The Washburns in Putney, Chapter 2 - Introduction

This is the continuation of a narrative by Bill Darrow tracing the history of Putney's Washburn family. Chapter 1, linked in PHS's Newsletter of February 12 2022, began with Asa and Sally (Upham) Washburn settling in Putney in 1785. That chapter touched on some of Asa and Sally's children, including Judge Reuben Washburn and General Jacob Washburn, as well as the Judge's son, Vermont Governor Peter T. Washburn. Finally, Chapter 1 focused on Asa and Sally's son Seth Washburn and his wife Rebecca Paine, who moved to a farm in Randolph Center, Vermont. Rebecca had eight sons with Seth before dying of Tuberculosis in 1828 at age 41. The following year Seth returned to Putney and married Martha "Patty" Campbell. Seth and Patty had seven more sons on the Randolph Center farm.

Chapter 1 closed as Seth and Patty's large family enjoyed it's last year together in 1840 .

Chapter 2

In February of 1841 Seth Washburn died at age 53 in Randolph Center. He left Patty a 42-year-old widow with her own seven sons ages 1 – 11 and the younger sons born to Rebecca. Of Rebecca's older sons, two died before their father (Seth Jr of "fever" and Stephen due to a farm accident); one was living in Illinois (William); and another was married in Randolph (Levi).[1]

Randolph's Dr. D.H. Nutting wrote the following obituary for Seth:

> Mr. Washburn, having resided twenty-six years in Randolph, died February 6, 1841, only fifty-three years old, greatly lamented, not only by his large family and relatives, but by his fellow townsmen, who felt that a man of sterling worth had passed away from their midst – a man greatly respected, who would be much missed for years.
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> He was well known as a man of strict integrity, good judgement and true nobility of character. He was always ready to do his part in supporting educational and religious institutions. He was a member of the First Congregational Church and Society of this town, contributed freely for the rebuilding of the Congregational Church in 1838, and was for many years a member of the Prudential Committee [elected town leaders].[2]

[1] Seth Washburn's cause of death is unknown, but probably was an infectious disease (perhaps Tuberculosis) or an accident. He did not die suddenly. An 1841 letter written by David Crawford in Putney (quoted below) indicates that Seth had time to talk with Patty about her options upon his death.

[2] "The Illustrated Historical Souvenir of Randolph," Compiled and Arranged by Nickerson & Cox (Randolph, Vermont 1895), pp. 135-36, accessed at: https://books.google.com/books?id=fHsjAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Most of Seth's sons with Rebecca moved westward, following oldest brother William to Sangamon County, Illinois.[3] Strong educations at Randolph Academy allowed them to work as school teachers in new midwestern states where schools and teachers were scarce. William, age 28 when his father died, was a school-teacher in Ohio at age 19 and married in Kentucky in 1839 before settling on a farm in Illinois where he and his wife had five children. Levi, age 25 in 1841, married a Randolph woman two years before. He purchased the Washburn farm from his father's estate where he and with his wife raised four children. Levi was the only one of the 15 Washburn brothers to spend his life in Randolph Center. He taught at Randolph Academy for 13 years and was a school trustee for over 40 years. Levi was a Randolph Justice of the Peace and a Selectman, and was on the Board of Trustees of the Vermont Normal School in Randolph Center.[4] Lucius, age 21 when his father died, married in Missouri in 1849 and taught school in the Midwest before settling on a farm in Lockport, Texas by 1860. Brother Charles foundered: in 1850 he lived with William's family in Illinois, and in 1860 lived with Levi's family on the Randolph Center farm. In November 1863 Charles hung himself at age 41 in Randolph Center. He had lost his mother and his older brother Seth Caswell at age five, lost his brother Stephen at age 15, and lost his father at age 18. His family, such as it was, then dispersed. Newspapers reported that "Chas" had been "deranged by turns for several years."[5]

The two youngest sons of Rebecca, Asa and George, ages 16 and 13 when their father died, may have stayed on the farm with Levi's family until finishing school. As young men they joined older brother William in Illinois. The 1850 U.S. Census found George working as a 23-year-old school teacher in Sangamon County. In 1852 Asa married in Illinois and had three children. An 1857 letter from George in Illinois to Levi in Randolph Center reports that George lived on the Sangamon River near William's family. George added that Asa also lived in Sangamon County and worked as a teacher.[6]

In 1841 Patty C. Washburn, the quiet heroine of our story, was on her own with heavy responsibilities. In Randolph Center she was over 80 miles from her home in Putney. Her husband had died a year after the birth of their seventh child. While Seth had been a successful farmer, it would have been very difficult for her to operate the sizable Washburn farm in Randolph Center while caring for her seven youngsters and several stepsons. She was the

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[3] "The Illustrated Historical Souvenir of Randolph" contains a summary of the Washburn family in Randolph and what became of the older sons. *Id*. pp. 135-38. Census records also trace most of the older sons settling in the mid-west.

