathers had carried in the French and Indian war, in the Revolution, and in subsequent service.

After the death of Henry Putnam Ingalls, who had sons Henry Putnam and Daniel living in Andover but not long

continuing there, the sole representative of the name in this town became Stephen William Ingalls, the owner of Inglehurst.

Inglehurst is a house standing in 120 acres of land near Ingalls Crossing. This house is marked as having been built in 1675. I believe it is the oldest Ingalls house now standing, anywhere. It was once a stately mansion but it has been marred by reconstructions such as removal of the old chimneys and substitution of small ones. It is now owned by Mrs. Sarah Ingalls Crocker who was born in it and is of the sixth generation to have been born in it. Her descent is as follows:

Edmund—Ann
Henry (1621-1719)—Mary Osgood
Henry (1656-1699)—Abigail Emery
Francis (1694-1759)—Lydia Ingalls (his cousin)

Ebenezer (1721-)—Sarah Kimball
Ebenezer (1760-)—

Francis (1731-)—Eunice Jennings
Jonathan (1762-1837)—Sarah Berry
Francis (1793-1850)—Elizabeth Foster
Stephen William (1833-1911)—
Sarah—Crocker

Inglehurst is supposed to have been occupied by, if not built by, Henry [3] and his son Francis [4] was born there and five generations after him as shown in the accompanying pedigree. The gambril-roof house now attached to the main house was originally the house of Ebenezer [5] and stood in Ingalls street, near by, whence it was removed to its present place. Senator Ingalls was closely associated with this branch of the family, his grandfather, Theodore [6], having been a brother of Jonathan [6]. Theodore Ingalls lived near Middletown village, a mile or two south of Ingalls Crossing.

Also closely connected with this line was Melville E. Ingalls [9], who was a great-grandson of Isaiah, who was a brother of Jonathan and Theodore. Isaiah removed from

Andover to Bridgeton, Me.

General Rufus Ingalls also tied in closely with this stock, his ancestry having been Edmund [1] Henry [2] Henry [3] Francis [4] Francis [5] Cyrus [6] Rufus [7].

Thus the Senator, the General, Melville E., and the present possessors of Inglehurst are descended from four brothers of the sixth generation.

Although there are no more Ingalls', anyhow not of the name, who now live in Andover, or North Andover, there are a good many Osgoods and Abbotts and Stevens' who trace back to Henry Ingalls[2] on the distaff side, for there were numerous intermarriages among those families.

Ingaldsby that constitutes the part of the west parish of Boxford that corners between Groveland and Georgetown comprises the original grant of land to John Trumbull in 1666. My maternal ancestors, the Burbanks, lived here from 1706 to 1791, the old Burbank house being where the tennis court north of Hale House now is. On the plain in West Boxford village Colonel John Ingalls used to train his troops.

In travelling from West Boxford to Lynn or to Boston we go to Marbleridge and thence to Johnson street and pass right through the Ingalls land. I was born in Lynn on what was the Sagamore Hill farm where Francis Ingalls lived from 1647 to 1668. In going there we skirt the homestead of Edmund Ingalls and Ingalls Pond, although that is now all citified.

We skim through these places at 25 miles per hour or more, but although our passages are frequent it never escapes my mind that I am traversing ground that my ancestors trod and I imagine their life of 200 and 300 years ago, but no such thing ever enters the heads of my children.

IX

THE IPSWICH BRANCH

SAMUEL Ingalls, the youngest son of Edmund, also removed from Lynn to Ipswich, where he bought a farm in 1655. At this time his brother Henry had already removed to Andover. In 1656 Samuel married Ruth Eaton, and by her he had five sons and four daughters.

The farm that Samuel Ingalls acquired, upon which he lived during the remainder of his life, was in the second parish of Ipswich, that was then known as Chebacco, and in 1819 was set off as the town of Essex. His farm appears to have been right on the line between Ipswich and Gloucester, indeed overlapping into Gloucester. I have not identified its location any more closely.