[4] Levi Washburn obituary, *The Bethel Courier* (Bethel, Vermont), May 26, 1898.

[5] *The Burlington Weekly Sentinel*, December 4, 1863; *The Daily Journal* (Montpelier), November 30, 1863. Levi buried Chas in the Randolph Center Cemetery with his parents and brother Stephen.

[6] Vermont Historical Society, MSA 538:03, Morse Family Papers, Washburn Family. In 1867 Asa, then a 43-year-old farmer in Springfield Illinois, made a trip east to visit his Vermont family. Asa was a toddler when his mother Rebecca died in 1828. Patty was his mother growing-up, and her boys were his little brothers. While visiting Patty and her sons in Putney, Asa died of Consumption in September 1867. He was the fourth of Seth and Rebecca's sons to die prematurely.

daughter of a doctor and had not grown up on a working farm. Patty had only lived in Randolph Center for about a decade, during which time she mothered over 10 children (seven of her own and several of Rebecca's). There had been little time for developing friendships and outside interests. In 1841 her own sons were far too young to farm, and 25-year-old Levi wanted the family farm.

A view into Patty's circumstances is provided by 1841 correspondence between her brother-in-law David Crawford in Putney and Elisha Andrews, who had retired as Minister of Putney's Congregational Church and lived with an adult child outside of Vermont. Crawford and Andrews had been neighbors and friends for many years and regularly exchanged letters. An October 18, 1841 Crawford to Andrews letter contains the following passage:

> You inquire for Sister Patty. I do not recount whether I informed you of the death of her husband or not. He died in Feb last. Her health is poor, but she performs much labor in the care of her family. She has seven boys of her own, the youngest about 18 months. She has a heavy responsibility resting upon her. Her oldest [Frank], a smart, intelligent boy naturally, has St. Vitus dance – is badly affected.[7] I think she will sell her right of Dower in the farm of her husband to his son [Levi] and take an annuity – I advise her to do so. She can have about $100 annually during life in lieu of Dower in real estate, and probably will have $1200 to $1400 in personal property – she probably will remove to Putney.[8]

Seth Washburn's estate was substantial for that time – a bit over $10,000. The probate court divided it between creditors and the family. Seth's 13 surviving sons each received $375.68 (about $12,800 value in 2022). Patty was allocated $3,300 – representing the one-third widow's Dower. In an arrangement reached with the administrators of the estate – William Nutting and Levi Washburn – Patty received $1,300 in cash and the remaining $2000 in the form of an annuity paying her $200 a year for life. The annuity arrangement allowed Levi to acquire the farm (paying her the annual $200). In 2022 funds $1,300 was worth about $44,275 and $200 was worth about $6,810.

Patty decided to move back to Putney where she had strong social connections. She was one of eight Campbell siblings, almost all of whom were in Putney. In addition to her three siblings married into the Crawford family, other siblings were also married and raising children. In Putney her boys had dozens of cousins and many aunts and uncles. Patty had long been a member of Putney's Congregational Church, attended by relatives and friends (in which she had married). Her older brother Dr. John Campbell was a practicing physician in the village (like

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[7] Crawford's observation to Andrews that Frank "naturally" was a "smart, intelligent" boy appears to reflect their mutual understanding that Patty, well-known to both correspondents, possessed those attributes. St. Vitus Dance is a movement disorder associated with Streptococcal infection. It usually afflicts the young and disappears after a few months.

[8] Nineteenth Century Vermont "Dower" law provided for a widow to receive one-third of her intestate husband's estate (after payment of debts). *Thayer v. Thayer*, 14 Vt. 107, 108 (1842).

their father and uncle before him), and her brother-in-law David Crawford was a leading sheep farmer (and Deacon of the Congregational Church). Although Patty's father had died in 1839, her step-mother Achsah Campbell, and her two younger step-sisters Helen and Emma, still lived in Putney.[9] It was hard for her to part with Asa and George – still boys who considered Patty their mother. Yet raising seven young children as a single mother in the 1840s with very limited assets already presented a formidable challenge. The two younger stepsons probably remained with Levi and his wife on the farm where they had been born until they finished school. Levi's first two children were born in 1842 and 1849, so there was plenty of room for his two little brothers on a farm that housed 15 persons in the 1840 Census.