In the county records Samuel Ingalls as a young man appears several times as having been "presented," i.e., brought up on charges of misdemeanor and reprimanded or fined. Once he was charged with having been profane. Another time with "taking tobacco," i.e., having a smoke, on a Sunday. He seems to have been a "regular fellow."

However, as he matured he became more sober and in 1673 he was admitted into the church. Previously he had become a soldier and he served along with the other Ipswich men in King Philip's war, experiencing great hardship in that campaign. Maintaining his interest in things military he became the lieutenant of the Ipswich Horse, a famous troop in the Essex regiment, which performed service in protecting the Merrimac valley against Indian raids in the

'90s. Also he served as a selectman of his town and for several terms as its representative in the General Court.

In his will (1716) he bequeathed to his sons his sword and his carbine, his bible, and the great chair in which he used to sit. This old farmer and cavalryman seems to have been a picturesque figure, reminding us of one of Cromwell's Ironsides.

Samuel Ingalls had four sons who lived to maturity, but of them only Joseph is of record as having posterity and it seems certain that the other three either did not marry or if so had no children. Joseph, who was born in Ipswich was a housewright, or builder, in Gloucester where he died in 1724, leaving a substantial estate. It may be remarked that the part of Ipswich where Samuel Ingalls had his farm was in fact nearer to the village of Gloucester than to the village of Ipswich. With the former town, therefore, the Ingalls family has not been so closely identified as with Andover, although Samuel lived within its limits from 1655 to 1717. His son Joseph had two sons, Samuel and John. Both of them were born in Ipswich and lived there. Samuel received from the state grants of land in Buxton, Me., and Winchendon Mass., in consideration of the military services of his grandfather, Samuel, and his uncle, Edmund; but he does not appear to have occupied either of them. He was living in Ipswich as late as 1737 and probably continued to do so. He was married and had children, but does not appear to have had male posterity.

John (Joseph [3] Samuel [2]) moved from Ipswich to Dunstable in 1760, and the name continued in the latter place for about 100 years subsequently. In the sixth generation this branch of the family scattered widely, but some of the name who have lived in Tyngsboro, Dracut, Lowell and Nashua, places near Dunstable, thus trace their descent.