The probate court handling Seth Washburn's estate appointed David Crawford guardian of Patty's seven sons to assist with their support and education. "Uncle Crawford," as the boys came to know him, lived in a large house on a farm just north of Putney village. When Seth Washburn's estate was finalized in the late 1840s, Uncle Crawford submitted $3,138 in expenses to the probate court (listing, for example, "clothing, schooling, etc. for Alex," and "writing school" tuition for Henry).

In a June 1, 1842 letter to Andrews, Crawford reported:

> I believe I have mentioned to you the death of Seth Washburn of Randolph a year ago last Feb. His widow (Patty Campbell) has removed to Putney. She has seven sons, all with her, from a little more than two to about 13 (?) years of age. Her health is inferior, altho' she does her own work. By the advice of her husband before his death and of other friends, she has accepted an annuity of $120 a year during life in lieu of Dower in real estate. She will also have $1600 or $1700 in personal property, including furniture.[10]

Putney had changed since 1829 when Patty moved to Randolph Center. Generally, the 1830s and '40s transformed New England. The 1830s introduced rapid developments in transportation (railroads, steamships, the Erie Canal, and improved roads); commerce (subsistence farming and artisan shops were being replaced by wage-based employment, factories, and interstate marketing as the mid-west opened), and communication (a proliferation of newspapers, periodicals and mail).[11] The Industrial Revolution had begun. In

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[9] In contrast to the Campbells, the East Putney Washburn family, strong in the early decades of the 1800s, had contracted mid-century (most of Asa and Sally's children had moved away).

[10] Uncle Crawford understated the $200 annuity. The figures recited on the prior page of this narrative are based on contemporaneous probate court filings retained by the Vermont State Archives & Records Administration in Middlesex, Vermont.

[11] "What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848," by Daniel Walker Howe, is the 2007 Pulitzer Prize–winning book describing these changes. "Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America," by Carroll Smith-Rosenberg (Oxford 1985), contains interesting cultural discussions of the period, particularly in the two chapters titled, "Bourgeois Discourse and the Age of

southern Vermont steady immigration in the late 1700s had turned to steady emigration in the 1830s.

The above infrastructure changes were accompanied by a powerful tide of religious and ideological fervor called the "Second Great Awakening." During the 1830s-40s a multitude of social reform and religious movements emerged. The latter often included emotional revivalist "meetings" at which evangelist preachers exhorted listeners to reform themselves and prepare for Christ's Second Coming. The former including the women's liberation and abolitionist movements, advanced at meetings and in civic organizations and periodicals. The women's liberation movement protested circumscribed civil rights allotted to women in the 19th Century, leaving them essentially second-class citizens dependent upon men.[12] These developments combined to make Vermont "fertile ground for a lively, almost frenetic political and social ferment."[13] "The message delivered from the pulpit during protracted [revivalist] meetings promised salvation from the social and personal dilemmas of disunity intensely felt during the 1830's." *Id*.[14]

It is difficult or impossible today, nearly two centuries later, to comprehend fully the core religious and social beliefs of 1830s New England. It was predominantly Christian, and revivalists urged – and many believed – that the Second Coming of Christ was imminent and with it the Millennium and the Kingdom of God (all to begin in America).[15] Part of the urgency of social reform was to cleanse society to prepare for those extraordinary events. Today many if not most of us are unfamiliar with and disinterested in these once foundational, passionately discussed concepts.

Jackson: An Introduction," and "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman: A Case Study in Sex Roles and Social Stress in Jacksonian America."

[12] In 1834 the American Female Reform Society (first named the New York Female Moral Reform Society) was formed to combat the exploitation and manipulation of women by men. By 1839 the Society had 445 auxiliary groups, principally in New England. A common theme was the "lascivious and predatory nature of the American male," and the "double standard" by which society often permitted male licentiousness. Smith-Rosenberg, "Disorderly Conduct," pp. 111-124. The Society also criticized "the subservient role of women within the American family" and "the American man's imperious and dominating behavior toward women." *Id*. at 124. The Society published the weekly "Advocate of Moral Reform" from 1835 to the early 1850s, which became "one of the nation's most widely read evangelical papers." *Id*. at 115.