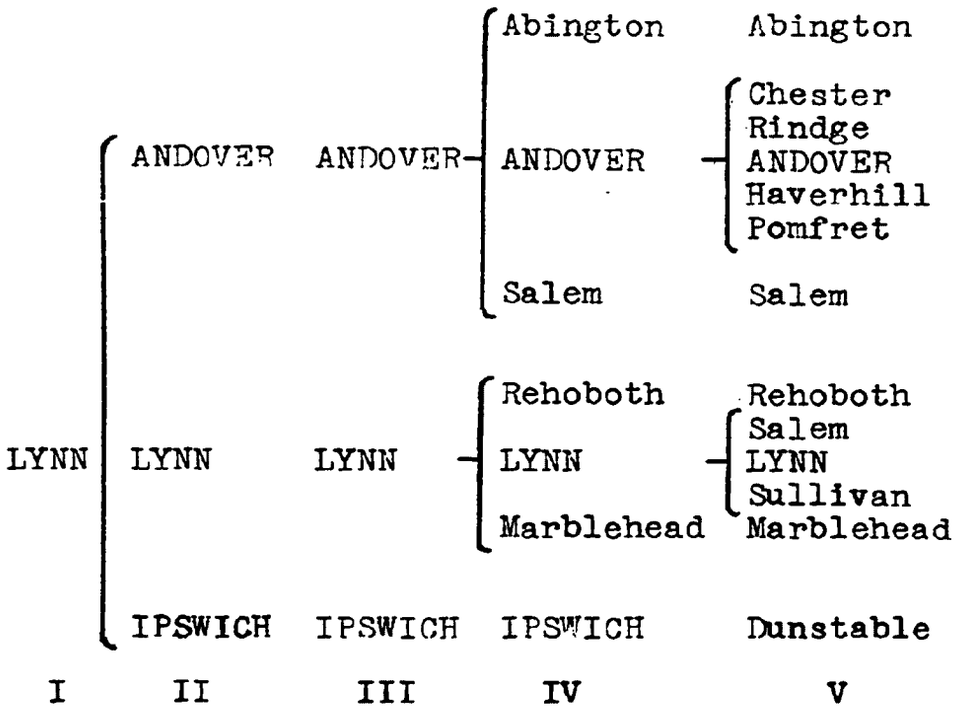
X

THE SPREAD OF THE FAMILY

WITHOUT becoming genealogical, it is useful to trace the geographical spread of the family for several generations. This is shown in the accompanying tree, on the next page, which gives the main ramifications during the first five generations. Such a chart would become rather complicated if it were carried further down.

In general the main branches of the family stuck to their land, but as progeny multiplied and land was subdivided there was naturally dispersion. Most persistent has been the main stem of the family in Lynn, but already in the second generation there were offshoots to Ipswich and Andover. In the third generation Lynn sent off sons to Rehoboth and Marblehead. In the fourth generation Lynn branched to Salem and Sullivan (Maine) and Andover to Salem and Abington (Conn.). In the fifth generation the Andover sons spread into New Hampshire, especially to Rindge and Chester, and to Pomfret, Conn., while the Ipswich sons went to Dunstable. In the histories of all of those towns the name of Ingalls was prominent.

I have often speculated as to how closely the brothers of the second generation and the cousins of the third and fourth kept in touch with each other. I suppose the association was much the same as it has been in our own days. It is clear that it existed, for there were several cousin-marriages, and Francis Ingalls is of record as paying visits to Andover, and journeys to Ipswich by the Lynn men were



GECGRAPHICAL DIAGRAM.

not infrequent, their attendance being required at county court. Such excursions appear to have been made by horseback.

The places to which the Ingalls, of the second generation removed were not far away from Lynn. Neither Ipswich (Chebacco) nor Andover is more than 20 miles distant, which a century ago would have necessitated about eight hours travelling with an ox-team. With the poorer roads of 1650 the time required was probably longer. On foot a day's walk would accomplish the journey among any of these places—from Lynn to Ipswich or Andover, or from Ipswich to Andover. The next generation went much further afield, Rehoboth, Mass., and Abington, Conn., being many miles from Lynn and Andover respectively. We go now from Andover to Lynn by automobile in less than an hour.

INGALLS MEMORIAL LIBRARY, RINDGE, NEW HAMPSHIRE.

With the fifth generation we get down to the immediate pre-revolutionary time. From all of those towns there were many sons who entered the Continental Army.

In the sixth generation the Andover branch of the family, already in New Hampshire, spread elsewhere in that state and into Maine and Vermont. From Buxton and Sullivan in Maine there were migrations to other places in that state. From Rehoboth, Mass., there was a movement into New York. The dispersion of the name thenceforward became diffuse. Along with this it disappeared from Andover, Ipswich and Rehoboth. The experiences in the army during the Revolutionary War had a good deal to do with inspiring these migrations after that war.

Descendants of Edmund Ingalls have performed military service in every war in which the Colony of Massachusetts and the United States of America have been involved.

Under the flag of the colony—a red cross in a white field—Samuel Ingalls [2] served in King Philip's war. Edmund,

his son was a soldier in the expedition against Quebec in 1690. In the French and Indian war Capt. Henry Ingalls [5] of Andover led an Andover company and Edmund Ingalls commanded a Lynn company that marched to Canada in 1758 and was killed.* Lieut. Benjamin Ingalls was at the capture of Lunenburg in 1745 and remained in the British army until 1765.

Responding to the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, were six Ingalls' from Lynn, nine from Andover, three from Pomfret, two from Rindge and one from Rehoboth. The Ingalls' who went from Lynn were in Capt. Farrington's company, of which they constituted a sixth.

The names subsequently on the Revolutionary rolls, from Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut, are counted by scores. Most of them served on the land, but a few served on the sea. Capt. Eleazer Collins Ingalls of Lynn was commissioned commander of the privateer-schooner "Flora," 4 guns and 12 men, but he was captured along with his vessel at Guadelupe in 1779 and he was taken to Dartmoor and confined there as a prisoner of war. After the war he became a shipwright and helped to build the Constitution in 1797. Dr. Burleigh in his genealogy of the family lists the Ingalls sons who served in the army during the revolution of Massachusetts. I have counted seven from Lynn, 21 from Andover, eight from Rehoboth, two from Marblehead, and two from Dunstable, besides many from other towns and many whose home town is not stated. A large number of the name appear in the New Hampshire roll, while from Abington, Conn., Capt. Zebediah Ingalls

* This is of record in Lewis' history of Lynn, but I am unable to identify among the Lynn family anyone by this name who conjecturally would have been born about 1730. All of its members up to that time are well accounted for except David [4] (Samuel [2] Robert [3]) who was born in 1693 and is known to have been living in 1721. He may have had a son Edmund. Neither David nor Edmund appear on list of Lynn tax-payers in 1754, but that is not evidence of non-existence.

CATHERINE INGALLS MEMORIAL LIBRARY,
WEST BOXFORD, MASSACHUSETTS.

led a company in which were six of his sons and nephews.

During the naval war with France in 1799 Capt. Abner Ingalls lost his brig to the French at Fayal and did not obtain indemnity until many years afterward.

Under the stars and stripes there was a roll of Ingalls' in the war of 1812. Again in the Mexican war, in which Rufus Ingalls, served as captain in the First Dragoons. In the Civil War their number was legion—some as officers, many as privates. In the Spanish war and in the Great War there was service again, as no doubt there will be in any future wars.

In spreading over the United States the scions of Edmund Ingalls have given their name to numerous towns and places. There are towns named Ingalls in Arkansas, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, and North Carolina. There is Ingells in New York and Ingold in North Carolina. Illinois has Ingalton and Michigan has Ingallston. In Maine there is a village of Ingalls Road and in Massachusetts there is

Ingalls Crossing. The province of New Brunswick has Ingalls Head.

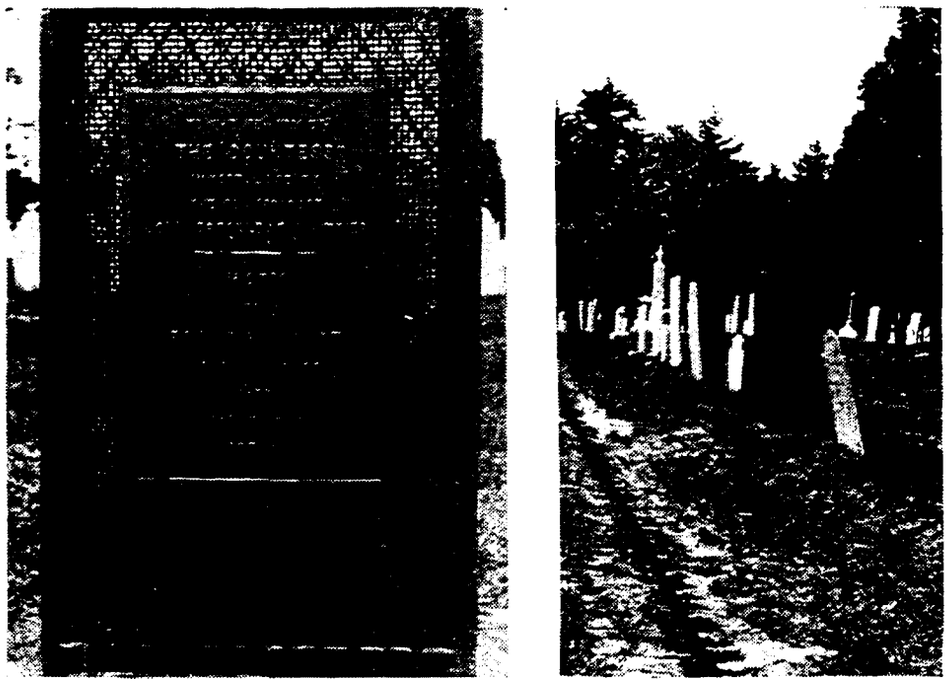
In Rindge, N. H., the Ingalls Memorial Library, erected by Mrs. Sophia Ingalls Wallace, perpetuates the memory of her father, Thomas Ingalls [6] (Jonathan [5], Josiah [4], Josiah [3], Henry [2]) who was an influential citizen of Rindge, whither his grandfather moved from Andover in 1764.