[13] H.N. Muller III and John J. Duffy, "Jedidiah Burchard and Vermont's 'New Measure' Revivals; Social Adjustment and the Quest for Unity," Vermont History, Vol. 46 No. 1 (Winter 1978).

[14] Religious movements conceived during the Second Great Awakening include the Shakers, the Quakers, and the Mormons.

[15] The approach of the Second Coming was referenced at the 1807 ordination of Rev. Elisha Andrews. "A Sermon Preached in Putney June 25, 1807 at the Ordination of Reverend Elisha D. Andrews Over the Congregational Church and Charitable Christian Society in that Town" (republished by Sabin Americana, Print Editions 1500-1926).

The Second Great Awakening struck hard in Putney. The village was home to a religious sect that became radical in the late 1840s. The "Bible Communism" (or "Perfectionism") of John Humphrey Noyes is described by historians as the "most remarkable" and "most radical" of various early 1800s utopian ventures.[16]

When Patty Washburn returned to Putney with her seven boys in 1842, she found that during the late 1830's her father Dr. Alexander Campbell, his second wife Achsah, and her brother Dr. John Campbell's spouse Lydia (Crawford), had become very interested in "Perfectionism" as Noyes described it during those years. Patty could not have anticipated that five years later the teaching of Noyes would veer into new areas that would galvanize Putney in the most divisive time in its history, and that her family would be in the middle of the upheaval.

Patty's choice of where to settle in Putney undoubtably was influenced by her memory of the town as it was before her 1829 marriage to Seth Washburn. The vital center of town in the early 1800s when Patty grew up was around the intersection of today's Sand Hill Road and Westminster Road.[17] From 1803 to the early 1840s the Congregational Church was just south of that intersection. Next to the Church (on its north side) was the parsonage where the Minister lived. Slightly south of the Church was a large farm well-known to Patty her entire life – it belonged to her Uncle Dr. John Campbell I until his death in 1820, when it became the home of her brother-in-law David Crawford. The next building south of that farm was the public elementary school. Just to the north of the Sand Hill Road intersection was the "Brick Store," with a blacksmith shop across the road. In sum, this short section of Westminster Road – then called "the Street" – was home to the Church, the Minister, the school, a store and blacksmith, and the Campbell/Crawford farm.[18] Sand Hill Road allowed visitors from East Putney (such as the East Putney Washburns) a short-cut to this busy area. It is extraordinary that most of the Putney buildings, homes and byways from the 1840s-50s when the Washburn brothers grew up remain intact today, in the Putney Village Historic District.[19]

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[16] Chris Jennings, "Paradise Now – The Story of American Utopianism" (Random House NY 2017), p. 9; Daniel Walker Howe, "What Hath God Wrought," p. 328.

[17] The author is grateful to Laurel Ellis at the Putney Historical Society for shedding light and understanding on Putney in the 19th century, and for stalwart help with a multitude of questions.

[18] Today this is an often overlooked, "drive-through" area of Putney between the village and the many residences on West Hill and further north on Westminster Road. The former Congregational Church parsonage (known during the 20th Century as the "Hannum House") is identified in the Putney Village Historic District as the "Captain Thomas Greene House," at 141 Westminster Road. The Brick Store is identified as the "Foster A. Wheeler Store," at 159 Westminster Road. Patty's brother Dr. John Campbell II built a house in the village around 1831, at 126 Main Street (across the street from the Putney Town Hall). After the 1839 death of Patty's father Dr. Alexander Campbell and the sale of his house in the village (to the Noyes family), Achsah Campbell and her two daughters moved up the hill to the cape-style house at 79 Westminster Road. The original Noyes house, purchased by John Noyes, Sr. around 1822, is at 52 Westminster Road.

[19] Most of the settlers arriving in Putney during the 1780s lived on West Hill farms, several miles northwest of the village. During that time West Hill had its own "meeting houses" (churches). As those

If Patty in 1842 had sufficient funds, she may have purchased a farm to sustain her family – like the one her boys had known in Randolph Center. Instead, she found a small house at the intersection of Westminster Road and Sand Hill Road. It is identified in the Putney Village Historic District as the "George H. Johnson House . . . built around 1780." The house still stands, at 142 Sand Hill Road.

This modest house (photographed in 2021) belonged to Patty Washburn from 1847 to 1868. Brothers Seth, Edward, Henry and John Washburn left this house for California in the 1850s. Older brothers Franklin, Alexander, and Seth Jr (along with step-brother Asa) died here. Edward and John returned from California to this house in the 1860s.