In the village of the west parish of Boxford, Mass., is the Catherine Ingalls Memorial Library, erected by her father, Walter [9] (Jerome [8], Theophilus [7], Abner [6], John [5], Joseph [4], Nathaniel [4], Robert [2]).

I think it is futile to point out distinguished figures in a family, implying that good qualities are derived from one strain. A person of the ninth generation from a paternal ancestor must have had 255 other ancestors if there were no intermarriages, and a group of a thousand, or more, seventh cousins of the same name is obviously very different in blood. Similarity in looks, in character and in physical and mental qualities frequently exists among brothers and sisters, and not uncommonly among first cousins, but among second cousins it is practically all gone. Yet second cousins have a common great-grandfather and that is not going very far back.

Nevertheless there is a natural pride that we are bound to feel in viewing distinguished bearers of the name that we ourselves bear and try to uphold.

It seems to me that the most eminent among all who have borne the name of Ingalls in America is the young girl who is known as the Countess. Mary Ingalls, wondrously beautiful, distinguished in character and well-beloved, married a French nobleman and after one happy year died. This is a simple, pathetic story; but she was celebrated by a poet and so she lives forever, and her grave by the Merrimac river is a shrine



THE GRAVE OF THE COUNTESS.

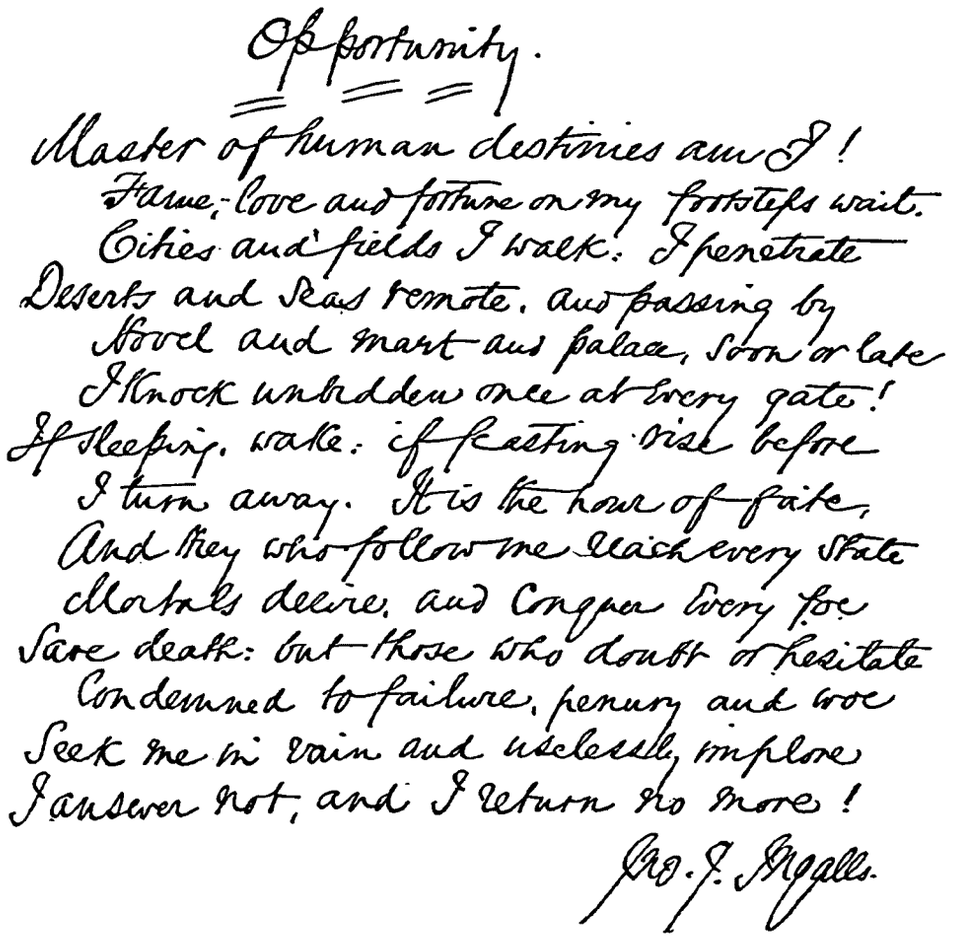
The simple stone that marks her grave was first protected by an iron fence surrounding the plot but in order to preserve it from vandals it became necessary to enclose it within a heavy grill. The stone to the right, leaning forward, marks the grave of her mother, who died in the same year.