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farms were deserted in the 1830s-'50s, the town's center gradually shifted southeast down West Hill to Westminster Road and then further south to the current village. During those decades mills developed on the falls of Sacketts Brook, and by 1850 the railroad was built along the nearby Connecticut River. West Hill meeting houses lost their congregations and were taken down. The first location of the Congregational Church, from 1773 to 1803, was at the intersection of West Hill Road and Westminster Road (across the street from the Old North Burying Ground), about one mile north of the village. The second location, from 1803 until the early 1840s, was near the Sand Hill Road intersection (discussed above), about a half-mile north of the village. In 1841 a new church was built in the third and final location in the village (depicted below), and in 1845 the church in the second location was taken down. "Vermont Historical Gazetteer: A Local History of All the Towns in the State," Volume V, "The Towns of Windham County," collated by Abby Maria Hemenway (Pub. By Carrie Page, Brandon VT, 1891).

Just south of the Washburn house was the stately home of David Crawford and Nancy (Campbell) Crawford, who lived in this house during the 1820s-50s. Depicted here in 1884, the house still stands, at 105 Westminster Road. Before the Crawfords owned the house, it belonged to Patty's Uncle Dr. John Campbell I until his death in 1820.

Putney's No. 2 School House was just south of the Crawford House (part of which is visible on the right). The school (called Schoolhouse No. 12 in the early 1800s) was taken down in the first years of the 1900s when scattered neighborhood schools were consolidated in the larger "Central School" built at the top of Kimball Hill (close to the village). Evidently common schools did not require footwear in the 1800s.

McClellan's Map of Windham County, Vermont in 1856 includes this map of Putney. The Washburn residence is at center (marked "Mrs. Washburn"). The parsonage (marked "Rev. A. Foster) is slightly south, followed by the Crawford Farm (marked "J Crawford") and the schoolhouse ("SH"). Dr. John Campbell II sold the house he built in the current village (now 126 Main Street) and by the late 1840s moved his home and medical practice to the small house (at 66 Westminster Road) just north of the Noyes carriage house.

The Washburn, Crawford and Campbell families valued education, and Patty, with Uncle Crawford's help, saw to it that her sons were educated. During the 1840s the Washburn brothers, accompanied by their Crawford cousins, attended the common/elementary school near their house (pictured above). Later they attended private secondary, or "high" schools in the area.

An 1849 "Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Saxton's River Seminary" in Saxton's River, Vermont lists Seth C Washburn, Alex C Washburn, and Benjamin F Washburn as boarding students studying the classics, along with two Crawford cousins and young Putney woman (and Campbell cousin) Lucinda Lamb. Similarly, an 1850 catalogue of Brattleboro Academy in West Brattleboro, Vermont lists five students from Putney, two of whom were Alexander C Washburn and Seth C Washburn. Seth is also listed as a student at Thetford Academy, in Thetford, Vermont, according to that institution's 1850 Catalogue.

On August 28, 1850 when the U.S. Census was taken in Putney, "Martha Washburn" (Patty), age 52, was living in the little house depicted above with her seven sons: Frank, age 20; Alexander, 18; Seth, 16; Edward, 14; Henry, 12; John, 11; and Julius, 10. Only the two oldest list an occupation: Frank was a "Farmer," and Alexander was a "Scholar." The 1850 Census also lists Frank with his Uncle Crawford's family across the street, where he probably was working on the farm that summer. 1850 was the last year Patty had all her boys at home.

Two months after the 1850 Census, Alexander Campbell Washburn, the scholarly brother named after Patty's father, died at age 19 of Dysentery. After the funeral in Putney's Congregational Church, Patty buried Alexander in the village's Maple Grove Cemetery, near her father and mother. His obituary reads:

> Few young men could be named more generally beloved, whose death would be more sincerely regretted. He was taken ill while at the academy in West Brattleboro. He bore a distressing sickness of a little more than two weeks with great patience. When it became evident that he could not live his mind was undisturbed. He seemed cheerfully resigned to the will of Providence. . . . Death to him had no terrors. With great composure he addressed parting words to friends who were present, and left appropriate messages for those who were absent. As evidence of the estimation in which he was held by his associates in study, a large number from Brattleboro and Westminster were in attendance at his funeral. It was a scene deeply solemn and affecting.[20]

The November 1853 catalogue of Ward Seminary in Saxton's River Vermont, a co-ed boarding school, lists 117 students, 46 "Ladies" and 71 "Gentlemen," attending winter and spring terms from area towns in southeastern Vermont, southwestern New Hampshire and northeastern Massachusetts (the school was "accessible by regular stages" from Bellows Falls, Keene, and Brattleboro). There are only seven students from Putney: Julia Brown and Christina Robertson, and five male cousins: two sons of Uncle Crawford, one son of Dr. John Campbell, and two Washburn brothers: Edward (Senior Class) and Henry (Junior Class). Tuition was $4.00, with $1.50 a week for boarding. Studies at Ward Seminary were rigorous: Latin and Greek, geography, anatomy, chemistry, "composition and declamation," grammar, and "rhetoric, oratory and logic." Each day began with "devotional exercises" in the chapel; there was also "public worship on the Sabbath."

The November 1854 catalogue for Westminster Seminary, a co-ed boarding school in Westminster Vermont, lists among its few Putney students A.H. (Henry) Washburn in the English Department, E.P (Edward) Washburn in the "Classical Department," and one of the Crawford boys, all registered for the Winter and Spring terms. Finally, the 1857 catalogue for Leland Seminary, in East Townshend, Vermont, lists among its 223 students (123 male, 100 female) Henry, Edward and Julius Washburn. The "Program of Rhetorical Exercises" for Monday

[20] *Vermont Chronicle*, October 22, 1850.

evening, November 9, 1857, included an "Oration" by Albert Henry Washburn on the "Settlement of New England." The following evening John S. Washburn gave a talk on "Napoleon," and Julius F. Washburn gave one on "Webster's Reply to Haynes." Cousin Hugh Crawford Campbell, son of Dr. John Campbell, was also a student at Leland Seminary that year.

As the Washburn brothers grew up in Putney, John Humphrey Noyes was in town preaching and publishing. Initially he stuck to fairly common "Perfectionist" themes. Perfectionism was not that unusual at the time – it basically taught that individuals were responsible for their spiritual status, and a disciplined person could live without sin and become "perfect" (or "sanctified"). Prior Calvinist theory taught that God predetermined these matters and that sin was inherent in all persons (such that the struggle against it was an enduring human condition). In 1846, however, Noyes began acting on radical ideas that he previously had concealed. He contended – based upon his interpretation of Biblical scriptures and his "conversion" experience – that he had a Divine commission to initiate the Kingdom of God in Putney. In that Kingdom, he and his followers would (in Noyes's words) "trample underfoot the domestic and pecuniary fashions of the world."[21] Such antiquated "fashions," Noyes declared, included marriage, monogamy, separate marital and family households, churches, and private ownership of property. By mid-1847 the public was discovering the extent of Noyes's far-reaching ideas. At the same time, Noyes "converted" three young Putney women: Helen and Emma Campbell, and 15-year-old Lucinda Lamb.[22] When villagers learned that Noyes believed in "free love" (as the correct way to live in the Kingdom of God), the parents of Lucinda Lamb and the older brothers of (fatherless) 20-year-old Helen Campbell and her sister Emma were incensed. "Free love" was perceived as a rationale for exploitation of the young women and licentiousness by Noyes and his male acolytes.

Village leaders who opposed Noyes included Dr. John Campbell and David Crawford. As animosity toward Noyes grew, in August of 1847 he arranged for Helen and Emma Campbell to marry two of his closest male converts. This initiative failed to quell – and may have aggravated – concern. In October 1847 Noyes was arrested after the Grand Jury for Windham County indicted him for adultery with Achsah Campbell and another Putney woman. Released on bond, he absconded to New York. For the following two years, with Noyes absent from Putney, Helen and Emma Campbell were persuaded by their family that his teaching was erroneous. By the Fall of 1849, however, both sisters were pregnant and followed their husbands to the new Noyes community in Oneida, New York with their mother Achsah. The three Campbell women lived and died in Oneida. The Washburn brothers likely never saw their grandmother and two aunts again.

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[21] G.W. Noyes, "John Humphrey Noyes, the Putney Community," Ch. 24, "The Kingdom of God Has Come" (emphasis added). Noyes also published these assertions in the July 15, 1847 edition of his monthly publication, "The Spiritual Magazine."

[22] G.W. Noyes, "John Humphrey Noyes, The Putney Community," Ch. 23, "Conversion of Helen, Emma and Lucinda."

Putney's "War of 1847" and its impact on the village and the family of Patty Campbell Washburn is a subject for another day. Meanwhile, during the early and mid-1850s the Washburn brothers completed high school and were ready for adventure.

(To be continued)