Haply yon white-haired villager
Of four-score years can say
What means the noble name of her
Who sleeps with common clay.

Her rest is quiet on the hill,
Beneath the locust's bloom;
Far off her lover sleeps as still
Within his scutcheoned tomb.

Descending to the material our greatest representative was John James Ingalls, born in Middleton, who was a statesman and for many years a leader in the Senate of the United States. Gifted as a scholar and as an orator it was said of him that his vocabulary was equal to "Worcester and Webster boiled down and filtered through Carlisle." His political career has now been all but forgotten, but he lives as the author of "Opportunity," which is the world's most famous sonnet.

Rufus Ingalls rose to be a major general in the army of the United States. During the Civil War he was the quartermaster general of the Army of the Potomac. He was a close


Opportunity.

Master of human destinies am I!
Fame, love and fortune on my footsteps wait.
Cities and fields I walk. I penetrate
Deserts and seas remote, and passing by
Hovel and mart and palace, soon or late
I knock unbidden once at every gate!
If sleeping, wake; if feasting rise before
I turn away. It is the hour of fate,
And they who follow me reach every state
Mortals desire, and conquer every foe
Save death; but those who doubt or hesitate
Condemned to failure, penury and woe
Seek me in vain and uselessly implore
I answer not, and I return no more!

John J. Ingalls.

THE MANUSCRIPT OF OPPORTUNITY.

friend of General Grant, by whom he was highly esteemed.

These three distinguished scions of the Ingalls family came from Andover, the Countess and the Senator directly therefrom; the General from an offshoot into Maine, his birthplace having been Denmark in that state.

In writing this history of the Ingalls family I have gone into many minor details, believing them to be of human interest. After all, the annals of the family are simple. Our men have been farmers and soldiers and workers. There have been but few scintillating stars. Probably the same summary might be made of the majority of Puritan families. To a large extent they are compositions of the same blood,

for if any of us trace back our ancestry in fan-shape we find that we have many common ancestors. I have previously suggested that blood and the name are two very different things. Nevertheless with a name there is associated something indefinable. I have noticed how strong this is with the Ingalls name. Our daughters marry and acquire another name but they always continue to be Ingalls'; and often their husbands sentimentally become so. The women whom we marry join us not only in fact but also in spirit.

Generation by generation the blood is diffused, gradually the lands that sustained it pass into other possession, even the old homes in course of time become forgotten, but the tradition and the spirit run forever with the name.